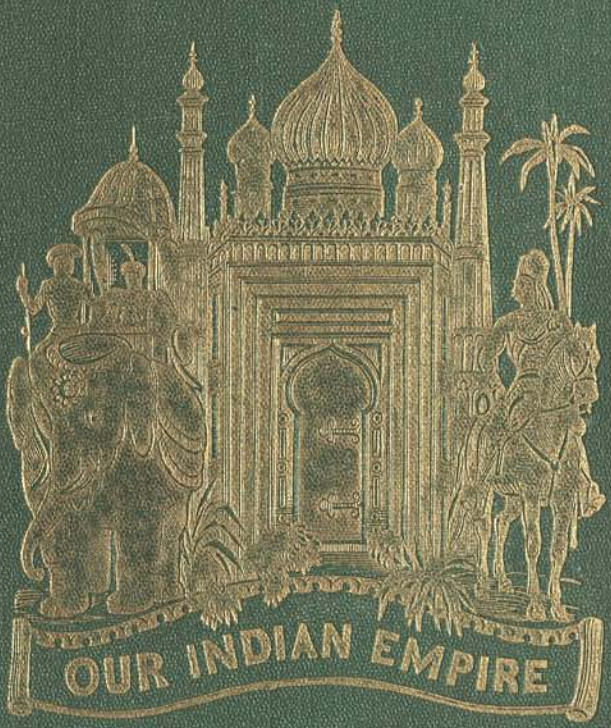
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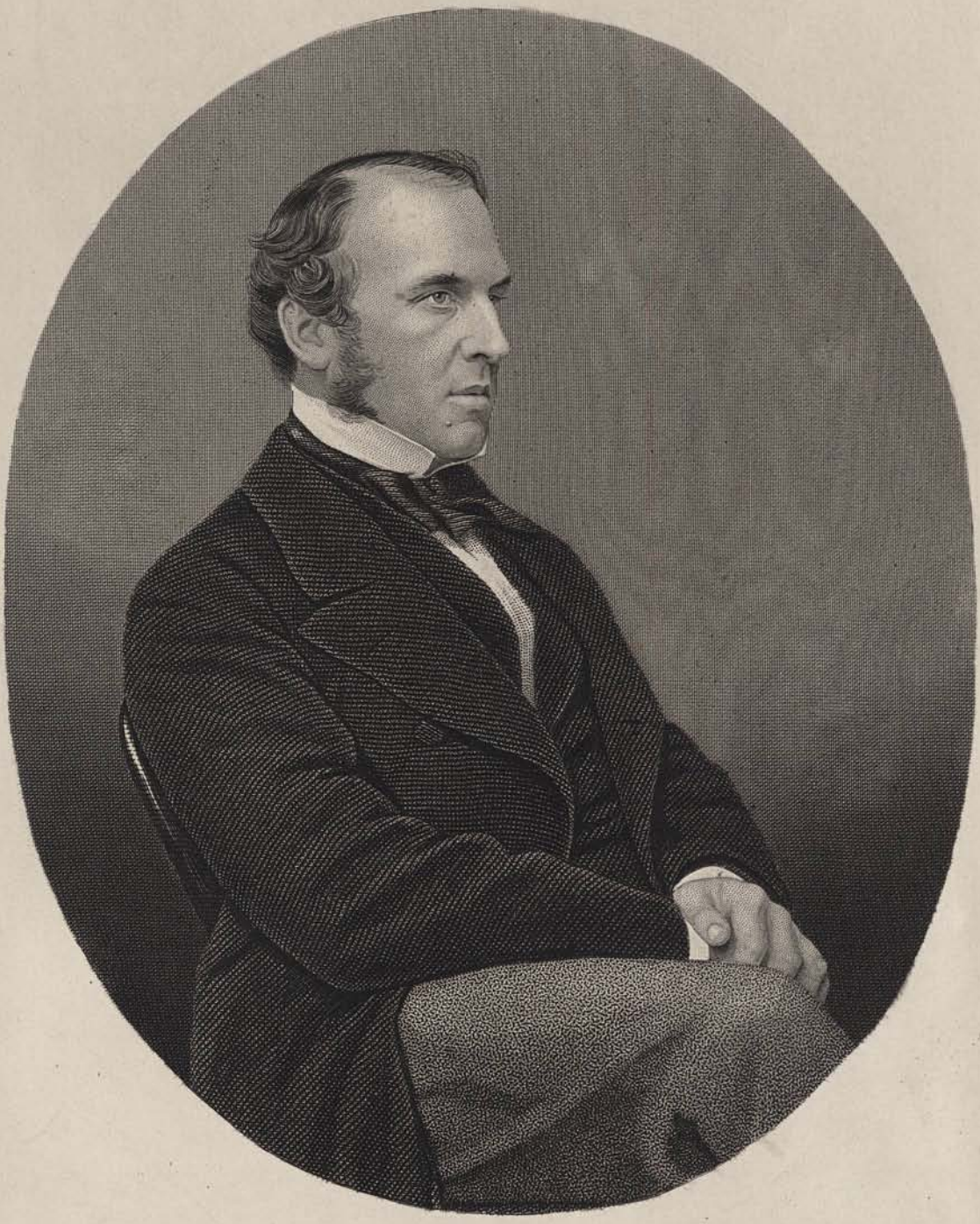

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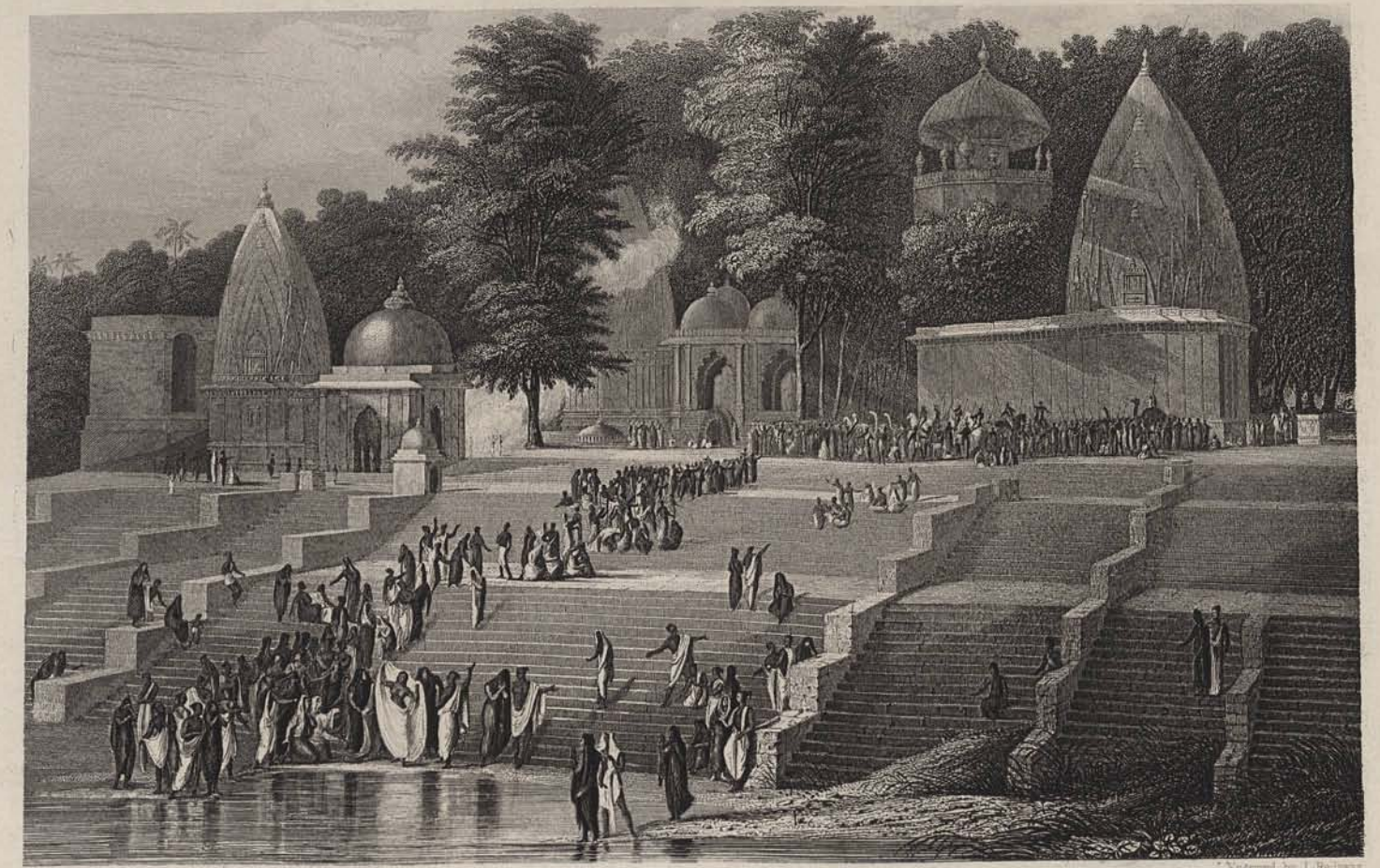

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SUTTEEISM ON THE BANKS OF THE GANGES — PREPARING FOR THE INMOLATION OF A HINDOO WIDOW.

The prohibition of this abominable custom is supposed to be one of the causes which has led to the mutinies in India.

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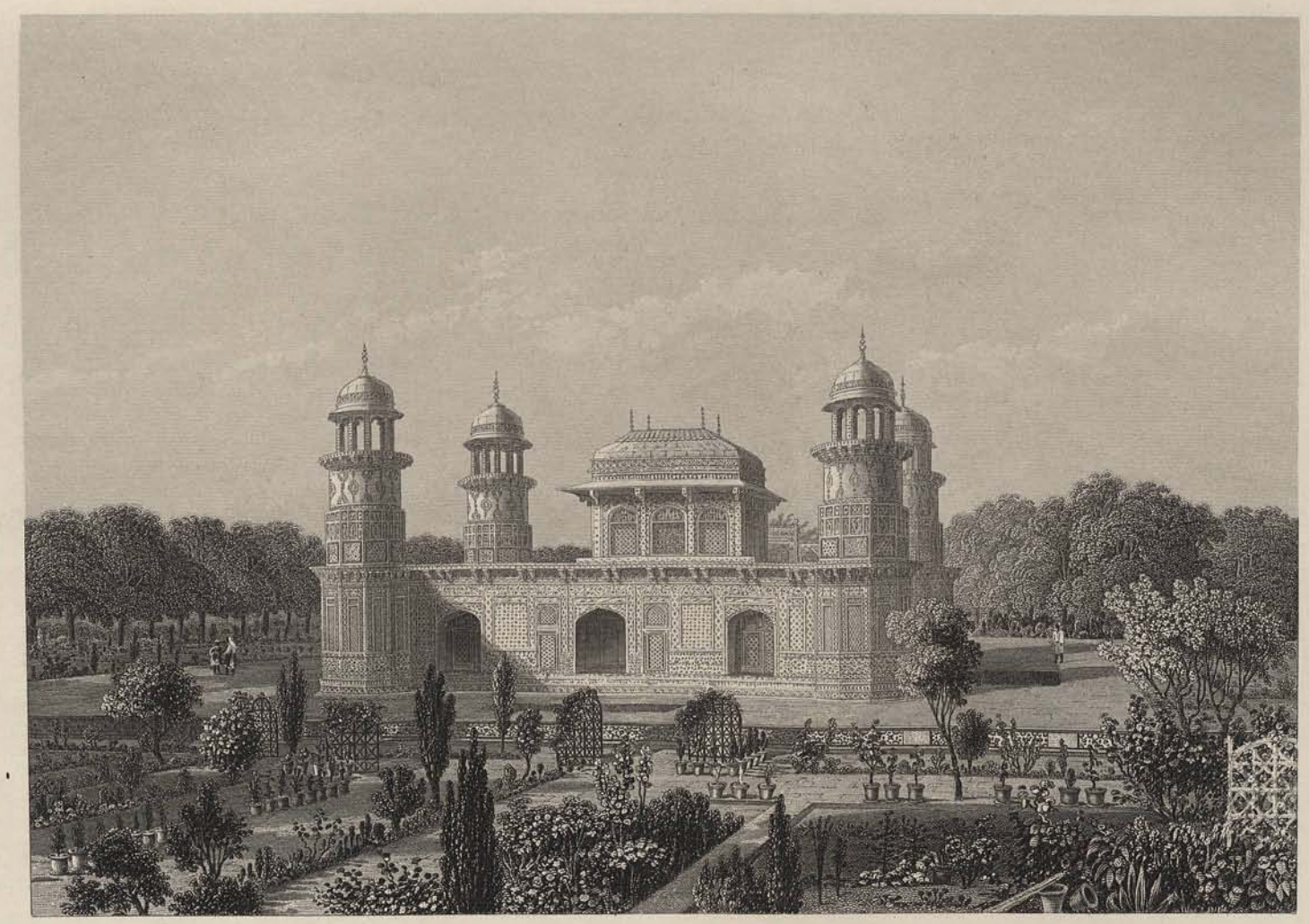

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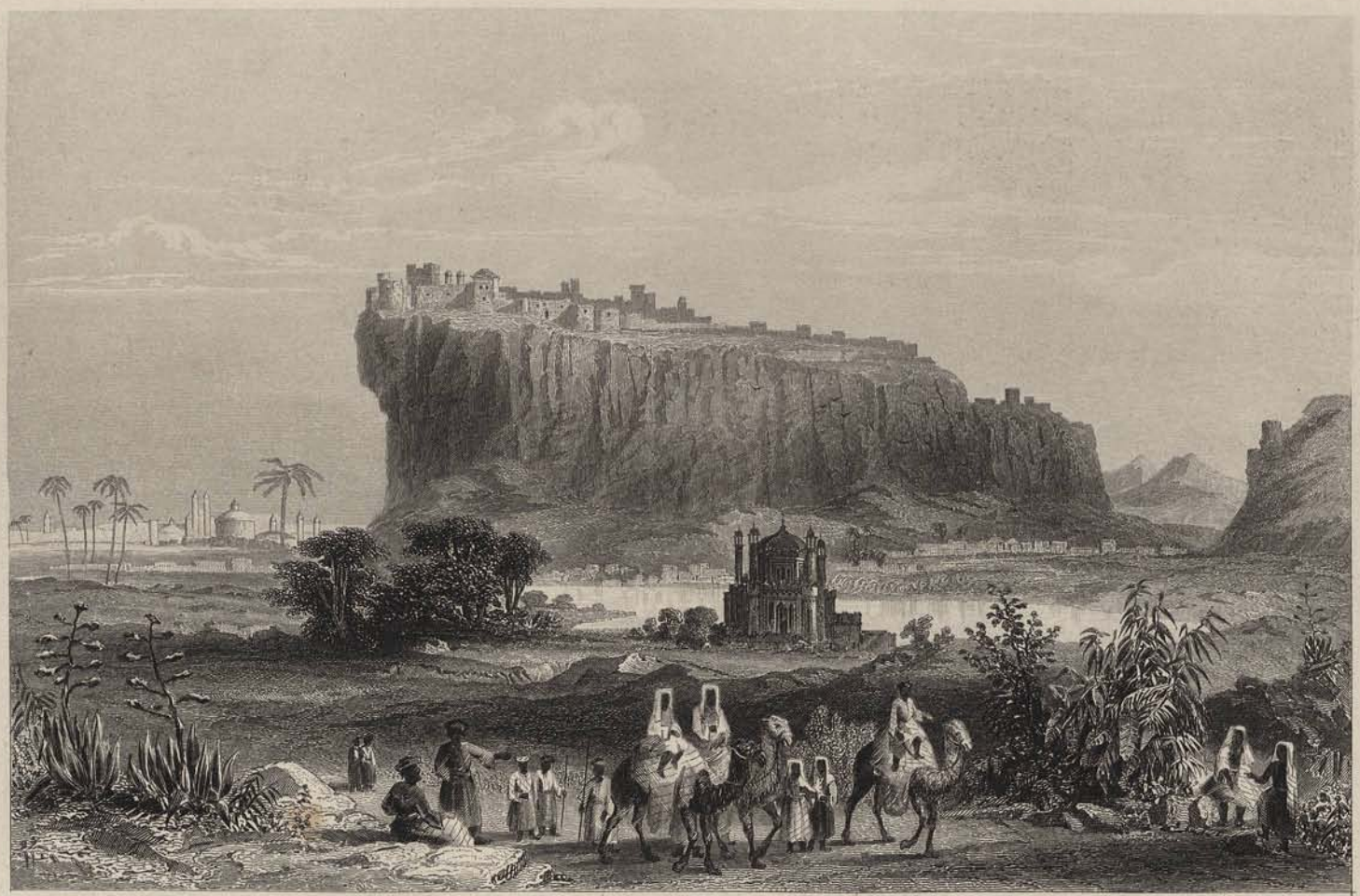

THE HILL FORTRESS OF GWALIOR.

Gwalior is the Capital of the dominions of the Maharajah Scindia, the fortress was taken by British troops under Major Popham Augt 3rd 1780. Seized by the Rebels June 1st 1858. Recaptured by Sir H. Rose and restored to the Maharajah June 19th 1858.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE fate of India is of the most consummate importance, not only to the neighbouring countries and to Great Britain, but also to the whole of the civilised world. This may sound a very commonplace remark: so it is. But life is chiefly made up of such commonplaces; and the very fact that such commonplaces are so universal is a proof of the immense interest which attaches to them. That such remarks cannot be too often reiterated is certainly a fact to be deplored; but it is necessary, because, in the discussion for or against petty details, the great principle is frequently lost sight of; and they are also good for the younger generation which has not yet fathomed their truth.

For instance, a party arose which openly and loudly declared that India should rather perish than England do wrong. This was a very fine sentiment, and its justice so evident as to be incontrovertible. But the question which such a party is bound first of all to answer is, what its idea of wrong may be?

This at once plunges us into an examination of a new element which has been introduced of late years into political life—sham political morality. On the one side the world is assured, that there is no more moral-minded a section of the public than the diplomatists. On the other side, the world is warned that these same diplomatists—that is, the representatives of every nation—cannot be surpassed for evil. Which of these statements is true? If neither of them are absolutely true, does the truth lie in the middle; and, if so, what is that middle? The reply is very easy. Just as, in the animal world, the struggle for existence results in the survival of the fittest, so in the great struggle of nations, does the fittest also survive. That supplies us with our code of morality. In virtue of their fitness the fittest have a right to protect themselves against the unfit, and, if needs be, to demolish them—to utterly annihilate them. The question is thus reduced as to who is fit and who is unfit? There can be no divergence of opinion, for instance, as to the fitness or unfitness of survival in a struggle for existence between Dahomey and England. According to the code of morality just propounded, the Englishman has every right to demolish the Dahomian or Ashantee if it

is necessary for his existence—if it is demanded by civilisation—if the future of the world is benefited thereby. The only people who would not subscribe to this are the members of the Aborigines Protection Society. But these members do not object to the force which gives them the power to protect their favourites! Still, they would say that a civilised nation has no right to force itself upon an uncivilised State for the purposes of trade or commerce, or other purposes, if that uncivilised State objects. That argument is easily answered. The answer is, that the gifts of nature are not intended for the exclusive use of one nation or one section of individuals, but for the benefit of the whole of the human community. The moral right of an Englishman to force Dahomey, Ashantee, Russia, or any other country to admit him to a fair share of the natural gifts of that country is simply a part of his right of existence.

The matter cannot be put plainer than this. If an Englishman has any right to existence at all, he has also the right to secure the means to continue that existence. And the same right is enjoyed by every other nation. This principle cannot be honestly disputed; and if it is once accepted, it has a very peculiar and very important significance for Englishmen.

By the simple fact of their existence, some 34,000,000 Englishmen have acquired the right to continue that existence to the limits of the period accorded by Scripture, to threescore years and ten—and further still if possible, that possibility being dependent upon their fitness. Unfortunately, Great Britain does not produce even bread enough to support these 34,000,000 souls, to say nothing of other articles of food and clothing, &c., to which they have quite as much right as the Ryot, the Hottentot, and the Caffre. Possibly the exclusive devotion of all the acres in Great Britain and all the united labour of Great Britain to agricultural objects might suffice to keep the population alive. But the natural gifts of Great Britain are of more value to its population, and the labour of its population is of more value to the rest of the world when devoted to other objects—*i.e.*, to manufactures and industry, for the products of which the natural products of other countries, which do not enjoy the same advantages, are exchanged. "But, oh!" exclaim the members of the Aborigines Protection Society, "it is your duty to remain content with the less valuable products of your own country, if other countries object to give you theirs." In saying that, however, the members of the Aborigines Protection Society have forgotten the Scriptural precepts of their youth—namely, that we should make the best use of our talent, and not hide our light under a bushel.

We have, therefore, a distinctly moral right to our existence, a moral

right to continue that existence, and a moral right to force the Chinese to give us tea for our calico, if, owing to our natural gifts, we can produce calico better and cheaper than we can produce tea. And, to take a case in point, we have a right to force the Hindoo to give us coffee in return for heavy forgings of iron-work, which the climate of India renders it impossible to produce there.

Thus, in inquiring whether we have a moral right to force ourselves upon others, the first question to be asked and answered is, whether our own fitness, and the unfitness of the country in question, justifies us in so doing? And the same question must be answered when taking into consideration the claim of any other nation similarly to force itself, on the same grounds, upon another country.

But although Englishmen above all nations—in virtue of the over-population of Great Britain—have every moral right to extend their influence and power, by every means, wherever and whenever it may be necessary, it does not follow that it is always expedient to make full use of their moral right. The question of morality thus practically resolves itself into a question of expediency.

Of course this idea will be scouted by the supporters of the theory that civilised communities are bound, by the laws in force amongst and between themselves, to observe those same laws when dealing with uncivilised or far less civilised countries. Such people will say that the Ashantee, the Caffre, and the Tartar have just the same natural rights as we have, and that, in common parlance, one man is as good as another. That doctrine is as mischievous as it is absurd. The Caffre has not the same capacity for enjoyment, nor the same capacity for suffering. His value as an item of humanity is altogether very fractional. In point of stern, inexorable fact, the Englishman, the German, or the Frenchman are worth just as many Caffres as their superior fitness enables them to displace. In the case of Englishmen, this displacement of inferior humanity happens to be very great. It has to be measured by the number of colonies and the native population of these colonies. According to this estimate, we find that the 34,000,000 of Englishmen have each displaced over $6\frac{1}{2}$ inferior natives; whilst the French, the next nation in colonising power, with their 37,000,000 souls, have only displaced a fraction of one; so that in this instance, at least, the old saying that one Englishman is equal to six Frenchmen is literally true.

Here, then, is ample proof of the superior fitness of the Englishman, which gives him the moral right to displace these 200 and odd millions of inferior people.

Nor can the argument be admitted for one moment, that John Smith or M. Bonhomme have no moral right to force themselves upon the negro in order to procure ivory for the pianofortes which they require for their amusement. They have every right to do so in virtue of the sense they have been endowed with; and the negro has no right to refuse this ivory, and the gratification of John Smith's musical sense, as long as his own sense of music does not entitle him to keep his ivory for himself. Of course, if the negro required all his ivory to inlay his banjo, his guns, or his tables—to satisfy his own senses, in short—he would have the moral right, if expedient, to refuse it. But if the negro has more ivory than he requires, more land than is necessary to satisfy his wants and his desires, the Englishman, or any other man, has the full right to force him to give it up at its proper value. And, by the same reasoning, no nation has the right to force itself upon another to obtain the gratification of its necessities and desires, if the means to obtain these said gratifications exist already within its own limits, but for some reason or other are neglected.

This brings us to the kernel of the question as regards England's right to hold India, and the expediency of holding it. It also brings us to the question of Russia's right to disturb England in her possession of India. The latter question may be dismissed forthwith. Russia has no moral right to do so, because Russia is not over-populated, but, on the contrary, under-populated; because she has the means within her own limits of gratifying all her necessities and desires; and because, by not developing the resources within her own limits, she proves herself insufficiently civilised. And being far less civilised than Great Britain and the rest of Europe, she is less fit to survive in the struggle for existence. And, being less fit to survive, she must succumb in the struggle as much for her own benefit as for that of those whom she would fain displace. This is quite plain; and it is really sad to find Russian statesmen incapable of grasping such palpable truths. Of course, we can imagine a tiger arguing somewhat in the following manner:—"In virtue of my strength I am fitter to live than man. It is true, I can satisfy my appetite with deer and buffalo; but I prefer the taste of human flesh; and thus, in virtue of my superior fitness in the point of strength, I mean to have man for supper." Unfortunately for the tiger, his superior fitness is soon demolished by man's superior fitness in the matter of inventing rifles and gunpowder. And similarly, Russia will find that her superior fitness in the point of brute force and numbers, is but as a feather against the mighty engines and endless resources of British intelligence, industry, and energy.

These arguments suffice to demonstrate England's moral right to hold

India or any other country which her superior fitness has already placed, or may yet place, within her grasp. But, at the same time, to satisfy the members of the Aborigines Protection Society and their friends, it may be pointed out that the moral right thus possessed also involves moral duties towards those whom England's superior fitness places in subjection to her. But great as those moral duties and responsibilities are, there is not an Englishman worthy of the name, there is not an honest foreigner, who will not declare that England fulfils those duties towards her inferior subjects to the very best of her power. Nay, still more, that having regard to the greater weakness of these inferior subjects, she regards them with far greater indulgence than the stronger Englishman who is better able to look after himself and his interests. And, taken all in all, none but carping critics, treacherous demagogues, and political scolds and viragoes, will deny that England has justly earned the title of protector of the oppressed.

The moral question being thus summarily disposed of, we come to the question of expediency. There are those who declare that the possession of India is inexpedient; that it involves a loss upon Great Britain; that the responsibilities attaching to the rule of this vast continent are becoming too great; and a dozen other objections. It is impossible to state and answer all the objections made against England's continuing to hold India on the score of expediency. Fortunately, the common sense of the nation does not require any such demonstration. The responsible portion of the nation knows perfectly well, that the loss of India means to England the loss of the chief market where she exchanges her goods, and buys wholesale, at a reasonable rate, the produce which she retails to other nations at the profit which enables her to keep her superabundant population in comfort and in that affluence to which their industry entitles them. Were India to become subject, say to Russia, the result would be that India would be exploited in every possible way by high duties and protective tariffs, in order to enable the Russians to live in idleness, neglect their own resources, and keep up, at the expense of the Hindoo, an enormous army which would be a perpetual threat to the world's peace.

This danger, very remote at one time, has recently become as real as it was remote; and it is for this reason that we have devoted so much attention to the moral principles involved in the Anglo-Indian dispute with Russia. It was necessary to touch upon the moral aspect of the question, so unpatriotic, so ceaseless, so venomous have been the tactics of the discarded leaders of a justly powerful party, which, in its generosity, still refuses to break the rod over them, and would still fain believe in that disinterestedness to which their indulgence in personal hatreds debars their

claim. But though the Liberals, in spite of their generosity, which partakes almost of a personal character, refuse to condemn their old leaders as strict justice demands, they show their wisdom and patriotism by also refusing them their confidence. Still, these leaders argue so speciously on matters of detail, that the public is apt to lose sight of the broad issues at stake. We may, however, now quit argument for fact, and cast a glance at the events which have so momentously affected India since the great mutiny, which was one of the consequences induced by the Crimean war.

At first sight, it seems far-fetched to connect the Indian mutiny in any way with the Crimean war. But is it not strange, to say the least, that serious troubles in India should arise twice running after a serious dispute with Russia? This alone would warrant a suspicion that there must be some connection between the two, though such connection may not be apparent. The fact is, that those who deny that there was any connection between the Crimean war and the Indian mutiny, do not properly appreciate at their true value the workings of the Asiatic mind, and also forget the distance and want of communications between India and Europe at that time. Such people object, that if Russia had had any hand in raising the Indian mutiny, she would have endeavoured to have secured the outbreak whilst England was still embarrassed by the Crimean war; nay, that if Russia were guilty of all the intrigue and cunning she is credited with, she would so have ordered her plans that the mutiny should have commenced simultaneously with her declaration of war. Surely this argument is very foolish. In the first place, the power of England in India was far too visible and palpable to be overthrown, at the first attempt, like the walls of Jericho before the blast of the Israelite trumpets. It was not the want of incitement to rebellion on the part of Russian agents and Indian malcontents that prevented the mutiny breaking out at an earlier period. There were plenty of such endeavours; but the natives, very naturally, first desired to see some proof of the degeneracy and weakness of the English before they committed themselves to a course which appeared to them at the time as next to hopeless. There were also the usual preparations to be made which are indispensable to the success of a rebellion; there was assistance to be secured; and Russia was then not so near to the Indian frontier—she had not that *prestige* of conquest which she acquired later through her victories and advance through Central Asia. Russia and the White Czar were far too mythical and misty entities to compete with the visible and palpable power of England before their eyes. The reply of the natives to the seductive persuasions of the Russian agents, native or foreign, therefore resolved itself into the above objections. Then a considerable time elapsed, after the

commencement of hostilities, before the results thereof became generally known throughout India; and when the course of events had been made known, it was not of a nature to encourage the native malcontents to rely upon Russia for assistance, direct or indirect, against England. Still, the natives did not wholly abandon the idea of rising against their masters. They completed their arrangements—a slow process with the Asiatic, who cannot expend an ounce of energy without a bushel of words and talk—and argued that England must become more or less exhausted by her war with Russia; and that, as the longer it lasted the weaker she would become, it would be wisest to wait till that moment, especially as no active assistance could be expected from Russia. In short, they waited to see which way the wind would blow; and when they thought the storm had quite exhausted Great Britain, they rose, and were beaten. Once again, the fittest survived the struggle for existence.

The struggle, however, had been long and deadly. The horrors of Delhi set their sanguinary stamp for ever on the page of History; and centuries cannot efface the memories of that terrible time.

But terrible as it was for the Europeans and for England, the heroes of that struggle and all England had some compensation in their victory and in the knowledge that they had preserved for their sons what their fathers had handed down to them. But what compensation had the natives for all their sacrifices? Led away by treacherous agents and faithless princes, they had fought, bled, and died in the conviction that they were doing their duty. It was surely hard upon them that their sacrifices to duty should thus be rewarded by failure, death, fire, and rapine. Would it be surprising if they cursed their gods and their prophets for the burden of misery laid upon them? Scarcely. No doubt there are thousands of people who would say that they had had but themselves to thank for their disasters, and that they had only met with their deserts. Such people, however, are of that narrow-minded class of petty characters who are the curse of civilisation. The ignorant Hindoo, the fanatic Moslem, did but what they considered their duty when they rebelled against England. Why, therefore, should they be punished and suffer for doing their duty? They imagined they were the fittest. They discovered their mistake, however, and found that England was the fittest to survive. But England could never have justified her claims to be the fittest, could never have justified her moral rights, had she forgotten her moral duties and visited the sins of the tempters upon the victims, who imagined they were also combating for their moral rights.

As there is a poetical justice, so there is an historical justice, which

metes out with exceeding nicety to each one his deserts. Thus the result of the Indian mutiny was, that the East India Company, which had in very many cases grossly neglected its duties towards the natives, was dispossessed by the English Government, which took its place, and proceeded to fulfil those neglected duties with an energy and justness which have become proverbial and typical. The natives themselves were thus rewarded for their loyalty to their duties in a manner little dreamt of by their seducers. In the place of a trading Company which monopolised the resources of the country for its own benefit, the natives received a government which carefully studied their welfare;—not a government which is in the habit of exiling thousands and tens of thousands of its inhabitants to Siberia, and crushing every vestige of freedom amongst the rest with a colossal army, but a government which gave full freedom of thought and legal action to every individual under its rule, and awarded the lowest Ryot as full liberty to bring his grievances to the highest court as the freest Englishman born.

Government had, however, a stupendous task before it. Many of the difficulties were foreseen, and were enough to appal the stoutest heart, the most sanguine statesmen. There were the prejudices of caste, which alone were almost sufficient to prevent any hopes of establishing that equality of all before the law which is the essence of a civilised government. There were the barbarous rites of a cruel religion, the performance of which could not be allowed by a civilised government, however much they might have been ignored or tolerated by a trading Company. There were the greed and avarice of a compact community of priests, the ambition of discontented princes, and, finally, the superstition and ignorance of 200,000,000 souls to contend against and overcome; and there were also the jealousy and malice of neighbouring Powers to guard against. No wonder that at times the task should have seemed too formidable, and that, now and again, some discouraged spirit should feebly protest against holding so costly and dangerous a jewel. Government, however, steadily persevered, nobly backed by the bulk of Englishmen, and supported by a large majority of natives.

The progress of the country soon became apparent under the new order of things. Railways were built, canals cut, ports and harbours improved, the law-courts reformed, an independent and powerful press established; and year by year the trade and commerce of India increased with astonishing rapidity as a direct consequence of the complete security of life and property—a security which the Ryot had never known, which even the well-to-do native trader, under the old East India Company, had never enjoyed. No longer was the country devastated by the internecine

wars carried on by its native princes in their rivalry with each other. It was only on the borders—in Afghanistan, for instance—that the old order of things still obtained in some degree. In India itself all was quiet; and such was the mutual confidence between the government and the independent princes, that the latter were allowed to keep up armies, half of which would formerly have sufficed to sweep India of every European.

Thus the difficulties which were foreseen were bravely grappled with and successfully overcome. But other difficulties arose; and, strange to say, the most serious of these difficulties actually arose from, and were the consequence of, the fostering care with which the government guarded its subjects. Through the adoption of sanitary measures of precaution against the spread of the deadly epidemics which used to carry off thousands upon thousands a month, through the cessation of the sanguinary wars of rival princes, and even through the increased destruction of wild beasts and snakes (still demanding 50,000 victims a-year), the population of India has so increased that the food-supply is insufficient to withstand the increased demands in the periodical seasons of drought, which recur with alarming frequency, and cause those famines which entail such harrowing misery upon these helpless victims of civilisation, although it may be that such suffering is but small compared with the former scourges of pestilence and war.

The insufficiency of the food-supply is, however, not solely due to drought. The exigencies of trade indirectly, and the greed of the native merchant directly, are responsible in no small degree for this insufficiency of food. The native will not grow rice or corn if he can obtain a better price for opium, indigo, or hemp. He prefers hard cash to bread. He works day and night to furnish those products of his soil and climate for which he can find the best market. And he works with great success; for year by year he has always a balance in his favour, which flows into his coffers in a steady drain of silver. But when the evil day comes, he finds that his silver is powerless to buy him food. His silver is on the spot, glittering at him with a cold, cruel eye; but his bread is far, far off; and by the time it reaches him, his glazing eye is cold and senseless as the silver store beside him.

In the face of such dire visitations, government was at first almost powerless. No doubt it was in some measure the fault of the government that they were unprepared; and, theoretically, they ought to have been able to meet the demands made upon them. But the calamity was new to government as a government; and when the catastrophe stared them in the face, there was a great divergence of opinion, even amongst the most ex-

perienced, as to the best measures to meet it with. And even after the terrible experience gained during the great Orissa famine, and in spite of the warnings received in consequence of the state of the crops, which were telegraphed day by day to Calcutta, all the exertions made by government did not suffice completely to avert the disastrous famine of 1877—disastrous alike to the population, and disastrous to the finances of the country. Nor are the authorities on the subject even yet agreed as to the means to prevent and the means to alleviate such disasters in the future. Some recommend extensive irrigation-works in the districts most liable to drought. Others advocate the construction of railways to facilitate communication between the suffering districts and those unvisited by the scourge. Others, again, propose a prohibition of the export of rice and corn in times of impending famine; whilst, in order to meet the existent calamity after it cannot any longer be staved off, the establishment of relief-works by the government is the measure which finds most favour. All these proposals, however, except the last, are open to grave objections. The first two are so costly that government naturally hesitates to lay the burden upon an already burdened population. The third opens the door too widely to unscrupulous speculators and monopolists. The best precaution, perhaps, which could be adopted, would be that recommended by Joseph to Pharaoh —namely, the establishment, in the famine districts, of famine stores and magazines, which should always contain the necessary amount of grain, to which every town and village should contribute its quota, and should be under the control of government. The crop of 1880 might be sold off, the amount being placed to the credit of each town in proportion to its contribution, if the crop of 1881 allowed the sale; or so-and-so-much of the 1880 crop might be sold as could be replaced by the crop of 1881. The amount realised by the sale could be deducted from the amount of taxes due to the government. By this means the expense of this provision would be limited to the cost of storage and the loss of interest on the sum represented by the grain stored up; and it would, of course, be necessary to keep a strict watch over these stores, in order to prevent their being turned to such purposes as have made Joseph's name notorious for centuries.

All this, however, would simply be a palliative, not a cure and prevention. The cure lies in the hands of the natives themselves and their princes. It may sound strange that so rich a country as India is so poor. But if its inhabitants lock up their wealth in precious stones and gold and silver ornaments, in costly attire and general magnificence, instead of putting it into productive works, the evil can never be eradicated completely. But this is beyond the direct powers of any government.

Other difficulties also arose in consequence of a high European civilisation—or, let us say, administration—replacing the loose, semi-patriarchal organisation of an Asiatic people. Suddenly placed in possession of a delicate, though powerful engine, which requires a nice adjustment of its various parts, it is not surprising that advantage should be taken by some people of the power which full liberty placed in their hands, to abuse that liberty and power. This was done to a considerable degree by the proprietors of the native press, who gradually became bolder and bolder in their utterances as they saw that government felt inclined to leave their seditious remarks and articles to be dealt with by public opinion only. But public opinion is an engine that is not made in a day. It required centuries to bring it to its present state of perfection, even in England; much less, therefore, was it possible to call it into existence in an Asiatic State like India. With an insular race like the Japanese, with an all-powerful despot like the Mikado, it might be possible materially to abridge the time necessary for the formation of a well-balanced public opinion. But in India, with its diversity of races and religions, with its princes mediatised or semi-independent, with its rival priesthoods, and practically with a constitutional government, it was impossible for government to create a general public opinion without violating all the traditions of British Government and infringing numerous laws.

The danger, however, was considerable. The government saw plainly that if it did not interfere in some way, there was every prospect of the formation of public opinion falling into the hands of unscrupulous people and its enemies. Toleration on the part of the government, silent contempt of the balderdash which began to fill the columns of the native newspapers, would not be regarded as a proof of the strength government was conscious of, but would be construed as a sign of weakness, which might lead to very disastrous results. Still government was very adverse to the adoption of repressive measures, and determined, whilst carefully watching the progress and influence of the native press, not to interfere actively in the matter.

Towards 1870, however, circumstances arose which forced the government to seriously consider the state of public opinion, in so far as it existed in India, and to shape a definite policy. The determining events in this decision of the government were the continued advance and activity of the Russians in Central Asia, and, later on, the abrogation of the Black Sea treaty by Russia, October 31, 1871.* These events were rapidly followed up in Asia by the annexation of Khiva, and in Europe by that agitation

* See *History of Russia*, p. 19, vol. iii. (London Printing and Publishing Company).

in Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Servia, which led to the declaration of war by Russia to Turkey. The Home and Indian Governments were, however, quite aware of the turn matters were taking, and adopted their measures of precaution both in Europe and Africa, as well as in India. It had become amply evident that the government of India, and the relations of India to England, would have to be placed on an entirely fresh footing. India could no longer be regarded as a simple colony, such as Australia or Canada, where the responsible population was essentially English, and enjoyed as high a political civilisation as Great Britain, but would have to form an integral portion of the British Empire, and cemented to it by stronger bonds than those chiefly moral ties which unite the other British colonies to the mother-country. In short, India would have to be as closely identified with Great Britain as Ireland, Scotland, or Wales.

The first step to publicly inaugurate this new policy was accomplished by the promulgation of the *Indiæ Imperatrix Bill.* By this bill the Queen of England became far more closely and personally connected with India, and made her as real and tangible a person, in the eyes of the natives, as the Czar of Russia was in a fair way of becoming, especially on the North-West frontier. Something was wanted beyond the mere dry, prosaic change from the rule of "John Company" to that of the British Government. The change had not been made sufficiently apparent to the native; and, for aught he saw to the contrary, the change that had taken place in the administration of the country might have been due to the initiative of "John Company" himself. But, with the proclamation of the Queen as Kaiser-i-Hind, and the consequent visit of the Prince of Wales to India, a new era commenced. In one sense the era commenced most happily. The enthusiasm with which the prince was received by the natives of all classes, the complete absence of any disturbing element, amply proved that the new order of things caused general satisfaction. At the same time government was not inclined to be content with simply evoking an outburst of loyalty. It also proved that the new crown placed upon the Empress's brows was not the gaudy tinsel bauble it was declared to be by Radical demagogues, but a real and significant symbol of power. This was accomplished by the purchase of £4,000,000 worth of shares in the Suez Canal—a transaction by which the British nation acquired a controlling power over the Canal, and secured its right of way to India for ever.

Not the least remarkable feature which accompanied these important events, was the approval bestowed upon government in all quarters, both at home and abroad, with two notable exceptions. Those exceptions, it is scarcely necessary to say, were the "Perish India Association" of traitors

and Utopians, and their allies and friends, the Russians. It is to the action of the latter, and the Indian policy of the government at Calcutta, that we now have to direct attention.

The advance of the Russians to Khiva, the increased facilities for communication with the rest of Asia and Europe, and for intercommunication in India, coupled with the largely increased traffic of traders between India and the bordering States and provinces, as well as the growing power and enterprise of the native and foreign press, had caused the native population in India and on the borders to take a more lively interest in public matters, and had also greatly opened the doors and enlarged the field for intrigue to Russian agents, and to the malcontents of all classes and degrees. It became more and more the talk of the bazaars and the seditious prints that England held India with a preposterously small force, and that it would be easy, if necessary, to drive out the foreigner for ever. The Russian agents were careful to impress upon the natives, on both sides of the frontier, that the Czar's only object in wishing to expel the British from India, was to weaken them so as to enable him to carry out his plans with Europe. He himself had not the vestige of a wish to extend his boundaries beyond the limits of any civilised State; and regretted greatly that the lawlessness of the predatory tribes—which were a danger and nuisance to every one—had forced him *temporarily* to occupy Khiva until he had restored that order which was necessary for Russian and Indian and Persian alike. Such and similar assurances were addressed, above all, to the Ameer of Cabul, Shere Ali, to the Akhoond of Swat, and the heads of the various clans and tribes on the North-West frontier of India. These intrigues soon acquired considerable proportions, and extended even as far as Khelat; so that when an opportunity arose, the Indian Government at once abandoned the policy of "masterly inactivity," and commenced worthily to follow the principles of a truly imperial policy, as inaugurated by the Cabinet which succeeded Mr. Gladstone's vestry meetings.

The strategic importance of Khelat, in case of troubles with Afghanistan, was so great, that the Indian government determined to assure themselves of the important stations betimes. Thus, one of Lord Lytton's most important acts was the revision and confirmation of the treaties formerly concluded between the governments at Calcutta and Khelat. The first was made in 1842, when the Afghan war broke out—then, as in 1878, instigated by Russia. The second, of 1854; and Lord Lytton's revision and confirmation of both coincide most strangely—or rather naturally—as we have already pointed out, with a revival of the Eastern Question. These treaties provided for an offensive and defensive alliance between Beloochistan

and India, for unrestricted commerce between the two Powers, and for a military occupation of any parts of the country in case of internal disturbances or rebellion, and foreign attack or impending danger from any external quarter. Unfortunately, Beloochistan, owing to the peculiar organisation of the country, had ever been one of the most disorderly States on the frontier, and troubles of very considerable importance arose between the Khan, Khododad, and his nobles, the hereditary Sirdars. These Sirdars represent the two great divisions of the country, the Highlands and the Lowlands, and each indirectly rules a number of minor clans. The Khan himself is at the head of this confederacy of nobles, who are bound to obey his summons to war, and bring their clansmen and vassals into the field. The Khan, therefore, if a popular or powerful man, thus has the entire command of a large and warlike population, which he can keep in the field as long as his means allow him to support them. But though the Sirdars, succeeding by hereditary right and the popular choice, require the recognition of the Khan—the Khan, on the other hand, is bound to accept the Sirdars as his advisers and guardians of the rights of the nobles; whilst the Prime Minister, whose office is also hereditary, looks after the interests of the commercial and agricultural communities. This arrangement, which looks very fine in theory, resulted practically in continual broils between the rival clans, which, under the "masterly inactivity" policy of a former government, rapidly threw the whole country into anarchy, and caused such serious disturbances within the Indian frontier, that even "masterly inactivity" could not allow such a state of affairs to endure any longer, and determined, in 1871 and 1872, to interfere between the combatants. But Khododad Khan, besides being of a character that did not greatly recommend him to the moral or material support of the British Government, was not in a condition to undertake to keep the peace, seeing that the two Sirdars, in whose hands the virtual power of the country rested, were opposed to him. Under these circumstances two courses presented themselves to the Indian Government. They could either dethrone Khododad Khan, or assist him to crush the power of the Sirdars. Neither of these courses was advisable. The dethronement of the Khan would have opened the door to intrigues on the part of pretenders; whilst the subjugation of the Sirdars meant the subjugation of the population, the vast majority of which sided with the Sirdars. The government wisely adopted a middle course, and, recognising the "constitution" of Beloochistan as it existed, they also recognised the Sirdars and Prime Minister as sharing with the Khan the authority of the State. In fact, government recognised, in the person of Khododad Khan,

the monarch of the State, recognised in the persons of the two Sirdars, a House of Lords, and a House of Commons in the person of the Prime Minister.

This solution was very admirable so far. Monarch, House of Lords, and House of Commons engaged to keep their country in order, and amicably share between them the annual subsidy of 50,000 rupees paid by the Indian Government. But who was to keep Monarch, House of Lords, and House of Commons in order? With a touching belief in Beloochistan innocence, the Indian Government left that to their moral perceptions. As might have been expected, these moral perceptions soon became remarkably oblique; and in 1875, Monarch, House of Lords, and House of Commons were involved in a fray in which it was difficult to say which was which. Hereupon Lord Northbrook sent Major Sandemann to inquire into the quarrel, the result being that all parties signified their consent to be guided by the Indian Government. In April, 1876, Major Sandemann again proceeded to Khelat, accompanied by an escort of more than a thousand men. His journey was a perfect triumphal progress. The rebellious chiefs met him at the frontier with large retinues of their clansmen, and escorted him all the way to Khelat, into the very presence of the Khan. Nothing can prove the vast moral influence of the British and Indian Governments more than this incident, and the faith placed by those otherwise lawless tribes in the justice and impartiality of the English. With no other weapons than these—justice, confidence, and amity—Major Sandemann, judiciously backed by the display of 1,000 men, succeeded in restoring order along 400 miles of the frontier, from Peshawur to the Indian Sea. Villages were no longer subject to fire and sword; towns no longer half-ruined by black-mail; the Bolan and other passes were no longer the haunts of brigands or contending clans and merchants, and traders were free to go unscathed from one end of the country to the other.

Now, would it not appear to ordinary understandings, that though Major Sandemann's persuasive powers may very largely have contributed towards the achievement of this happy state of affairs, still his success was, in no small measure, secured by the presence of the armed force which he had taken with him as an earnest of "more to come" if necessary—that is, if Monarch, House of Lords, and House of Commons did not keep the peace? Anyhow, there are the facts. On each occasion of former disputes, the Khan and his nobles submitted to the advice of the envoys, and made bushelfuls of promises. But scarcely had the envoys turned their backs when the old turmoil and trouble recommenced. It may safely

be said—even if there were not express declarations to that effect—that the presence of the troops had all the beneficial influence that was expected from them. But it was also clear that, if that beneficial influence was to be permanent, it would be necessary that the presence of British troops should also be permanent. Apart, too, from the welcome given to the troops, the treaty of 1854 gave the Indian Government the right to garrison any portion of the Khan's territory. There were thus the strongest possible reasons why the British troops should be stationed in the most important points in Beloochistan. Their presence was hailed with joy by the population; they had the right by treaty to be there; and, thirdly and chiefly, their occupation of the Bolan would be of immense strategical importance in case of troubles with the Ameer of Afghanistan, at whose Court it was known Russian intrigues were being sedulously conducted.

But, incredible as it may appear, this latter fact furnished the very reason for Lord Northbrook to refuse to sanction the formal occupation of Quettah, or any other spot. He objected to the following words: "We"—Lord Northbrook and his Council—"are unwilling at present to adopt any measures which might have the effect of arousing suspicions in Afghanistan as to our intentions, and which, with reference to the present aspect of affairs in Central Asia, would be liable to misconstruction." Put into plain words, this means that the Ameer of Afghanistan, knowing and feeling conscious of his compromising relations with Russia, would regard the occupation of Quettah as a very plain hint, on the part of the Indian Government, that they would be prepared to resort to very stringent measures against him if he persevered in his new policy. And, this being so, Lord Northbrook refused to give the hint, refused to avail himself of an important defensive position against the ruler who was evidently intriguing against the Indian Government, and was unwilling to hurt Russian susceptibilities in the "present aspect of affairs" in Central Asia!

The only motive for this action on the part of Lord Northbrook that is apparent, was a fear of Russia. But as so unworthy a motive must be rejected, all that can be said is, that his policy was simply unintelligible. So it appeared to the Home Government, which took its measures, and transferred the administration of India from Lord Northbrook to Lord Lytton in February, 1876, Lord Lytton assuming the reins of government just eight days after Major Sandemann had started on his successful enterprise. It is but fair to Lord Northbrook to say, that at a later period, when he had seen how fatal his policy would have turned out, frankly acknowledged that he had had no part in the occupation of Quettah which ensued upon Lord Lytton's succession to him.

Lord Lytton, after having conferred with the Marquis of Salisbury, who impressed upon him the necessity of regarding the frontier question from an imperial point of view, as a part and parcel of the general foreign policy of Great Britain, and not as local, but as imperial interests, found no difficulty in warmly advocating the occupation of Quettah, and strongly opposed the withdrawal of the British troops.

The reason why Lord Lytton selected Quettah as the place to be occupied was for the same reason that Lord Northbrook refused his sanction. Lord Lytton clearly expressed his reasons in a despatch on the subject addressed to Lord Salisbury. In that despatch he said—"It is necessary to place the relations of India with Khelat on a much firmer, more durable, and more intimate footing than before. Whatever," he adds, "may have been the personal disinclination of this government in times past to exercise active interference in khanates beyond our border, it must now be acknowledged that, having regard to possible contingencies in Central Asia, to the profound and increasing interest with which they are already anticipated and discussed by the most warlike populations within as well as without our frontier, and to the evidence that has reached us of foreign intrigue in Khelat itself (intrigue, at present innocuous, but sure to become active in proportion to the anarchy or weakness of that State and its alienation from British influence), we can no longer avoid the conclusion that the relations between the British Government and this neighbouring khanate must henceforth be regulated with a view to more important objects than the temporary prevention of plunder on the British border."—This is a long sentence, but it is very clear and very much to the point. It meant that Russian agents were already busy in Beloochistan; that the khanate was one of the great high-roads from Central Asia—that is, from the Russian frontier to India—and that the Indian Government had precise information of Russian intrigues in other parts of the empire and its borders. One of those parts was Afghanistan; and so definite was the intelligence acquired by the Indian Government, that Lord Lytton would have despatched a "secret and confidential" agent to Cabul, by way of Candahar, simultaneously with Major Sandemann's mission to Khelat, had not his predecessor in office, Lord Northbrook, already given such instructions to Major Sandemann (who had already started) as prevented him carrying out this intention. The first step, however, of a new, vigorous, and prudent policy was successfully carried out by Lord Lytton. He ordered the permanent occupation of Quettah and the Bolan Pass, as dictated by prudence, justified by treaty, and ordered by the Home Government.

This latter factor in the question—the Home Government's order—is most important. It announced, in a formal manner, the transformation of the Indian Government into an Imperial Government. It announced that India was no longer a dislocated item in that loose aggregation known vaguely everywhere, yet nowhere legally acknowledged, as the British Empire. Henceforth it was to be as closely bound to England as any other portion of Great Britain; and the foreign policy of both—India and England—to be determined on by the Home authorities. It was in accordance with this principle that Lord Northbrook was summarily recalled when he ventured to oppose the decision of the Cabinet in London; and that Lord Lytton was made fully to understand that he was simply the executor of the Home Government's orders.

The wisdom of the government in thus taking a bold initiative soon became apparent in more ways than one; and the prudence which dictated their action in other directions was equally soon acknowledged. It may well be imagined that if Russian emissaries had penetrated as far as Khelat, and Russian intrigue become ripe in the bazaars of Candahar and Cabul, such would also be the case, and in even a still higher degree, on the borders nearer to the Russian frontier, where not only the greater proximity of the semi-independent and independent States to the Russian outposts, but also their lawlessness or ignorance made them far more accessible to Russian machinations. Such, for instance, was the case in Swat, between which and Afghanistan there have ever been tolerably close relations, in part dictated by the common enmity of both to the Kafirs of Kafiristan.

About the year 1825, a youthful ascetic, named Abdul Ghafur, of the Cowherd Castle, fled the vanities of this world, and took up his abode in the lonely island of Beyka, on the river Indus. Here he was known as the Fakir Ghafur; and such was the fame he had acquired for sanctity and general holiness when he emerged from his retreat in order to worthily combat those vanities against which he had steeled himself by twelve years' penance, that even a powerful prince like Dost Mahomed, of Afghanistan, was eager to secure his support during his campaign against the Sikhs. On Dost Mahomed's defeat, however, the Fakir settled down amongst the tribes of Swat, who presented him with a mosque and the requisite lands. Here the Fakir became more renowned than ever for his virtues; and such were the miraculous powers attributed to him, that it was said that pilgrims from Turkey who visited his shrine were borne through the air in one single night from the banks of the river Swat to the shores of the Bosphorus. His fame even surpassed that of his colleagues, the Khodjas of

Kashgar, for whose descendants the Central Asian chiefs organised the last *jihad* in that part of the continent. Thus the Akhoond Sahib—this Fakir, the Akhoond of Swat, had as much power, as far as it reached, and as unlimited authority, as were ever possessed by the Caliphs in their palmiest days. His name became a household word in every town and village of Upper India and the Punjab, and from Khelat to Bokhara. Thus, when his rivals in sanctity, the Pir Kaka family, who were in possession of a black stone which was reputed to work the most wondrous miracles, became embroiled with him on a question of ritual, the Akhoond had the stone broken up, and a great meeting of 500 doctors of the law, which was held in the great mosque at Peshawur, generally approved his conduct, so that the excommunications launched by the Akhoond against his rivals and their followers were generally respected, even in British territory. Still more significant of the Akhoond's power is the following fact, related by the Lahore *Public Opinion*, which says that, "in consequence of his Holiness's views on the unlawfulness of bestowing 'janeza'—funeral rites—on the government's native officials, many of them feel constrained to retire from the service earlier than they otherwise would."

Swat, the district over which the Akhoond's influence is thus paramount, is, like Beloochistan, a confederation of clans. The Akhoond himself is nominally inferior in rank to the Syud, or head of the clans, who was elected by the tribes from that colony of fanatics at Sittana, whose misbehaviour led to the Umbeyla campaign of 1863. The number of fighting-men obeying the Akhoond, and including the Afridis, is set down by Mr. Aitchison in his "Treaties and Sunnuds," at about 120,000.

It was to this man, his Holiness the Akhoond, that Shere Ali was found to be applying to use his influence in raising the border tribes against the Indian Government. That the Akhoond complied with the request became very evident in 1863, when one of the most formidable combinations of frontier tribes led to the Umbeyla campaign, under Sir Neville Chamberlain, who, on October 31st, wrote that there had already sprung up a league of "almost all the tribes from the Indus to Cabul." Thousands upon thousands of armed men flocked from all quarters to the standard of the Akhoond of Swat. But, in a few weeks, the opposition which threatened to be so formidable was utterly broken, not so much by force of arms as in consequence of the defection of some of the principal tribes and the personal influence of the Peshawur commissioner, backed up by the firm belief of the natives, that if they can procure a hearing at the fountain-head, they need never fear that justice will not be dealt out to them and their enemies.

It was by the light thrown on the relations of Shere Ali to the Akhoond of Swat by this Umbeyla campaign that the Indian Government were enabled to appreciate at their true value the rumours and reports which arose in 1877—at the commencement of the Russo-Turkish war!—regarding renewed overtures by the Ameer to the Akhoond. These reports were soon followed up by an outbreak amongst the Afridis, and signs of serious disturbances in other quarters; and more and more did the hand of Shere Ali appear in these transactions, and more and more was heard of the high regard in which the Ameer held the venerable Akhoond. Indeed, it was whispered in a good many quarters that the mantle of the Akhoond might possibly fall upon the shoulders of the Ameer, who had even written, or caused to be written, a book upholding and defending certain religious principles promulgated by the Akhoond, but opposed by his rivals the Pir Kaka family. In short, numberless indications went to show that the Ameer was not disinclined to pose as a new prophet, or, at any rate, to lead a *jihad* against the Feringhees, and utterly exterminate them. In fact—and here we trace the hands of his Russian advisers—he even despatched a secret envoy to the Sultan with an autograph letter, in which he expressed his hopes that the Padishah would join him in a *jihad* against the English, and strongly advised him, the Sultan, to make his peace with the Russians, for they were to be confided in as much as the treacherous English were to be distrusted. This letter was intended partly as a reply to the representations of a certain Hulussi Effendi, a Ulema who was despatched to Cabul in 1876 by the Sultan, and who had been instructed to endeavour to persuade Shere Ali to keep upon good terms with the Indian Government. The answer of Abdul Hamid to Shere Ali's letter took the form of an exhortation to submit to the English demands, the English being the only true friends which the Moslems still possessed and could rely upon. At the same time, the Sultan, as head of the Moslem faith, also despatched a secret agent to Central Asia, with orders to visit Cabul and the capitals of other Central Asiatic States, to awaken there a feeling of solidarity amongst the Moslems, and to endeavour to establish a general Islamitic league. The Turkish press even took the matter up, and *El-Jawâïb*, the most important newspaper, published a leading article deprecating Shere Ali's hostile attitude to England, and remarked that war between England and Cabul would profoundly disturb every Mahommedan kingdom, and that Shere Ali, by making war upon England, the *sole ally* of Islam, would draw upon himself the censure not only of all Mahommedan sovereigns, but of every Mussulman. At the same time, *El-Jawâïb* declared its conviction, that if Shere Ali had any well-founded grievances, they would certainly be remedied by England.

Shere Ali, however, had become too entangled in his relations with the Russians to be able to follow the counsel given to him by his spiritual head; nor, there is every reason to believe, did he himself feel personally inclined to follow it. This is not surprising; for, ever since 1868, he had met with nothing but rebuffs to his advances, owing to the weak, pusillanimous, party-ridden government of 1868-74. In vain did Lord Mayo (for whom Shere Ali had a very great regard) urge upon government the advisability of a treaty of some sort being entered into. Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues steadily refused to entertain any such proposal. Yet Shere Ali did not require much. He was harassed and attacked on all sides; his subjects were in rebellion, his own son warring against him; and all that he asked for was, that the Indian Government should assist him in retaining his throne in return for his friendship and alliance. Even after the death of Lord Mayo (on which occasion he wrote a letter expressing his great grief), he repeated how he had looked forward to a journey to England, and the conclusion of an eternal alliance with the British Government.

These advances, first made in 1868, were not responded to by Mr. Gladstone's government; and, in 1872, the Ameer was still further incensed by the Seistan arbitration, by which several Afghan villages were handed over to Persia. Nevertheless, Shere Ali renewed his advances in 1873, but with the same discouraging result; and, furious and utterly disappointed, he departed from the Umbeyla conference to resume unaided the task of bending his unruly subjects, and follow out his plans to secure the succession of his favourite son, to the exclusion of Yakoob Khan. Since that time Shere Ali regarded England and all belonging to it with unmitigated hatred, and even refused ten lacs of rupees, offered as a sort of peace-offering by Lord Northbrook, saying that all he had wanted was the support of England for his successor, and, when that was refused, at any rate a guarantee against attack from without.

Here we find Mr. Gladstone's government actually refusing to discountenance an attack by Russia, either directly or indirectly, through Persia. It was only on the west and the north that Shere Ali had anything to fear. The only explanation of this refusal of Mr. Gladstone's is, that he himself contemplated the annexation of Afghanistan, and naturally did not see his way to giving a guarantee against himself. This is not exaggeration, nor the garbling of a report. Speaking at Winchester on November 11th, Lord Northbrook said—"The treaty which the Ameer wanted us to give him was an unconditional guarantee that we should guarantee him from attack from without. Lord Mayo very properly refused to give such a guarantee, as the effect of it would have been to encourage him to attack

his neighbours."—More curious logic than this it would be difficult to discover. It amounts to saying that we cannot guarantee Belgium from foreign attack because it would encourage her to attack France or Germany. The second request which Shere Ali preferred was certainly of a nature which admits of Lord Northbrook's defending Lord Mayo for refusing it. It was that England should undertake to support any one whom he, at his death, should appoint as his heir. Against any such undertaking many arguments may be logically advanced; but the most that can be said after all is, that there are not yet sufficient data to form an opinion as to whether it might not have been advisable to inquire into the feeling of the Afghans on the matter, and then either to have supported Shere Ali against his enemies, or have endeavoured amicably to make him relinquish his plans by showing him how little chance there was of realising them without our support. The guarantee against attack from without might have been made dependent upon his yielding on the second point.

However, neither one thing nor the other was done; and the Russians, through their native envoy at the Court of Cabul, lost no opportunity to throw oil, not on the troubled waters, but into the fires which smouldered and blazed up ever and anon in the Ameer's bosom. To this influence must be traced the intrigues between the Ameer and the Akhoond of Swat, to which we have already referred.

In this frame of mind the Ameer was left by the Indian Government until the spring of 1877, when he was invited to meet Sir Lewis Pelly's mission at Peshawur. He did not come himself; but, at any rate, he sent an envoy. At that time the Russians had not obtained those successes on the Danube which were afterwards so adroitly used to invest the White Czar with a nimbus of glory which, for the time, completely dazzled the Afghan chief.

Now what the precise instructions given to Sir Lewis Pelly by the Viceroy, Lord Lytton, may have been, long formed the subject of violent dispute between the various members of the Opposition, and caused Lord Northbrook to declare, in his speech at Winchester on November 11th, 1878, that until the papers relating to this mission had been laid before parliament, it was impossible to form any just opinion upon the policy of the government, nor to what extent the Ameer might have compromised himself. But this is just an example of the manner in which the "Perish India Association" and the "masterly inactives" fasten upon a petty detail, and overlook, or, worse still, cause others to overlook, the main principles at stake. For all material purposes, the known policy of Lord Lytton's government was a sufficient indication of the instructions given to

Sir Lewis Pelly. The occupation of Quettah alone, by which Shere Ali's flank was so completely turned, afforded another explanation of Sir Lewis Pelly's object. That object, though the papers referring to it were not published when Lord Northbrook spoke, was a very simple one, and amounted to no more or less than the control of the Khyber Pass by the Indian Government, and the establishment of resident agents of the Indian Government in various parts of Afghanistan, to be agreed upon between the Ameer and the Indian Government. It was to this that Sir Lewis Pelly's proposals amounted; but the Ameer, still smarting from the former treatment he had received, utterly refused to entertain the proposal for an instant; and after a stormy interview, in which he bitterly reproached the Indian government for its treatment of himself, abruptly broke off negotiations, and, declaring that he would no longer entertain any official relations with the Indian Government, returned to Cabul. Such is the account we have received from a Russian officer of high rank, and which was communicated to him by a relative who was one of the members of a Russian mission which was afterwards received at Cabul.

Now, whether this account be correct in all particulars or not, it is sufficiently evident that the character of Sir Lewis Pelly's mission must have generally corresponded to it; and, in any case, we may rest assured that that mission was simply the development of an imperial policy which the government had already inaugurated, and which was aimed purposely at the machinations of the Russians, and to counterbalance the effect of the Russian advance through Central Asia.

But be this as it may, immediately after the failure of Sir Lewis Pelly's mission, the native agent of the Indian government at the Court of Cabul, Atta Mahomed Khan, was recalled by the Viceroy, and all relations of an official nature with the Ameer were broken off. Matters thus dragged on for some time. The Ameer, on his return to Cabul after his interview with Sir Lewis Pelly at Peshawur, threw himself completely into the arms of his pro-Russian counsellors, and decapitated several of his subjects who had been designated to him as spies who furnished the Indian government with information. He also set to work to reorganise his army, to procure arms and ammunition in order to supplement the present of 15,000 rifles and 200,000 rounds of ammunition which had been made to him by a former Viceroy. These he obtained partly by smuggling in small parcels of cartridges and guns across the Indian frontier, and from his friends the Russians; whilst, at the same time, he was enabled, with the assistance of Russian artificers, and the inevitable German, to establish a cartridge

manufactory and a workshop for the conversion of muzzle-loaders into breech-loaders. All this activity, however, was so cautiously carried on that the Indian Government could find no pretext for interference which would have satisfied the Perish India Association, and had to remain content with closely watching the proceedings of the vengeful Ameer, and prepare to meet the sudden spring he was clearly meditating.

Meanwhile events in Europe were powerfully affecting British interests. The treaty of San Stefano had been signed, and, throughout the length and breadth of the Mussulman world, the followers of the Prophet were moved to their deepest by the calamities which had overtaken the Sultan. On the spot, on the shores of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, this feeling of mingled despair, fury, and desperation was somewhat modified by the appearance of the British fleet and the diplomatic action of the British Cabinet. But there was no British fleet in the highlands of Afghanistan, and there was no British diplomacy at the Court of Cabul. That field was left entirely—was abandoned to the victorious Russians. What good use they made of the opportunity soon became apparent; for when the tension caused by the negotiations preceding the congress of Berlin became so great that it seemed that war between England and Russia might break out at any moment, preparations were made by the Russians to despatch an expedition from Samarcand and Khokand to the Afghan frontier. This action was excused by Lords Lawrence, Grey, and Northbrook, on the grounds that, as there was every prospect of war breaking out between Russia and England, Russia was fully justified in taking this step. Lord Northbrook said —"We must be fair in this matter; and we must recollect that it is not so long ago that, unfortunately, we were on the brink of a war with Russia. We all know that the British Government took a decided line against Russia. Assuming such an attitude, we sent troops to Malta; and, in point of fact, it was generally supposed that the question of peace and war hung at that time on a thread. For my own part, I do not hesitate to say, that if we had the right, as I hold that we had the right, to send native troops to Malta, the Russians had the right to take such steps as they thought necessary to protect Russian territory in Asia. This is the explanation which I give, and which I conceive to be the natural explanation of the movement of troops in the spring of this year (1878), and the sending of a mission to Afghanistan."

Now, first of all, this explanation is insufficient. It does not explain Russian agitation in Afghanistan and Beloochistan prior to the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war. Secondly, the movement of Russian troops from Samarcand was not for the purpose of *protecting* Russian territory in Asia,

but for *attacking* British territory in India. Lord Northbrook may say that defence lies quite as much in offence; that to defend Russian territory most effectually would be by carrying the war into British territory. Though this may sound strange in the mouth of an Englishman in his apology for Russia, it is undoubtedly true. But why, then, refuse to England the same right? If there was to be war between England and Russia, surely England had also the right to defend herself, even by an offensive action! This was quite clear even to Lord Northbrook himself; for in the same speech he went on to say—"That the government of this country (England—we must make that plain under the circumstances) had a right, peace being declared, to enter into a diplomatic correspondence with Russia for the purpose of asking her what were her intentions, and whether she would adhere to the formal arrangements with respect to interference in Afghanistan." Now, first of all, it would have been rather late in the day to ask the intentions of a hostile country when she moves an army down to the borders of another country still more formally hostile; secondly, such questions as were put on this subject to Count Schouvaloff were not so satisfactorily met as to warrant a diplomatic correspondence on the subject; and thirdly, Lord Northbrook's statement as to the peace existing between Russia and England was a pleasant fiction—worthy, no doubt, of the lawyer, but not of the Englishman, nor borne out even by the facts of the case. For though the treaty of Berlin was a conclusion of peace, that conclusion depended for its perfect consummation upon the fulfilment of certain conditions, and for which fulfilment a period of no less than nine months was allowed. Under such circumstances, though concluded theoretically, such a peace cannot be regarded as practically concluded until all its stipulations have been carried out. No one will be able to pretend that these stipulations were in any way carried out, or even commenced, when the news arrived in Europe that a Russian embassy had been received at the Court of Cabul with honours surpassing those which would have been awarded to the Viceroy himself.

This will not be surprising to our readers, to whom we have shown that it had been well known at Simla, and had been well known for a space of at least five years, that Shere Ali had been openly hostile to England. His indignant rejection of our annual donation in the year 1873, and his refusal to send a detachment to relieve the treasure escort marching up to Thull with the money, was an insult that plainly showed he had abandoned all intentions of courting our alliance. In the cold weather of 1873-4, it was well known in Peshawur that Russian officers were present in the city of Cabul, and that they constantly accompanied Yakoob

Khan and his father to the various reviews held of Afghan troops. This was not mere rumour, founded on hearsay evidence or bazaar "gup," but was openly reported by native officers, subjects of the Ameer, holding commissions in our regiments, and, unless we are mistaken, was officially reported to the Foreign Secretary at Simla by Atta Mahomed Khan in Cabul. The failure of Sir Lewis Pelly's mission—a result prognosticated from the first by the majority of frontier officers—and the refusal of the Ameer to send a second representative on the death of the first, were *primâ facie* evidence of hostility; while the discourteous silence with which he treated Lord Lytton's missives, sufficiently showed that all hold upon him by the Indian government was gone—perhaps for ever.

It was on the 5th of June, 1878, that the Viceroy heard by telegram from Major Cavagnari, the deputy commissioner of Peshawur, that the Russian native agent at Cabul had informed the Ameer of the approaching visit of a Russian envoy equal in status to the governor-general of Tashkend, who himself also wrote to the Ameer to the same effect, stipulating that he must be received as a direct ambassador from the Emperor of All the Russias. Upon this—so ran the report—the Ameer had summoned a special council, to determine whether he should "join Russia or England." Now, the government of India had had no recognised machinery for obtaining information from Cabul since the time when Atta Mahomed Khan, to whom we have already alluded, was obliged to be withdrawn, and was mainly dependent upon spies, whose communications were checked, and compared, and supplemented by the chance revelations of travellers and merchants who visited the Peshawur authorities on their arrival in British territory. Thus it was the 1st of July before a credible and consistent story had been evolved out of the embellishments of native credulity and native contempt for exactness, and the Viceroy felt safe in conveying it to the Secretary of State. Three weeks later a certain Chetan Shah reached Peshawur. He was a medical officer, whose services had been lent to the Ameer some time before, and, as he had been present in durbar when the Ameer discussed the coming of the Russians with his ministers, the faint suspicion that still hung about the story was removed. There was no doubt about it. A Russian mission had arrived at the capital. What precisely was the object of the embassy was unknown; it is just possible that it was of a commercial character; but probably it came to bargain for a Russian right of way through North-Western Afghanistan to Merv: at any rate, the Ameer received his visitors with great honour and cordiality.

From the moment that the real state of affairs was indisputable, active

communications passed between the Home and Indian governments. Three courses were open. The difficulty might be treated as an imperial question between England and Russia; or as one between the Vicercy of India and the Ameer, or be allowed to slide. The first course was determined to be impolitic for the moment; the last-named both reckless and impossible. So a mission to Cabul was promptly discussed and decided on. The sentimental aspect of the case was a strong one, but still almost nothing as compared to its practical danger—the danger that, in the possible event of some future conflict between Great Britain and Russia, with the latter's help Afghanistan might become a sharp thorn in our side, claiming as she does some sort of fealty from many of the tribes of our borders, and situated as she is within a few days' march of our frontier. Would the Ameer receive our mission? Major Cavagnari, the political agent at Peshawur, thought that he would; and that, while pretending to do so with reluctance, he would at heart hail its coming with delight, hoping to play off one Kafir against the other. The one thing improbable was that he would rebuff the mission, for he must know that the English only were in a position to back up their demands by force, and that with Candahar practically at our mercy, and large numbers of his subjects weary of the oppression of his rule, a conflict with us would surely cost him his crown. Indeed, no one but Sir Neville Chamberlain—the man whose reputation as a gallant soldier and long experience of the Afghan nation, both in war and diplomacy, had at once recommended him for the conduct of the difficult enterprise in hand—declared a positive conviction from the first that its object would fail at the outset. But the exigencies of the situation brooked no delay. Thus preparations for the despatch of the mission, accompanied by a small but suitable escort, were actively commenced, and Nawab Gholam Hussein, native commandant of the 15th Bengal Cavalry, a Pathan gentleman of repute, the recipient of distinguished honours from the British Government, and a man well liked by the Ameer and his durbar, was selected to be the bearer of a letter from his Excellency the Viceroy, announcing the coming of the embassy; whilst the Peshawur authorities entered into negotiations with the hill-men of the Khyber to ensure its safety through the Pass. The Viceroy's letter, dated August 16th, 1878, was to the following effect:—

"The authentic intelligence which I have lately received of the course of recent events at Cabul and in the countries bordering on Afghanistan, has rendered it necessary that I should communicate fully and without reserve with your Highness upon matters of importance which concern the interests of India and Afghanistan. For this reason I have considered it

expedient to depute a special and confidential envoy of high rank, who is known to your Highness—his Excellency General Sir Neville Chamberlain —to visit your Highness immediately at Cabul, in order that he may converse personally with your Highness regarding these urgent affairs. It appears certain that they can be best arranged for the tranquillity and welfare of both States, and for the preservation of friendship between the two governments, by a full and frank statement of the present position. This letter, therefore, is sent in advance by a faithful and honoured Sirdar, who will explain all necessary details as to the time and manner of the envoy's visit. It is asked that your Highness may be pleased to issue commands to your Sirdars, and to all other authorities upon the route between Peshawur and Cabul, that, without delay, all necessary arrangements for securing to my envoy, the representative of a friendly Power, due and safe conduct and suitable accommodation according to his dignity while passing with his retinue through your Highness's dominions. I beg to express the high consideration I entertain for your Highness, and remain, &c."

But before Nawab Gholam Hussein had started on his journey from Peshawur, a most important event took place. The Sirdar Abdulla Jan, the Ameer's favourite son and heir-apparent, suddenly died. This was of the greatest moment to the relations between India and Afghanistan, for the Russians had cleverly known how to ingratiate themselves with Yakoob Khan, and succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between him and his father. It therefore had become more necessary than ever to place the relations between Afghanistan and India on the clearest footing. But courtesy demanded a short delay and consideration for the Ameer's parental feelings; and thus the Viceroy addressed a second letter to the Ameer to the following effect:—

"After the despatch from Simla of my letter dated the 16th of August, I received the melancholy news that your Highness has suffered a great affliction in the untimely death of Sirdar Abdulla Jan, heir-apparent to the Cabul throne and its dependencies. I desire to express to your Highness personally the sincere regret which this intelligence has caused me; but life and death are in the hands of God, and resignation to His will unavoidable. In consequence of this calamity I have directed my envoy to postpone for a short time his departure, in order that your Highness may not be troubled by public business, however urgent, until the usual period of mourning should have elapsed."

After the delay fixed upon, Nawab Gholam Hussein left on his errand; but no answer was received to these letters, the Ameer adopting the same

line of contemptuous silence as he adopted on the last occasion, in 1876, when the Viceroy wrote to him. At a later date General Chamberlain wrote a courteous but rather more peremptory letter to the commandant of the Ali Musjid Fort, intimating his intention to press the mission. The reasons which actuated the Viceroy in pushing forward the mission without waiting longer for the Ameer's leave to pass were, that information had been received that the Ameer had no intention of ever receiving it, but was merely playing, in a derisive and insolent manner, with the expectation of the government. The tenour of his language was:—

"If I choose to receive a mission, I will myself invite it; but, meanwhile, it must await my pleasure at Peshawur."

This tone, of course, the Viceroy could not brook. Indeed, if he had it would have been remembered against us for all time, as there is no description of reply which Orientals so thoroughly admire as one of accepted insolence. Great danger, too, was incurred by further delay, as the Ameer was known to be intriguing with the Khyberees (who hold the Khyber Pass) to break faith with us, and the risk of their desertion had to be considered.

The stage had thus been reached at which further forbearance, it was thought, would be impolitic, so the Viceroy determined to force Shere Ali's hand. At 1 A.M. on the 21st of September the word was passed, and by daybreak the mission and its *impedimenta* were on the move—eleven British officers, four native gentlemen, and the escort, consisting of 234 fighting-men; about 200 camp followers, chiefly attached to the commissariat, which carried nine days' rations for man and beast—about a thousand souls in all; 40 horses, 300 camels, and about 250 mules. Conflicting reports had been brought to Peshawur, up to the last moment, as to what would probably be the attitude of the Ameer; but the weight of opinion locally favoured the more cheerful view, although the presence at Ali Musjid of the Mir Akhor (Master of the House) for some few days—a sour fanatic and bitter enemy to all Christians—had been ascertained beyond all doubt. Whoever believed in success, one man always doubted, and that man was Sir Neville Chamberlain. Thus he halted his party at the half-ruined fort of Jamrood, the first short stage out of Peshawur, and about three miles from the mouth of the Pass, fearing that if there were treachery in store, the first shot might spread a panic among his *cortège*, and told Major Cavagnari to proceed onwards towards Ali Musjid and hold a parley with the Ameer's officers in command at the fort, taking with him only a very small escort of the guides, the headmen of our frontier villages, and of the friendly Khyberees. Thus attended, he was to proceed until met by armed resistance, or by

positive assurances on the part of the Ameer's officials that they would prevent the passage of the mission by force. Major Cavagnari, accompanied by Colonel Jenkins, Captain Wigram Battye, and about twenty-four Sowars, left Jamrood about nine in the morning, and reaching the neighbourhood of Ali Musjid after a five miles ride, the party took their stand upon a small spur within sight of the fort, and sent forward a messenger to announce their arrival. Directly they were perceived the walls of the fort were manned; but the garrison, seeing that their visitors did not attempt to advance, soon left its protection, and lined the opposite ridge. The distance between where the small party of Englishmen stood, and the fort—a mile up hill and a mile down—made the exchange of messages tedious; and at last, two hours having passed in this process, Major Cavagnari prepared to send his *ultimatum*, when a messenger arrived with the welcome news that Faiz Mahomed Khan would himself come down for a parley; and afterwards Cavagnari, taking with him Colonel Jenkins and two of his men, went down the hill to meet the commandant, accompanied by the tribal headmen before referred to, and leaving Captain Battye and the rest of the escort on the ridge behind. Cavagnari and the commandant met in friendly fashion and shook hands, and soon, under a grove of trees near a water-mill, the two parties sat down, Faiz Mahomed's ruffianly band of 200 matchlockmen forming a ring around them. Each commenced with some phrase of courtesy, remarking that they were both servants, carrying out their respective master's orders, and that, therefore, their communications might well be carried out in an amicable spirit. Cavagnari, in brief, announced that he was sent by Sir Neville Chamberlain to ascertain from the commandant's own lips whether his orders were to admit the mission or to stop it. If there were any latitude in his instructions, Faiz Mahomed would, he felt sure, be aware of the heavy responsibility which he would incur by preventing the advance, and that his act in so doing would be taken as that of the Ameer himself. Faiz Mahomed replied that no better proof could be given of his own friendly feeling towards the British officers than his having come down to meet them, instead of firing upon them. He had already been severely reprimanded by his master for letting through the Viceroy's emissary, and he certainly would not risk the responsibility of giving a passage to the mission. He then begged that Sir Neville Chamberlain would halt a few days, until he could communicate with Cabul—a formality which, Cavagnari pointed out in reply, was both impossible and unnecessary, as the authorities there had long been aware of its coming. It may here be remarked, that the Mir Akhor, though he did not show himself, was undoubtedly at the fort whilst this conference was proceeding, and

it is certain that he did not leave Cabul until two days after the Viceroy's emissary had arrived there and delivered his credentials.

Major Cavagnari then pressed for a distinct and final reply, which Faiz Mahomed gave him by declaring that, if the mission made any attempt to proceed, he would have no alternative but to fire upon it. Thereupon the respective delegates shook hands again cordially, and Major Cavagnari and his party returned to Sir Neville Chamberlain's head-quarters. At daybreak next morning orders were issued for the return to Peshawur. Before leaving Sir Neville assembled the friendly Khyberees, and told them that the stipulated sum would be paid them as though the equivalent of service had been performed. He further promised them, in the name of the British government, whose word they knew could be trusted, that so long as there remained a rupee in the treasury, or a Sepoy in the army, they should be protected from any attempt at retaliation by the Ameer or his officers. Upon receiving the news of what had happened, the Viceroy ordered the mission to be dissolved immediately.

The news of this repulse sent a thrill of excitement, intense in India, and great throughout Europe. The Indian Government immediately made active preparations to punish the Ameer for his conduct, and the universal demand in India was, that active operations should be forthwith commenced.

But this would have been a return to the old policy of regarding India as a dislocated item, having only its own special interests to look after and protect. The high political success which attended the employment of Indian troops in Abyssinia and the Mediterranean would have been thrown away if the question were to be treated as one only between India and Afghanistan. Behind Afghanistan was Russia; and Russia spoke with no uncertain voice when the news of the impending conflict became known. Her press universally advocated an alliance with Afghanistan, and material assistance and "moral" assistance in every possible way. But, if Russia was behind Afghanistan, England was behind India; and it would have been the height of political hypocrisy to conceal the fact that the issue of the dispute would have to be settled between England and Russia.

It was therefore decided by the Home Government—military reasons also counselling a delay—to send an *ultimatum* to the Ameer, to which a reply was insisted upon by November 20th, 1878. This action of the government was generally approved of by all who had the imperial interests of the country at heart, and did not regard the question from a merely local point of view. On the continent, too, the great majority of the public

approved of the action of the British Government throughout its dispute, not only with Afghanistan, but with the author of all the mischief, since 1875, from which the East had suffered. Everywhere England was congratulated for emerging from the selfish, apathetic condition she had been placed in by the incapacity of the leaders of a great party. This, however, did not prevent those same leaders from asking, triumphantly, how it could be said that Great Britain had lost her influence abroad under their management, when the reverse was so grandly proved the moment she chose to assert it? That is just the point. It was because she chose to assert that influence—by force if necessary—that she regained her position. The revival of British influence was due to a belief in the revival of British interference whenever justice and her imperial interests demanded. And that justice, like charity, begins at home, and is first due to our own subjects and to our own interests before Afghanistan or Russia, is a maxim that has been consistently followed out by the government to which those who hold the contrary are—fortunately!—opposed. For, as was expected by all who correctly appreciated the circumstances at their proper value, no reply whatever was vouchsafed by the Ameer to the British *ultimatum;* and on November 21st, the British troops crossed the frontier in three columns, under General Sir Samuel Browne, General Roberts, and General Biddulph, the campaign opening most successfully with the capture of Ali Musjid on November 22nd, 1878.

OUR

INDIAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY HISTORY, MYTHOLOGICAL AND TRADITIONAL—PERSIAN AND OTHER INVASIONS—GREEK EXPEDITION AND CONQUESTS OF ALEXANDER—PLUNDERING INCURSIONS OF MAHMOOD THE GHUZNIVEDE—MOHAMMEDAN CONQUESTS, DOMINION, AND DOWNFALL—RISE AND PROGRESS OF BRITISH POWER AND SUPREMACY.

ANCIENT HISTORY, TO THE TIME OF ALEXANDER.—India or Hindoostan, with its noble rivers, diversified climate, productive soil, and extensive coast-line, offered advantages for colonization, which were availed of at a very early period in the history of the human race. Of its first inhabitants we know little, beyond their being, as it is generally believed, still represented by various barbarous tribes who yet inhabit the mountains and forests, and follow rude religious practices that are no part of the primitive Hindoo system. By whom or at what time these were subdued or expelled there is no ground to rest anything more than a surmise; and of the many that have been, or might be, hazarded on this difficult but interesting subject, perhaps not the least reasonable is the supposition based on the varied craniological development, and distinct languages of the existing Hindoo race—that they were originally composed of numerous migrating hordes who, at intervals, poured in from the wild Mongolian steppes and Turkomanian ranges, from the forests of Scythia, the arid shores of the Caspian, and the sunburnt plains of Mesopotamia; from the plateaux of Persia, the deserts of Arabia, and even from the fertile valley of the Nile, allured by the extraordinary fertility of this most favoured portion of the Asiatic continent, or driven from their native land by tyranny or want. Time and circumstances gradually fused the heterogeneous mass into something like homogeneity; the first step to which was probably made by the introduction, in a rude form, of that village system which so markedly characterises India when viewed as a whole, and which, under the scourge of sanguinary wars, and the heavy exactions of native or foreign rulers, has ever been the mainstay of the people. The invaders, if such they were, probably brought with them the elements of civilisation; and the peaceful pursuits of pastoral and agricultural life would necessitate a certain amount of concentration, as no single man or family could dwell alone in a country whose dense jungle required combined labour, both to clear it for use and guard it from wild beasts. All this, however, relates to a period concerning which we possess no historical record whatever—in which must have originated what may be termed Brahminical Hindooism, whose rise and early progress is shrouded in dense obscurity. From the internal evidence afforded by the system itself, so far as we are acquainted with it during its early purity, it would seem to have been framed by a small confederacy of persons, whose knowledge, both religious and secular, being far in advance of their age, had enabled them to draw up rules for the guidance of their countrymen, both as regarded their duty to God and their fellows. Fully aware, as it would appear, of the great fact, that human institutions have strength and permanence only when based on a religious principle, they set forth their own scheme as the direct ordination of the "Self-Existent One," the "Great First Cause," whose attributes they described in a tone of solemn grandeur not unbefitting their high theme; and to enforce their precepts and heighten their influence, made much use of the rude lyrics extant among the people, to which they added others. These were compiled under the name of the Vedas (a word derived from a Sanscrit root, signifying *to know*), by one Vyasa, who lived in the four-

teenth century before the Christian era. In describing the religious creed of the Hindoos, and commenting on the opinions entertained respecting the comparative antiquity of Brahminism and Boodhism, the most ancient sacred writings of each of these great sects will be noticed; but here it is only necessary to remark, that the Vedas bear incontestable evidence of having been written at different periods, some being in very rugged Sanscrit, others, though antiquated, coming within the pale of that language in the polished form in which Sir William Jones found it, when he declared it to be "of a wonderful structure, more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either."* One only of the Vedas, the *Sama Veda*, has yet been translated into English. The translator, Dr. Stephenson, of Bombay, leans to the opinion of its having been composed out of India, but brought there by the Brahmins from some northern country at a very remote period. Another authority, after a careful examination of the same book, has arrived at a directly opposite conclusion.† Be this as it may, there are expressions in the Vedas which prove that the majority of the detached pieces of different kinds of poetic composition which they comprise, were written in a country where maritime commerce was highly esteemed, where a sacrificial ritual had already been fixed, and mythological legends abounded. The frequent reference to war and to chariots indicate, moreover, the previous establishment of separate states, and the cultivation of military art.

The first comprehensive view of the state of society among the Hindoos is afforded by the code of laws which bears the name of Menu, and is supposed, but not on very convincing data, to have been compiled in or about the ninth century, B.C.‡ Whether Menu himself were a real personage or no is an open question, and one of little importance, since his appearance is merely dramatic, like that of the speakers in the dialogues of Plato or of Cicero. No hint is given as to the real compiler, nor is there any clue to the ancient commentator Calluca, whose endeavours to gloss over and explain away some doctrines of Menu, seems to indicate that opinion had already begun to change, even in his day; while many succeeding commentators, and some of very ancient date, speak of the rules of Menu as applicable to the good ages only, and not extending to their time.

The chief feature in the code is its division of the people into four classes or casts;§ namely, the Brahmins or sacerdotal; the Cshatriya or military; the Vaisyas or industrial; and the Soodras‖ or servile. The three first classes were termed the "twice-born," their youths being admitted, at certain ages, by a solemn ceremony, to participate in the religious and social privileges of their elders; but the fourth and lowest cast was rigidly excluded from all these. The degradation of the Soodras has given rise to the idea of their being the people whom the superior classes had conquered; and similar inferences may be drawn from the fact that, while the "twice-born" were all strictly forbidden, under any circumstances, to leave, what, for want of a better term, may be styled Hindoostan Proper; the Soodra, distressed for the means of subsistence, might go where he would. It appears, however, from the code, that there were still cities governed by Soodra kings, in which Brahmins were advised not to reside. From this it seems probable that the independent Soodra towns were situated in such of the small territories into which Hindoostan was divided as yet retained their freedom, while the whole of the tracts south of the Vindya mountains remained untouched by the invaders, and unpenetrated by their religion. On the other hand, it is remarkable that neither the code of Menu, nor the more ancient Vedas, so far as we are at present acquainted with their contents, ever allude to any prior residence, or to a knowledge of more than the name of

* *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i., p. 422.

† Arthur's *Mission to the Mysore*, p. 441.

‡ Sir W. Jones supposed the Code to have been compiled about 300 years after the Vedas (*As. R.*, vol. vii., p. 283); but Elphinstone fixes the date at some time about half-way between Alexander, in the fourth century, B.C., and the Vedas in the fourteenth. (Vol. i., p. 430.)

§ Cast, the common word, is not Indian, but English; and is given in Johnson's *Dictionary* as derived from the Spanish or Portuguese, *casta*, a breed. In Sir W. Jones' *Translation of Menu*, the word employed is "class:" the Brahmins constantly use the Sanscrit term as signifying a species.

‖ There are few things more perplexing in the study of Indian history than the various modes of spelling proper names and other words, which have resulted from the difficulty of representing them in the characters of our alphabet. In the present work, the author has deemed it advisable to adopt that best known and most easily read, in preference to what might have been more critically correct.

any country out of India. Even mythology goes no farther than the Himalaya mountains for the location of the gods. With regard to the condition of the Soodras, it appears to have been in many points similar, but in some decidedly preferable, to that of the helot, the slave, or the serf of the Greek, the Roman, and the feudal systems, excepting only its stern prohibition of any share in the ordinances of religion. But this might have originated in the probable circumstance of the conquered people having a distinct creed of their own, to prevent the spreading of which among their disciples, the Brahmins* (in whom, Elphinstone has well said, the common interests of their class, mingled, probably, with much pure zeal for their monotheistic faith, was deeply rooted) united religion and rank so closely in their able scheme, that to break through, or even in minor observances to deviate from the strict rules of duty laid down for the guidance of the several regenerate classes, was to forfeit position, and literally to incur the penalty of a civil death, far passing excommunication in severity, and to place themselves under a ban which wearisome penance could alone remove. One passion—and it would seem only one—was strong enough to break down the barriers of cast. A mixed race sprang up, who were gradually formed into classes, and divided and subdivided, until the result is now seen in an almost countless number of small communities. In subsequent sections, in describing manners, customs, laws, and government, it will be necessary to show what these were in the days of Menu, and the changes which gradually took place up to the period of English dominion; but at present we are more immediately concerned with that difficult subject, the chronological succession of events in Hindoo history.

Oriental research has, as yet, revealed to us but one Hindoo work that can be strictly considered historical, the *Annals of Cashmere*, ably translated by Professor Wilson, which refers chiefly to a limited territory on the extreme northern frontier of India, and contains little more than incidental mention of Hindoostan and the Deccan. There is, besides, an evident and not unnatural desire on the part of the native writer to aggrandize the rulers of Cashmere at the expense of the neighbouring princes, which gives an impression of one-sidedness to a production possessed, notwithstanding, of much value and interest. The student is, therefore, compelled to fall back upon the wide field, as yet but very partially explored, presented in the sacred books, the legislative records, and the two great epic poems. The knowledge obtainable from these sources is, in too many cases, rendered comparatively useless, by the misleading chronology taught by the Brahmins, apparently as a means of sustaining the claim of their nation to a fabulous antiquity. The periods employed in the computation of time are equally strange and unsatisfactory, and are rendered peculiarly puzzling by the astronomical data on which they are partially founded. A complete revolution of the nodes and apsides, which they suppose to be performed in 4,320,000,000 years, forms a calpa, or day of Brahma. In this are included fourteen manwantaras, or periods, each containing seventy-one maha yugas, or great ages, which again comprise, respectively, four yugas, or ages, of unequal length.† These last bear some resemblance to the golden, silver, brazen, and iron ages of the Greeks, and are alone considered by the Brahmins as marking the periods of human history since the creation of the existing world, which they believe to have occurred about four million years ago. The first, or satya yuga, lasted 1,728,000 years, through the whole of which a king named Satyavrata, otherwise called Vaivaswata, lived and reigned. This monarch is described as having escaped with his family from an universal deluge, which destroyed the rest of the world. From him descended two royal lines, one of which, under the designation of Soorya, the children of the sun, reigned at Ayodhya or Oude; the other, Chandra, or the children of the moon, at Pratisht'hana or Vitora, in the tract between the Jumna and Ganges, through the 1,296,000 years of the second, or treta yuga; the 864,000 years of the third, or dwapar yuga; and the first 1,000 years of the present, or cali yuga, at which time both the solar and lunar races became extinct: as also a distinct cotemporary race, the descendants of Jarasandha, who began to reign in Magadha or Behar, at the

* Elphinstone suggests a doubt "whether the conquerors were a foreign people or a local tribe, like the Dorians in Greece; or whether, indeed, they were not merely a portion of one of the native states (a religious sect, for instance,) which had outstripped their fellow citizens in knowledge, and appropriated all the advantages of the society to themselves."—*History of India*, vol. i., p. 96.

† It is evident that in the time of Menu there were no slaves attached to the soil.

commencement of the cali yuga. The last reigning prince of the Jarasandha family was slain by his prime minister, who placed his own son, Pradyota, on the throne. Fifteen of the usurping race enjoyed the sovereignty to the time of Nanda, who, in extreme old age (after a reign, it is said, of 100 years), was murdered by a Brahman, by whom a man of the Maurya race, named Chandra-Gupta, was placed on the vacant throne.*

The genealogies of the two parallel lines of the sun and moon are derived from the sacred writings called the Puranas.† Sir William Jones framed his list from the Bhagavat Purana; Captain Wilford subsequently collated his genealogical table of the great Hindoo dynasties from the Vishnu and other Puranas;‡ and, if critical research should eventually succeed in enabling us to correct the errors of Indian chronology, much information may be obtained by means of those lists respecting the early rulers. Wanting this clue, the student will find abundant material for theory, but the historian little that he dares make his own; for the narratives given in the Puranas abound in discrepancies regarding time and place, and are so blended with myths and allegories, that it is next to impossible, at present, to separate truth from fiction, until the period of the Maha Bharat or Great War.§

The scene of the adventures of the first princes, and the residence of the most famous sages, appears to be uniformly placed, both in the Puranas, and the far older institutes of Menu, in a tract called Bramhaverta, because of its sanctity, situated between the rivers Seraswati (Sersooty) and Drishadwati (Caggar), 100 miles to the north-west of Delhi; and about 65 miles long by 20 to 40 broad.‖ Probably the next territory acquired lay between that above-mentioned and the Jumna, and included North Behar, this country being mentioned in the second place under the honoured name of Brahmarshi, while Brahmins born within its boundaries were pronounced suitable teachers of the several usages of men.¶ At Oude, in the centre of Brahmarshi, the Puranas, (in which the preceding early stages are not noticed,) fix the origin of the solar and lunar races, from one or other of which all the royal families of ancient India were descended. Some fifty to seventy generations of the solar race, who, in the absence of reliable information, appear little better than myths, bring down the Purana narrative to Rama, the ruler of a powerful kingdom in Hindoostan, and the hero of the oldest Hindu epic—the Ramayana. The chief incident is the carrying off of Sita, the queen of Rama, by Ravana, the king of the island of Lanka, or Ceylon. Rama leads an army into the Deccan, penetrates to Ceylon, and, with the assistance of a strange people allegorized as an army of monkeys, led by Hooniman, their king, gains a complete victory over the ravisher, and recovers his wife, who vindicates her fidelity by successfully passing the ordeal of fire. According to the system of

* According to Mill (vol. i., p. 160); but Elphinstone states Chandra Gupta to have been ninth in succession from Nanda.—Vol. i., p. 261.

† There are eighteen Puranas, which are considered to have been composed between the eighth and sixteenth centuries, A.D.; but several of the authors appear to have made use of much more ancient MS. histories to interweave among their own.

‡ The lines of the Sun and Moon, and the Magadha dynasty, are given at length by Colonel Tod, in the first volume of his valuable and voluminous work the *Annals of Rajasthan*. They were extracted from the Puranas by a body of pundits, and differ more or less in various parts from those published by Sir W. Jones, Mr. Bentley, and Colonel Wilford. Tod's view of the vexed question of early Hindoo records may be understood from his careful enumeration of various traditions which all "appear to point to one spot, and to one individual, in the early history of mankind, when the Hindoo and Greek approach a common focus, for there is little doubt that Adnath, Adiswara, Osiris, Baghes, Bacchus, Menu, Menes, designate the patriarch of mankind, Noah" (vol. i., p. 22). The solar and lunar lines he considers to have been established 2,256 years, B.C., about a century and a half after the flood, the former by Ichswaca the son of Vaivaswatoo Menu, the latter by Boodha, who married Ichswatoo's sister Ella, asserted to be the earth personified—Boodha himself being "the parent and first emigrant of the Indu [Sanscrit for the moon] race, from Saca Dwipa or Scythia to Hindust'han" (p. 45). In another place Tod describes Boodha as the great progenitor of the Tartars, Chinese, and Hindus, "Boodha (Mercury), the son of Indu (the moon), [a male deity] became the patriarchal and spiritual leader, as Fo in China; Woden and Teutates of the tribes migrating to Europe. Hence it follows that the religion of Boodha must be coeval with the existence of these nations; that it was brought into India Proper by them, and guided them until the schism of Crishna and the Sooryas, worshippers of Bal, in time depressed them, when the Boodha religion was modified into the present mild form, the Jain" (p. 58).

§ See Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, Professor Wilson's edition of the *Vishnu Purana*, Sir W. Jones and Colonel Wilford's articles in *Asiatic Researches*, vols. ii. and v., and Dr. H. Buchanan's *Hindoo Genealogies*.

‖ Menu, book ii., v. 17, 18: Wilson, preface to *Vishnu Purana*, p. lxvii.

¶ Menu, book ii., v. 19, 20, Elphinstone, vol. i., p. 388.

deifying great men after their decease, which gradually crept into Brahminism, Rama, upon his death, was honoured as a god, and his image worshipped, his natural form being declared to have been an incarnation (the seventh) of Vishnu, one of the three persons, or principles, of the Hindoo Trinity.

A remarkable passage occurs in the Ramayana, in which mention is made of certain foreign princes, who were invited by Dasaratha (the father of Rama) to be present at the Aswamedha* or solemn sacrifice of a horse about to be offered up by the aged monarch, to procure from the gods the blessing of male posterity. The names mentioned are the "sovereign of Kasi or Benares, the rajahs of Magadha or Behar, of Sindu and Surashta (Sinde and Surat), of Unga and Savira (of which one is conjectured to mean Ava, the other some district situated on the Persian frontier), and, in fine, the princes of the south or the Deccan. Heeren, who cites the above passage from the Ramayana, adds—"they are represented as the friends, and some of them also as the relations of Dasaratha, by no means however as his vassals. It is therefore evident that the author of the most ancient Hindoo epic poem considered India to be divided into a number of separate and independent principalities."† This opinion, however, is not founded on indisputable grounds, for many of his auxiliaries appear to have stood to Dasaratha in the relation of viceroys, or at least inferior chieftains. The antiquity of the poem is unquestioned; the author, Valmiki, is said to have been cotemporary with the event he has so ably commemorated,‡ but we have no means of fixing the date of either poem or poet except as somewhere between that of the Vedas and the Maha Bharat, since king Dasaratha is described as deeply versed in the precepts of the Vedas and Vedangas, while on the other hand an epitome of the Ramayana is given in the Maha Bharat. After Rama, sixty princes of his race ruled in succession over his dominions, but as no more mention is made of Ayodha (Oude) it is possible that the kingdom (which was at one time called Coshala) may have merged in another; and that the capital was transferred from Oude to Canouj. The heroic poem, entitled the "Maha Bharat" or Great War, affords an account of many historical events, in the details of a contest between the lines of Pandoo§ and of Curoo, two branches of the reigning lunar race for the territory of Hastinapoora, supposed to be a place on the Ganges, north-east of Delhi, which still bears the ancient name.‖ The rivals are supported by numerous allies, and some from very remote parts. The enumeration of them appears to afford evidence similar to that deducible from the above cited passage of the Ramayana, that there were many distinct states in India among which a considerable degree of intercourse and connection was maintained. Not only are princes from the Deccan and the Indus mentioned, as taking part in the struggle, but auxiliaries are likewise included belonging to nations beyond the Indus, especially the Yavans, a name which most orientalists consider to apply exclusively to the Greeks.¶ The Pandoos are eventually conquerors, but are represented as having paid so dearly for their victory, in the loss of their friends and the destruction of their armies, that the chief survivors quitted their country, and are supposed to have perished among the snows of the Himalaya.** The hero of the poem is Crishna, the great ally of the Pandoos, who was deified after his death as having been an incarnation of Vishnu, or even Vishnu himself. He was born of the

* Aswa is thought to be the etymon of Asia, medha signifies "to kill."

† Heeren's *Historical Researches*, Oxford Translation; 1833: vol. iii., p. 291.

‡ "Rama preceded Crishna: but as their historians, Valmika and Vyasa, who wrote the events they witnessed [this point is, however, questioned], were cotemporaries, it could not have been by many years."—(Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*, vol. i., p. 457.

§ The origin of the Pandoo family is involved in fable, invented, evidently, to cover some great disgrace. According to tradition, Pandoo, whose capital was at Hastinapoora, being childless, his queen, by a charm, enticed the deities from their spheres, and became the mother of Yoodishtra, Bhima, Arjoona (the famous archer), Nycula, and Sideva. On the death of Pandoo, Yoodishtra, with the aid of the priesthood, was declared king, although the illegitimacy of himself and his brothers was asserted by Duryodhanu, the nephew of the deceased sovereign, who, as the representative of the elder branch, retained his title as head of the Curoos. For the whole story of the Maha Bharat, and it is a very interesting one, see the *Asiatic Researches*, and the comments of Tod in the early part of his *Annals of Rajasthan*.

‖ Elphinstone, vol. i., p. 390.

¶ The Greeks, or Ionians, are descended from Javan, or Yavan, the seventh from Japhet.—(Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. i., p. 51.

** Tod surmises that they did not perish thus, but migrated into the Peloponnesus, and founded the colony of the Heraclidæ, stated by Volney to have been formed there 1078 years, B.C. See the reason for this conjecture, based chiefly on the supposition of the Pandoos being the descendants of the Indian Hercules, pp. 48, 51.

royal family of Mattra on the Jumna, but brought up by a herdsman in the neighbourhood, who concealed him from the tyrant who sought to slay him. This phase of his life is a very favourite one with the Hindoos, and he is worshipped in an infant form by an extensive sect, as also under the figure of a beautiful youth, in commemoration of the time he spent among the "gopis" or milkmaids, dancing, sporting, playing on the pipe, and captivating the hearts alike of rural maidens and princesses. Among the numerous exploits of his more mature age was the recovery of his usurped inheritance, whence, being driven by foreign foes, he removed to Dwarika, in Guzerat, where he founded a principality. He soon however became again involved in civil discord, and, according to Tod, was slain by one of the aboriginal tribes of Bheels. The Maha Bharat describes the sons of Crishna as finally returning to the neighbourhood of the Jumna. The war is supposed to have taken place in the fourteenth century, B.C., about 200 years before the siege of Troy, and the famous and lengthy poem in which it is commemorated is, as before stated, attributed to Vyasa, the collector of the Vedas.

The princes who succeeded the Pandoos, are variously stated at from twenty-nine to sixty-four in number; they appear to have transferred the seat of their government to Delhi; but little beyond a name is recorded of any of them. The kings of Magadha or Behar (the line mentioned as cotemporary with the latter portion of the dynasties of the sun and moon), play a more conspicuous part in the Purana records; they afford a connected chain from the war of the Maha Bharat to the fifth century after Christ, and present an appearance of probability, besides receiving striking confirmations from various quarters. They are frequently referred to in inscriptions sculptured on stone, or engraved on copper plates, conveying grants of land, or charters of privileges and immunities, which are very numerous, and not only contain the date of the grant, and the name of the prince by whom they were conferred, but in most cases enumerate, also, certain of his predecessors.

The first of the Magadha kings, Jarasandha, is mentioned in the Maha Bharat as the head of a number of petty princes. The ruling monarch at the conclusion of the war was Sahadeva; the thirty-fifth in succession from him was Ajata Satru; and in his reign, according to high authority,* Sakya, or Gotama, the founder of the Boodha religion flourished, and died about 550, B.C. This date, if reliable, does good service by fixing the era of Satru; but other eminent writers consider Boodhism of much earlier origin; and some as coeval with, or even older than Brahminism.† The sixth in succession from Satru was Nanda, who, unlike his long line of regal ancestors of the Cshatriya, or military class, was born of a Soodra mother; his ninth successor, who bore his name, was murdered by Chandra Gupta,‡ a man of low birth who usurped the throne. This Chandra Gupta has been, after much research, identified with Sandracottus, the cotemporary of Alexander the Great, and thus a link had been obtained wherewith to connect India with European history, and also with that of other Asiatic nations. The foregoing particulars have been given on strictly Indian authority, for although much extraneous information may be obtained from early foreign writers it is difficult to ascertain how to separate truth from fiction.§ According to Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and Cicero, the first Indian conqueror was Bacchus or Dionysus, afterwards deified, who led an army out of Greece, subdued India, taught the inhabitants the use of wine, and built the city of Nysa. The Egyptians, who spared no pains to fortify their claim to the highest antiquity and earliest civilization, and never scrupled to appropriate the great deeds of the heroes of other countries, as having been performed by their own rulers, maintained that Osiris, their conqueror, having first added Ethiopia to his dominions, marched thence to India through Arabia, taught the use of wine, and built the city of Nysa. Both these stories evidently refer to the same person; namely, the Indian prince Vaisvawata Menu; whom Tod, the pains-taking but wildly theoretical Maurice, and other writers affirm to have been no other than the patriarch Noah. Be this as it may, one of the most valuable of ancient writers, Diodorus the Sicilian, declares, on the authority of Indian tradition, that Bacchus (Vaisvawata Menu) belonged to their own nation, was a lawgiver, built many stately

* Elphinstone, vol. i., pp. 209, 261.

† See note to page 14.

‡ Chandra Gupta signifies "protected by the moon."

§ Justin states that the Scythians conquered a great part of Asia, and penetrated to Egypt 1,500 years before Ninus, first king of Assyria.

cities, instituted divine worship, and erected everywhere courts of justice.

The alleged invasions of Semiramis,* Sesostris,† Hercules,‡ and Cyrus, are all denied by Arrian, except that attributed to Hercules. Strabo disputes even that, adding that the Persians hired mercenaries from India but never invaded it.§ The whole question respecting the nature of the alleged connection existing between India and Persia, is one which scarcely admits a satisfactory explanation. Before the time of Cyrus the Great (the son of King Cambyses, the conqueror of Babylon and the Shepherd whose coming to perform the pleasure of the omnipotent God of the Hebrews, was foretold by Isaiah)‖, Persia was no more than an inconsiderable kingdom, afterwards comprehended in a single province, retaining the ancient name of Fars; but the conquests of the youthful general, on behalf of his uncle and father-in-law, Cyaxares, King of Media, whom he succeeded, enabled him to unite the thrones of Persia and Media, as well as to sway neighbouring and distant states, to an extent which it is at present not easy to define, though it was amply sufficient to form what was termed the Persian empire, 557, B. C. His eastern frontier certainly touched the verge of India; but whether it encroached yet farther, is a matter of doubt, and has been so for centuries. Nor is it even an established point where India itself terminated; for although Elphinstone and

* The Assyrian invasion, according to the chronology of Capellus, took place about 1970, A.M. It was planned by Semiramis, the widow of Ninus, who, after consolidating her husband's Bactrian conquests, resolved to attempt the subjugation of India, being led thereto by the reported fruitfulness of the soil and the riches of its inhabitants. She spent three years in assembling an immense army, drawn from all the provinces of her extensive empire, and caused the shipwrights of Phœnicia, Syria, and Cyprus, to send to the frontier 2,000 ships or large barks, in pieces, so that they might be carried thence to the Indus, and there put in array against the naval force of the Indians. All things being ready, Semiramis marched from Bactria (Balk) with an army, which it has been well said, "the Greek historians have, by their relations, rendered less wonderful than incredible;" for they describe it as having consisted of 3,000,000 foot, 500,000 horse, 100,000 war chariots, and 100,000 camels, a portion of the latter being made to resemble elephants—by means of a framework being covered with the skins of oxen; this device being employed to delude the Indians into the belief of the invaders being superior to them even in this respect. Stabrobates, the king of the countries bordering the Indus, on receiving intelligence of the intended invasion, assembled his troops, augmented the number of his elephants, caused 4,000 boats to be built of cane (which is not subject to rot, or to be eaten by worms, evils known to be very prevalent at the present day), to occupy the Indus; and headed his army on the eastern bank, in readiness to support them. The attacking fleet being victorious, Stabrobates abandoned his position, leaving the enemy a free passage; and Semiramis, making a bridge of boats, crossed over with her whole force. The counterfeit elephants, which play an important part in the narrative, were marched in front, and at first created great alarm; but the deception being revealed by some deserters from the camp, the Indians recovered their spirits. A fierce contest ensued, in which the Assyrians had at first the advantage, but were eventually totally overthrown, and Semiramis fled, accompanied by a very slender retinue, and escaped with great difficulty to her own dominions. Such is the tale related by Diodorus Siculus; and, however little to be relied on in many respects, it may at least be cited in testimony of the reputation for wealth and civilization enjoyed by India at a very early period. With regard to Semiramis, recent discoveries of ruins and deciphering of inscriptions have placed her existence as an historical personage beyond a doubt.

† The invasion of Sesostris, king of Egypt, A.M. 3023, is alleged to have been as successful as that of Semiramis had proved disastrous. Desiring to render his subjects a commercial people, he fitted out a fleet of 400 ships in the Arabian Gulf, or Red Sea (being the inventor, it is alleged, of ships of war), by means of which all the countries stretching along the Erythrean or Arabian Sea to India were subjugated. Meanwhile he led his army through Asia, and being everywhere victorious, crossed the Ganges and advanced to the Indian Ocean. He spent nine years in this expedition, but exacted no other tokens of submission from the conquered nations than the sending annually of presents to Egypt. Perhaps this story, recorded by Diodorus Siculus, and quoted by Harris and by Robertson (who discredits it), in his *Historical Disquisition concerning Ancient India*, p. 6, may have originated in the efforts of Sesostris for the extension of commerce; but the success of his plans, whether pursued by warlike or peaceful means, could have been at best but short-lived, since, after his death the Egyptians relapsed into their previous anti-maritime habits; and centuries elapsed before their direct trade with India became of importance.

‡ The Greek accounts of Hercules having been in India is thought to have arisen from the fact of there having been a native prince of that name, who, according to the Hindoo traditions cited by Diodorus Siculus (who wrote 44, B.C.), was after his death honoured as a god, having in life excelled all mere men in strength and courage; cleared both the sea and land of monsters and wild beasts; founded many cities, the most famous of which was Palibothra, where he built a stately palace strongly fortified, and rendered impregnable by being surrounded by deep trenches, into which he let an adjacent river. When his numerous sons were grown up, he divided India equally among them; and they reigned long and happily, but never engaged in any foreign expeditions, or sent forth colonies into distant countries, being content with the resources of their own fertile domains.

§ Arrian's *Indica:* Strabo, lib. xv.; Elphinstone, vol. i., p. 440.

‖ Isaiah; chap. xliv., v. 28.

other writers follow Strabo in declaring the Indus, from the mountains to the sea, to have formed its western limit, other authorities consider the territory of the Hindoos to have stretched far beyond. Colonel Wilford adduces a verse in their Sacred Writings, which prohibits the three upper, or "twice-born" classes, from *crossing* the Indus, but says that they were at liberty to pass to the other side, by going round its source.* Amid so many difficulties and contradictory statements, it is only possible to note the points which seem most reasonable and best authenticated.

Darius, the son of Hystaspes, was raised to the throne of Persia, B.C. 521, by the seven nobles who conspired against Gomates, the Magian, by whom it had been usurped after the death of Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus, whose daughter Atossa he afterwards married. Desiring to know the termination of the Indus, and the state of the adjacent countries, with a view to their conquest, Darius built a fleet at Caspatyrus, in the territory of Pactyica on that river, which he entrusted to a skilful Greek mariner named Scylax, who fulfilled his instructions by sailing down the whole length of the Indus, thence coasting to the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, and ascending the Arabian gulf to the port at its northern extremity. The account given by Scylax of the fertility, high cultivation, and dense population of the country through which his route lay, incited Darius at once to attempt its acquisition.' By the aid of the Tyrians, who were intimately acquainted with the navigation, he brought a numerous force on the coast, while he himself headed a land attack. According to Dr. Robertson, he subjugated "the districts watered by the Indus;'† while Colonel Chesney speaks of his conquests as limited to the "Indian territory westward of the Indus.‡" Both appear to rely exclusively on the testimony of Herodotus, who states that "the Indians" consented to pay an annual tribute of 360 Eubœan talents of gold, or a talent a day—the Persian year being then considered to comprise only 360 days. The sum would appear to be overstated; for a single talent, at the lowest computation, was equal to £3,000 English money; and even, though India may have then deserved its high reputation as a gold-producing region, this tax would have been very onerous. It is, however, certain, that at this time the force of Persian gold was known and feared by neighbouring states, and had a powerful share in enabling the successors of Darius to keep together the chief part of the widely-scattered dominions, which he displayed great ability in even partially consolidating and dividing into satrapies, or governments; of these his Indian possessions formed the twentieth and last.§

Xerxes, the son and successor of Darius, had a body of Indian troops in his service; but he discouraged maritime intercourse, considering traffic by land more desirable; and indeed he and his successors are said to have adopted the Babylonian policy of preventing invasions by sea, by blocking up the navigation of some of the chief rivers, instead of guarding the coast with an efficient naval force.

We find but few traces of India‖ during the remaining reigns of the Persian monarchs, until the time of their last ruler, Darius Codomanus, who succeeded to the sway of a disorganized territory, consisting of numerous provinces, or rather kingdoms, differing in religion, languages, laws, customs, and interests; and bound together by no tie of a permanent character. A powerful enemy was at hand, in the neighbouring kingdom of Macedon, which had sprung into importance almost as rapidly as Persia, and in a similar manner, having been raised by the talents of a single individual. Philip had acceded to the government of an ordinary state, weakened by war and dissension; but taking full advantage of the commanding geographical position of the country, and the warlike spirit of its hardy sons, he ren-

* *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi., p. 585.

† Dr. Robertson's *Historical Disquisition*, p. 12.

‡ Colonel Chesney's *Survey of the Rivers Tigris and Euphrates*. London: 1850; vol. ii., p. 180.

§ Herodotus, lib. iii. and iv.

‖ During the reign of Artaxerxes, the third son of Xerxes (the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther), Ctesias, the king's physician, and the author of a voluminous history of the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian empires, wrote a book on India, founded upon the accounts he obtained from the Persians. His works are not now extant, though various extracts are to be found in different authors. They are all unfavourably commented on, especially that on India, by several Greek writers, who pronounce them fabulous. Plutarch, Aristotle, and even Strabo, notwithstanding their severe censures, have, however, not scrupled to borrow from the pages of Ctesias such statements as appeared to them probable; and Diodorus, as well as Herodotus and Athenæus, are said to have drawn largely from the same source. Xenophon, who was personally acquainted with Ctesias, speaks of him with great respect, though differing from many of his opinions.

dered it the centre of arts and civilization, second only to Persia in power, and superior even to Persia in influence, on account of the state of corruption and excessive luxury into which that empire had fallen.

The free Grecian republics, weakened by strife and division, became for the most part subject to Macedonia, whose ancient constitution—a limited monarchy, which it was the interest of the community at large to maintain—proved a source of strength alike in offensive and defensive warfare. Still Macedonia appears to have been in some sort tributary to Persia; and it was possibly a dispute on this point which had led Philip to form the hostile intentions he was preparing to carry out, and which Arses, King of Persia, was occupied in endeavouring to prevent, when both were suddenly arrested in the midst of their schemes; Philip, who had escaped so many dangers in the battle-field, being stabbed in his own palace during the bridal festivities of his daughter Cleopatra, by Pausanias,* a Macedonian youth of rank; and Arses was poisoned about the same time.

The tender age of Alexander was forgotten in the enthusiasm raised by his manly and powerful eloquence. He assured the assembled Macedonians, previous to the funeral obsequies of his father, that though the name was changed they would find the king remained;—and he kept his word, elevating none of his personal friends, but continuing the able statesmen and generals in the positions in which he found them. By extraordinary address, this youth (for he was but twenty years old (succeeded in stifling the disturbances which followed the catastrophe at home, and in establishing his ascendancy as chief, by the free choice of the majority of the Grecian republics, notwithstanding the unremitting exertions of Demosthenes and his party.

Once firmly seated on the throne, having brought the Illyrian war to a rapid and successful conclusion and captured Thebes, Alexander made ready for a hazardous contest with his powerful compeer Darius, the successor of Arses; who, previous to his accession to the throne of Persia, had been distinguished for the judicious government of a large tract of country of which he had been satrap (viceroy). Although averse to war,† he had nevertheless distinguished himself in the conduct of military proceedings with hostile nations; and he lost no time in preparing for the threatened invasion. In the spring of the year 334, B.C., Alexander, with very limited resources in his possession, but with the riches of the East in prospect, crossed the Hellespont at the head of a confederated‡ army, variously estimated at 30,000 to 43,000 infantry, and 5,000 cavalry; and after a severe contest, defeated a Persian army 110,000 strong, who disputed with him the passage of the river Granicus, near Zelia, in Bithynia.

In eastern warfare the first victory is of incalculable importance—for the satraps and inferior governors are ever ready to transfer their allegiance to the conqueror, considering that he could be such only by the will of God, to which they are bound to submit.

* The motive of Pausanias is variously stated as having been the instigation of the Persian monarch (in which light Alexander chose to view it); a desire to revenge a personal insult; or otherwise, from ungovernable passion for Olympias, the mother of Alexander.—Sir John Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. i., p. 54. Justin attributes the deed to the incitement of the vindictive Olympias, who, immediately after her husband's assassination, caused his youngest wife and child to be put to a cruel death.

† Historians agree in describing Darius as amiable and equitable. The tale related by the Persian author, Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh, concerning his message to Alexander, is therefore inconsistent with his character. According to this writer, Philip had agreed to furnish an annual subsidy of 1,000 eggs of pure gold. The Persian envoy, sent to demand the tribute from his successor, received the jeering reply that "the birds that laid the eggs had flown to the other world." Darius thereupon despatched an ambassador, with a bat and ball, as a fit amusement for the youthful monarch, and a bag of very small seed, called gunjud, as an emblem of the innumerable Persian army. Alexander taking the bat, said—"This is my power with which I will strike your sovereign's dominion; and this fowl," pointing to one which had been brought at his command, and rapidly devoured the grain, "shows what a mere morsel his army will prove to mine." Then, giving the ambassador a wild melon, he desired him to tell Darius what he had heard and seen, and to give him that fruit, the taste of which might indicate the bitter lot that awaited him.—Malcolm's *Persia*, vol. i., p. 55.

‡ The Grecian republics, excepting Lacedemonia, were favourable to Alexander's proposition of an Asiatic expedition; and his own hopes of success rested upon the jealousy and dissension which he knew existed among the numerous satraps or viceroys of Damascus, over whom the supreme authority of "the king of kings," as the Persian monarch was grandiloquently styled, sat lightly enough. The zeal of his officers, to whom rewards, almost princely, were held out in the event of success, and the admirable discipline of his troops, would, he trusted, prevail over the opposing force, and probably cause the defection of the bands of Greek mercenaries employed against him, as well as gain the suffrages of the Greek settlements in Asia, whose release from Persian rule was one of his avowed objects.

The consequence of this brilliant opening must have exceeded the hopes even of the Macedonian, who conducted himself with singular moderation—treating the people everywhere as subjects, not enemies; exacting from them no additional tribute to that previously claimed by Darius; and strictly forbidding pillage or massacre. Having obtained the "sinews of war" in the treasury of the Persian monarchs at Sardis, through the treachery of Mithrenes, the governor, Alexander proceeded on his brilliant career, until he became master of the whole of Lesser Asia. The possession of Cilicia was the next point necessary to his purpose, as it comprised the most practicable route between Greater and Lesser Asia, as well as the communication with Syria by land and with Greece by sea. The province was gained without difficulty; and Alexander (when recovered from a dangerous fever, which for a time checked his impetuous career) employed himself in securing his position, while Darius was straining every nerve to form an army, which should decisively defeat his adversary and re-establish the tottering fabric of the Persian empire. According to Arrian, he increased his Greek mercenaries to 30,000, to whom were joined about 60,000 Asiatics, called Cardacs, trained like the Greeks for close fight, and the middle and light-armed made up a total (including the followers) of 600,000, of whom perhaps 150,000 to 200,000 were fighting men. Darius crossed the Euphrates, and with his immense force covered the plains of Cilicia.

After a fierce struggle between the Macedonian phalanx* and the Persian-Greeks, the powerful monarchs met face to face: Darius, in the centre of the line, in a striking costume, and seated on a splendid chariot drawn by four horses abreast, had been from the first a special object of attack: Sabaces, the satrap of Egypt, and many illustrious Persians, perished by his side, until his wounded horses became so ungovernable among the heaps of slain by which they were hemmed in, that the monarch was with difficulty rescued from the mêlée, by the valour of his brother Oxathres, and placed in another chariot, in which he fled, hotly but unsuccessfully pursued by Alexander, who had himself been slightly injured in the thigh.†

The loss of the Persians is stated by Arrian at 100,000, including 10,000 horse; the most valuable part of the baggage had been conveyed to Damascus, but was soon after captured by Parmenio, Alexander's ablest general, through the treachery of its governor.‡ Meanwhile the family of Darius—his mother, wife,§ and children—fell into the hands of the conqueror, who showed them much personal kindness; but when earnestly solicited to release them at the price of any ransom he might name, haughtily replied, that he would listen to that request only if asked in person, and on condition of being addressed as king of Asia, and lord of all once possessed by Darius. The insulted monarch had no resource but once more to prepare for war, which he had still ample opportunities of doing with a fair prospect of success, for the troops of the eastern satrapies, including some of the most warlike in his dominions, were on their way towards Babylon, and a few months might again see him at the head of a more numerous and more powerful host than that defeated at Issus, and Alexander might yet meet the fate of the younger Cyrus. Nearly two years elapsed before the kingly rivals again met. Meanwhile the conqueror pursued his meteor-like course, astonishing the world by his unequalled daring, yet consolidating his successes as he proceeded, by the consummate and thoroughly consistent policy with which he used all things as instruments of his great designs; diligently and ably promoting the material welfare of subjects (made such by the sword),

* The famous Macedonian or quadruple phalanx, as it was sometimes called, to mark its division into four parts, consisted of a body of 18,000 men, each defended by helmet, breast-plate, greaves, and the large shield called the aspis, and armed with a long sword and with the famous sarissa, a spear measuring four-and-twenty feet. The ordinary depth of the phalanx was sixteen ranks, the best soldiers being placed in the foremost and hindmost ranks, which formed as it were the framework of an engine whose efficiency depended on its compactness and uniformity of movement.—Bishop Thirlwall's *Greece*, vol. vi., p. 147.

† Arrian, lib. ii., cap. xii.

‡ A loyal subject, moved with indignation, slew the traitor, and laid his head at the foot of his injured master.

§ Statira, the beautiful and beloved wife of Darius, died soon afterwards in childbirth, and Alexander caused her to be interred with every mark of honour; his conduct towards her throughout, so different from the usual licentious cruelty of Asiatic conquerors, excited a feeling of lively gratitude in the breast of her ill-fated husband, who never forgot this one redeeming feature in the conduct of his unrelenting opponent.

humouring prejudice, flattering national vanity, rewarding individual service with unbounded munificence, but at the same time violating in every action the recognised rights of men, and showing himself throughout utterly unscrupulous as to the amount of suffering he inflicted, whether in subduing patriots to his will, or inflicting signal vengeance on those who, from the purest motives, ventured to oppose him. The island-city of Tyre, after a seven months' siege, was conquered by him, through the unconscious fulfilment of a scripture prophecy, in joining the island to the main, by a causeway 800 yards in length. The Tyrians defended themselves to the last with unfaltering determination; and, probably to check all thoughts of capitulation, executed their Macedonian prisoners and cast them into the sea in the sight of the besiegers, who, when their hour of triumph arrived, made this cruel act the excuse for the most unmitigated ferocity. With the exception of the king and some of the principal people, all were involved in a fearful doom; 8,000 perished in the first slaughter, 2,000 prisoners were crucified by order of Alexander, and 30,000 (including a number of foreign residents) were sold into slavery.*

Gaza was next subdued: the citizens, to the last man, died in its defence, and their women and children were sold as slaves. Alexander then marched upon Jerusalem, whose high priest Jaddua, had excited his wrath by refusing to violate the fidelity due to the Persian monarch in furnishing the invader with a supply of troops and provisions during the siege of Tyre. The Chaldeans and Phœnicians — ancient enemies of the Jews—accompanied the conqueror, buoyed up with the hope of sharing in the anticipated plunder, but they were witnesses of a very different result. When the army approached the Holy City, the High Priest, attended by the priests and Levites in their sacerdotal vestments, followed by a multitude of the inhabitants, decked in white feast-day robes, came out to meet Alexander, who, recognising, as he afterwards declared, in Jaddua, a figure shown to him in a dream at Dios, struck with pious awe, went up to the temple as a worshipper, and sacrificed according to the Jewish ritual. The priests informed him of his position as the fulfiller of the prophecy of Daniel,† than which nothing could be more gratifying, either to the ambitious designs or superstitious tendencies of Alexander, who took his departure, after making munificent offerings, and bestowing extraordinary privileges on the Jewish nation.‡

In January, 331, the Greeks penetrated into Egypt; and the people, whose religious prejudices had been cruelly insulted by their Persian masters, welcomed the approach of the conciliating conqueror, whose late worship of the God of Israel did not hinder him from sacrificing to their monstrous idols—even to Apis. Sailing down the western or Canobic arm of the Nile, he proceeded to found the greatest of the many noble cities which bore his name, on a site§ which he saw would render it an emporium for the commerce of the eastern and western world; it was colonised with a mixed population of Greeks and Romans—the abolition of the alienating prejudices of race being a marked feature in his mighty plan for the establishment of an universal empire.

After imitating the exploits attributed by Greek legends to his famous predecessors, Hercules and Perseus, braving the bare rocks and burning sands of the Libyan desert, and questioning the oracle of the temple of Ammon, erected in its famed Oasis, he returned to Memphis, completed the arrangements needful for the peaceable government of Egypt, and proceeded to Tyre, the appointed rendezvous of his fleet and army, to prepare for a final contest with Darius. In the autumn of the same year (331) he crossed the Euphrates, advanced at full speed towards the Tigris, where he had expected to meet the hostile force, but being disappointed, rested a few days on the left bank, and then, continuing his march, came up with Darius, whom he found encamped in one of the wide plains between the Tigris and the mountains of Kurdistan, at a village named Gaugamela (the camel's or dromedary's house), about twenty miles from the town of Arbela, which gave its name to the battle. To the last, Darius had endeavoured to make peace with Alexander, offering him the hand of

* Arrian. Curtius, however, states that 15,000 persons were rescued by the Sidonians.

† They probably showed him Daniel, chaps. 7 & 8.

‡ Whiston's *Josephus*, book xi., chap. viii.

§ The approach to the harbour of Alexandria was dangerous; for this reason the famous beacon tower, reckoned among the seven wonders of the world, was built by the first Ptolemy, on a rock near the eastern point of the island of Pharos, and threw a light to a distance, it is said, of nearly forty miles.

his daughter, with a dower of 30,000 talents in gold, and intimating even willingness to divide the empire; indeed it was probably the hope of some such compromise being effected that induced him to allow the Greeks to cross the Euphrates and Tigris unmolested. The numbers of the respective armies would seem to have warranted him in the expectation of being able to dictate rather than solicit peace; but his munificent terms were not the less unhesitatingly rejected by the invader, though Parmenio and the Council urged their acceptance. According to Arrian, Alexander's force amounted to no more than 40,000 foot, and 7,000 horse; but this is evidently exclusive of the Asiatic levies, which there is reason to believe he had raised. The Persian army has been variously stated by Curtius, Diodorus Siculus, and others, at from 200,000 to 300,000 infantry, and from 40,000 to 200,000 horse, besides the Indian contingent of 200 war chariots and fifteen elephants, ranged in the centre of the mighty host, near the person of the monarch. During the weary night preceding the combat, Darius passed along the line by torch-light, cheering his soldiers, all of whom were, by a mistaken policy, kept continuously under arms, from momentary fear of a surprise. The dreaded attempt is said to have been actually suggested by Parmenio to his sovereign after the latter had retired to his tent, but rejected on the ground that it would be alike ignoble and impolitic to steal a victory, instead of gaining it by a fair trial of strength. In the morning the battle commenced, and was long and stoutly contested; the Indo-Scythian troops being, we are expressly told by Arrian, among the flower of the Persian army, and fighting valiantly to the death. The strife became very intricate, hostile bodies intermingled with each other in fierce combat, and the issue seemed to promise little short of annihilation to both parties, when a circumstance, slight in itself, turned the scale. A dart flung by Alexander, who was on horseback, killed the charioteer of Darius; and the confusion thus occasioned gave rise to the general belief that the king himself was slain. A complete panic ensued; the Persians fled in irremediable confusion, followed by Alexander—who was, however, obliged to renounce the pursuit and return to rescue Parmenio, who commanded his left wing, from the critical position in which he had been placed by the resistless onset of the Massagetian horse. There is no credible statement of the amount of life sacrificed on this eventful day; for that of Arrian, which records the loss of the Persians at 40,000, and the Greeks at 100, can scarcely be entertained. This contest sealed the downfall of one powerful empire, and crowned the conqueror with the fallen diadem, although the escape of Darius was still felt as affording serious cause for anxiety.

After allowing his army a brief revel among the luxuries of Babylon, and draining the treasury of Susa of its vast stores of unwrought ingots and golden darics, Alexander proceeded to Persepolis, and though he met with no resistance, suffered the stately city to be plundered by his soldiers, excepting only its magnificent palace, (which he afterwards set on fire with his own hand,)* and the citadel, which ancient writers agree in stating to have contained the prodigious sum of 120,000 talents, or more than £27,000,000 sterling.† Four months elapsed before he resumed the pursuit of Darius, who had meanwhile gathered together a small force, and intended to take refuge in the Bactrian satrapy of Bessus; but this disloyal servant, considering his master's fortunes desperate, conspired with the satraps of Arachosia and Aria either to kill or to deliver him to the Greeks, according as might best serve their private purpose—the securing independent possession of their satrapies. Alexander, after marching rapidly through Media, had reached a mountain pass called the Caspian Gates, before intelligence arrived of the plot; he exclaimed bitterly against the treachery to which his own ambition had subjected the royal fugitive, and pressed eagerly onwards to his rescue. The conspirators fled before him, and Darius resolutely refusing to accompany them, was left mortally wounded in his chariot, where his lifeless body was found by Alexander, who buried it with regal honours, provided for the maintenance of Sisygambis (his mother), married his daughter Statira, took charge of the education of his other children, and declared his determination of punishing the assassins. Artabazus, the faithful and long-tried adherent of Darius, then ninety-five years of age, he took into his own service, and evinced his respect for his fidelity by unremitting kindness to him and to his sons.

* At the suggestion, it is said, of Thais, an Athenian courtesan, made to him when heated with wine. Both Plutarch and Arrian record his immediate and undisguised regret for the deed.

† Quintus Curtius, lib. v., cap. 5; Diodorus Siculus, lib. xvii., cap. 18; Justin, lib. xi., cap. 14.

Bessus finding himself disappointed in his hopes now braved the worst, by boldly assuming the tiara, and the title of Artaxerxes King of Asia, in defiance of the pretensions of Alexander, who wished to be considered as the avenger and rightful successor rather than the conqueror of Darius, and to receive even from his Macedonian subjects the species of adoration offered by the Persians to their king, as a preliminary to the divine honours, to which an oracle had declared him entitled. The Macedonians viewed these pretensions with undisguised aversion, and several of his bravest subjects, including Philotas and his father Parmenio, the beloved general of Philip,* became, under different pretences, victims to their opposition to this glaring impiety.† Barzaentes, one of the confederates of Bessus, took refuge among the Indians on the border of his eastern satrapy of Arachosia, but was delivered up by them to Alexander, who caused him to be put to death; Sartabarzanes, another of the traitors (and a double-dyed one, for he had voluntarily sworn allegiance to the conqueror), was slain in battle, and the arch conspirator Bessus alone remained. He had consulted his personal safety by fleeing across the vast mountain barrier of India, a part of which is there called the Paropamisus,‡ trusting that the natural difficulties of the country would greatly impede, if not entirely block up, the pursuit of a hostile force. He probably little knew the zeal with which, from very childhood, Alexander had striven for accurate geographical knowledge, eagerly questioning the ambassadors of his father's court as to the routes they had traversed, or heard of, so as to give the wisest of them some partial insight into the schemes even then passing through his brain. On arriving at the root of the chain, he was probably well acquainted with its general direction, as well as the defiles by which it might be traversed, especially since, during his sojourn in Phœnicia, he had had abundant opportunity of ascertaining the nature of the trade with India, and the means by which it was carried on, by land as well as by sea. At the foot of the pass by which he intended crossing, Alexander founded another Alexandria (ad Caucasum), where he planted a colony of Macedonian veterans; then, undeterred by the severity of the yet unexpired winter, he avoided the dangerous period of the melting snows, by commencing his mountain march, which lasted fifteen days, and was rendered arduous and harassing, not only from the natural causes of cold and fatigue, but also by scarcity of provisions. Bessus had laid waste the whole country between the lower valleys on the northern side, and the left bank of the Oxus, before he passed over with his troops, after which he burned the boats which had conveyed them. Alexander having captured the town and fortress of Aorni, and Bactra the chief city of Bactria (supposed to be the modern Balk), committed the charge of the newly-acquired territory to the venerable Artabazus; then dismissing some of the more infirm, or least willing, of the Macedonian troops and Thessalian volunteers, he proceeded across a strip of the great desert, which stretches from the Caspian to the high table-land, containing the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes. On arriving at the former river, no boats or building materials could be procured, and the breadth was little less than 800 yards; but even this obstacle was overcome, and the whole of the troops transported safely over on skins stuffed with straw. The passage being accomplished after six days' labour, the Greeks pushed across the desert in a northerly direction, but were met by envoys from two of the chief followers of Bessus, who fell a victim to the same treachery he had practised towards Darius; and being delivered up by his followers, Spitamenes and others, suffered a cruel and ignominious death.§ The obtainment of the avowed object of the expedition did not put a stop to Alexander's progress. According to Plutarch it was about this period that he first entertained

* It is recorded by Plutarch, that Philip once said the Athenians were lucky to be able to find ten generals every year; he, in the course of many years, had only found one, Parmenio.

† The famous quarrel in which, during a carousal, Alexander slew his tried friend Cleitas, who had preserved his life in battle at the risk of his own, arose from the same cause; as did also the execution of Callisthenes, though on the avowed charge of having incited a conspiracy among the royal pages.

‡ This range (according to Masson) is distinct from the true Indian Caucasus, or Hindoo Koosh;—the name is derived from "par" and "pam," signifying *hill* and *flat*—the region around consisting of flat-topped hills.

§ He was publicly stripped and scourged, his nose and ears were cut off, and (according to Curtius and Diodorus) he was eventually surrendered to Oxathres and other kinsmen of Darius to be executed; but by some accounts he is represented as having been, by order of Alexander himself, torn limb from limb, by means of two trees, to which he was bound, being first bent and then suffered to spring back.—See Langhorne's Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, vol. iv., p. 186.

the idea of following up his conquests by that of India. He had now reached a delightful region of great beauty and exuberant fertility, whose pastures afforded him fresh horses to supply the loss sustained in marching through mountains and deserts; thence he advanced to the capital of Sogdiana, called Maracanda, since known as Samarcand, in whose citadel he placed a Greek garrison. Still proceeding northwards, he founded another Alexandria on the Jaxartes, and was involved in some sharp contests with the Asiatic Scythians, in one of which a body of Macedonian horse were surprised and slain, and in another he was himself wounded. After repressing disturbances among the Sogdians, on whom he wreaked a cruel vengeance for what he thought fit to call rebellion to his self-constituted authority, he proceeded at the close of 329 to take up his winter quarters at Bactria or Zariaspa. For the next twelve months he found ample employment in stifling the efforts for independence of the Scythians, Sogdians, and the Bactrians, incited by Spitamenes, the most active and determined enemy he had yet encountered in Asia. This chief's motive appears to have been dissatisfaction at receiving less reward than he had expected for the surrender of Bessus. By a remarkable retribution he was in turn betrayed by his own troops, who, desirous of conciliating their powerful foe, cut off the head of their leader, and offered it as their own propitiation. Several of his confederates still lived and took refuge in the mountainous region about the upper valleys of the Oxus, with other chiefs who persevered in the struggle for liberty. They were not, however, of sufficient importance to detain Alexander any longer in the countries where he had already spent nearly two years, and which had been subdued only with much difficulty and large expenditure of blood and treasure, as well as by diplomacy; for example, by his marriage with Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes, an influential Bactrian chief, he converted a dangerous enemy to a firm friend.

Greek Invasion of India.—In the spring of 327, Alexander prepared to attempt the conquest of the almost unknown countries bordering and beyond the Indus. The prestige of his success, and the generosity with which he treated all who submitted to his sway, induced a native ruler to send a friendly embassy before the army quitted Sogdiana. The name of this prince was recorded by the Greeks (who are unfortunately proverbial for the manner in which they distorted foreign words to suit their own pronunciation) as Omphis, or Mophis; but he was commonly called Taxiles, from Taxila,* the capital of his country, which lay between

* Taxila must have been a large and splendid city, but its site is still a matter of dispute. Schlosser places it at Attock, and Rennell at or near the same place. On the route leading thence to Lahore, are the ruins of a very ancient town of unknown name and origin, which is also supposed to have been Taxila. Abundance of Greek and Bactrian coins have been found in the numerous ruins and cupolas or topes which are scattered over the plain on which the present small village of Manikyala stands. One of these topes or tumuli (examined in 1833-34, by Mons. Court, an engineer officer then in the service of Runjeet Sing) was 80 feet high, with a circumference of 320 feet, solidly built of well-dressed quarried stones, some of huge size, cemented with lime; while a range of small columns, the capitals ornamented with rams' heads, surrounded the base. The Hindoos resort to the spot to offer up the first cuttings of the hair of their male children, a custom said to have been prevalent in ancient Greece. There are about fifteen smaller topes near the principal one; and, indeed, similar tumuli abound in different parts of Affghanistan, at Cabool, Jellalabad, in the Khyber hills, &c. They are generally constructed of sandstone, and of a nummulitic limestone (full of shell impressions), such as is found in the Egyptian pyramids. In one of the topes, which had a height of sixty or seventy feet, a cell was discovered at ten feet from the ground-level, whose four sides corresponded with the cardinal points; it was constructed in a solid manner, and covered with a massive slab containing inscriptions, some resembling the writings of the Rajpoots of the Himalaya, others the Ethiopian character. In the centre was a copper urn or cylinder, encircled by eight copper medals, (some apparently of the Winged-cap Sassanian dynasty,) with a wrapper of white linen tightly adhering to the surface, which fell into shreds on being exposed to the air. The copper enclosed a silver urn, the intervening space being filled with a moist paste, devoid of smell, of the colour of raw umber, in which lay a thread of cotton gathered up into a knot. The silver, from age, had become quite brittle, and crumbled into bits between the fingers, as the metals found at Nineveh have since done. Within the silver vessel was a much smaller golden one, and seven silver medals with Latin characters. The gold cylinder contained four small, worn, golden coins of the Græco-Scythian, or Græco-Indian type, but of a far inferior fabrication to the silver ones; there were also two precious stones and four perforated pearls (which had been pendants of ear-rings), fragments of a vitreous nature, and small transparent yellow substances, with decayed organic matter. The country around, as proved by the quantity of ruins of old houses, must have once been very populous. Whether these topes or mounds served for royal mausolea, or Boodhistical shrines, or both, is doubtful: they were possibly the consecrated tombs of kings or of persons of distinction. Some curious coincidences are observable between the ancient monuments and the sepulchral tumuli or *barrows* discovered in Essex

the upper Indus and the Hydaspes (Behut or Jhelum), the westermost of the five great tributaries, from which the whole eastern basin of the Indus, down to their confluence, is called the Punjaub (five rivers).

From Bactria and Sogdiana, as also from the neighbouring Scythian hordes, auxiliaries were raised to the amount of 70,000 persons, of whom 30,000 were youths, levied to serve at once as hostages and soldiers. Altogether the Greek force (exclusive of a corps of 10,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry left in Bactria, under the command of the satrap Amyntas) consisted of 120,000 foot and 15,000 horse. After crossing the Parapamisan chain, in ten days, (apparently by a different route to that which had been taken in the winter of 329,) through a pass described by Arrian as "high, narrow, and short," the troops reached Alexandria ad Caucasum, and from thence proceeded to a town named Nysa,* which would appear to have been the same city alleged to have been founded by the Indian Bacchus, or Dionysus. The inhabitants are said to have dexterously turned Alexander's claim to be considered as a son of Jupiter to advantage by entreating him to spare and protect the city founded by his "celestial brother;" and as an evidence of the truth of their statement, they pointed to the abundance of vines, wild and uncultivated, growing in their valleys, and to the ivy and laurel first planted by the hand of Bacchus, of which the Macedonians had, until then, seen none since they left Greece. Alexander offered sacrifices in honour of his divine predecessor, and permitted Nysa, which is described as an aristocratical republic under a discreet ruler named Acuphis, to retain its liberty and laws.† On proceeding to the banks of the river Cophenes, he was met at his own request by Taxiles, and several chiefs from the region west of the Indus; they brought him presents, and promised to gratify his desire for trained elephants, by the gift of all they possessed, which, however, amounted only to five-and-twenty. The army was then divided; one portion, under Hephæstion and Perdiccas, took the direct road to the Indus, with orders there to prepare a bridge of boats for the passage of the main body, which Alexander conducted by a more northern route over difficult mountain paths, to meet the hardy and warlike tribes, mentioned by Arrian under the names of the Aspii, the Thryæi, and the Arsæi. In a contest with the inhabitants of one of the towns, he was wounded, and the Greeks in their rage (having carried the double walls,) gave no quarter, but slaughtered all without distinction, and reduced the place to ashes. The whole of this campaign in the high lands of Affghanistan was marked by determined bravery on the part of the mountaineers, and sanguinary cruelty on that of the invader, who had no other plan for subduing a people, who desired—not generosity but justice, not to be well governed after his fashion, but to remain independent after their own. In the country of the unoffending Assaceneș‡ he behaved with especial barbarity. Having encamped before their capital, Mazagu, he made three determined attacks with battering-engines on different days, during which he was wounded in the leg and arm; the result of a fourth assault was yet doubtful, when the Affghan chief was slain, and the garrison were suffered to capitulate on the condition that 7,000 mercenaries from the Punjaub, who had been engaged in the service of the deceased leader, should join the Greek army. They accordingly marched out and encamped on a hill for the night, but evinced so much reluctance at the thought of fighting against

and other parts of England, which contained, like those of the Punjaub, various bronze urns, enclosing fragments of burnt bones, coins, glass, and even a similar brown or light yellow liquid or paste. Virgil, also, in the *Æneid* (vi., 215), describes the Roman custom of burning the dead; milk, wine, blood, and other *munera*, supposed to be grateful to the deceased, were poured on or mingled with the ashes, and money was usually added to defray the fee of Charon for ferrying the departed spirit across the Styx.

* The locality of the different towns and rivers mentioned by Alexander's historians, is much contested by modern geographers. The site of Nysa is pointed out by M. Court, at Ashnagur (whose suburbs are scattered over with vast ruins of unknown date); that of Alexandria ad Caucasum is variously placed at Ghuznee and at a place called Siggan; while the *Cophenes* is supposed to denote either the river formed by the confluence of the *Cabool* with the *Pendjsher*, or else the eastern branch of the *Helmund*, now known as the *Tarnuck*. The reader desirous of understanding the grounds upon which these and other opposite opinions rest, will find them fully discussed by the highest Indian authorities in the pages of the various Asiatic journals, and in the works of Rennell, Vincent, Elphinstone, Vigne, Burnes, Chesney, Masson, Long, &c.

† Recorded by Arrian, Quintus Curtius, and Plutarch in his *Life of Alexander*.

‡ Arrian says they had been subject to the Assyrians, then to the Medes, and subsequently to the Persians. The *Oritæ* are described by the same authority, as a nation whose country extended along the sea-coast for about 150 miles; and who wore the dress and arms of the other Indians, but differed from them in language and manners.

their countrymen, that Alexander, suspecting them of an intention to desert, caused them to be suddenly surrounded and cut to pieces. He then set at nought the capitulation by storming the defenceless city. The strongholds of Ora and Bazira were next reduced, the inhabitants of the latter place fled to a hill-fort on the right bank of the Indus, whose name seems to have been lost by the Greeks in that of Aornus,* a term indicative of its extraordinary height, above the flight of a bird. Here Hercules was said to have been defeated, and Alexander, desirous of excelling the exploits of even fabled heroes, and of proving himself not to be deterred by natural difficulties, proceeded to the attack; passing, it would appear, through the district of Peucelaotis, and taking possession of the chief city, Peucela, whose ruler, Astes, had fallen in the thirty days' siege of the force under Hephæstion and Perdiccas on their march eastward. Aornus he captured by forming a mound across a hollow of no great depth, but of considerable width, which separated a neighbouring hill from the pyramidical rock itself; thus a vantage-ground was gained to the surprise and terror of the besieged, who endeavoured to escape at night-fall, but were pursued with great slaughter into the plains beneath. The accounts given by Arrian of the next steps of Alexander's progress are scarcely reconcileable with those of Diodorus and Curtius; but it appears that he was compelled to return to the mountains to suppress insurrection, and that the people fled before him. He despatched his generals, Nearchus and Antiochus, to scour the country towards the north-west, while he himself opened a road, which no army had ever before trodden, to the banks of the Indus, and on his way captured some of the fugitives, who, among other information, told him that their elephants had been left in the thickets on the west side of the river. These animals having been obtained by the aid of native hunters, vessels were constructed, in which the force dropped down the stream to the bridge prepared for them by Hephæstion and Perdiccas, with the assistance of Taxiles, who came out with his army and elephants to meet Alexander on his arrival at the eastern shore of the Indus, and conducted him with much pomp to his capital.† Taxiles appears to have been very desirous to obtain the assistance of the

* Aornus was probably a general name for a stockaded mountain, such as that already mentioned in Bactria, and most likely Hellenized from the Sanscrit Awara, or Awarana, an enclosure. Its position is considered by some authorities to have been a little distance above Attock, while others consider it to be found at Peshawur, in front of the Khyber Pass, and reconcile this opinion with the statement of Arrian and Strabo, that the Indus flowed at the base of Aornus, by declaring that these writers evidently deemed the Cabool river the true Indus.

† It seems to have been during his stay at Taxila that Alexander had first the opportunity of gratifying his curiosity respecting the doctrine and practice of the Hindoo ascetics called gymnosophists by the Greeks. At Corinth, struck by the imperturbable stoicism of a man, who had nothing to ask, but that he should stand from betwixt him and the sun, he is reported to have exclaimed, that were he not Alexander he would wish to be Diogenes. In India he must have witnessed a far more interesting spectacle. The Greek philosopher had no higher object in his dogged abstinence from the comforts of civilized life than to place himself beyond the reach of what, in his blindness, he called chance or fortune; but the Brahmins sought, by self-inflicted tortures, and unceasing exposure to the severe influences of their burning sky, to win by slow degrees a release from mortality, and absorption into the Divine essence. Alexander was utilitarian in all his views; it might therefore be supposed he could have little sympathy with men whom he might have considered as visionary enthusiasts, but he was also extremely superstitious: his great intellect groped in darkness, unenlightened by any ray of revealed truth, which could show him the fundamental error of striving to found a universal, or at least an Asiatic empire, by means of unlimited conquests, gained at a terrible cost of blood, tears, and moral degradation. Still he was no mere conqueror; it was not simply a selfish ambition that prompted him—far less any brutal, or rather demoniacal, love of fighting. He ever strove to conciliate strange nations, by respecting their religious observances, as the best means of retaining permanent dominion over them; and it was probably a high political motive which rendered him solicitous to converse with the Brahmins (or rather Yogees), fifteen of whom were congregated in a grove near the city. The eldest and most honoured, called by the Greeks, Dandamis, refused either to visit or write to Alexander, declared (according to Strabo) to a total disbelief of his alleged Divine origin, and expressed equal indifference to persuasions or threats; gifts he needed not, and he added, alluding to the Hindoo doctrine of metempsychosis—"If he should put me to death, he will only release my soul from this old decrepit body, which will then pass into a freer and purer state; so that I shall suffer nothing by the change." One of the Yogees, named Sphines, called Calanus by the Greeks was, however, prevailed upon to go to Alexander, who, being much pleased with his discourse, carried him with him throughout his expedition, and even back to Persia. Calanus was there attacked with illness; and considering it as a summons from above, being then seventy-three years of age, prepared to terminate his life. Alexander having vainly laboured to dissuade him, caused a magnificent funeral pile to be raised, which Calanus, though weak with pain and illness, ascended with unfaltering resolution, singing hymns of prayer and praise. He then calmly composed his limbs, and without moving, was consumed in the sight of the king and the whole army.—(*Vide* Arrian, Strabo, and Plutarch.)

Greeks in carrying on war with a neighbouring and powerful prince, whose proper name has not descended to us, but only that of his family, Porus.* Alexander sent a peremptory summons, requiring tribute and allegiance, to which the Indian prince replied that he would come to the borders of his kingdom to meet the invader, but it should be in arms. His kinsman, a neighbouring ruler of the same name, whether from jealousy or induced by the munificent presents made to Taxiles, despatched an embassy with offers of submission. It is probable that Taxiles received an enlargement of his territory by the annexation of some of the newly-conquered districts on the west of the Indus; but the price paid by him was nothing less than the loss of liberty, since a Greek satrap was appointed for this part of India, and a Greek garrison stationed in his chief city. With forces strengthened by 5,000 Indian recruits, led by Taxiles, Alexander resumed his march in the middle of the year 326; for so it would appear from the statement of Aristobulus, that he experienced the commencement of the summer rains, which are not known to fall in the Punjaub before June or July. On his road to the Hydaspes he was interrupted, in a defile through which his road lay, by a nephew of Porus named Spittacus, or Spitaces, with a body of troops. These he soon dispersed, and arrived without further opposition on the right bank of the river, where he beheld the hostile army drawn up on the opposite side, the intervening stream being deep, rapid, and, at the time he reached it, probably little less than a mile broad. Although well provided with boats, rafts, and floats, Alexander was too prudent to attempt forcing a passage in the face of an equal if not superior enemy, and had therefore recourse to stratagem to disarm the vigilance of his antagonist. After making excursions in various directions, as if uncertain where to attempt crossing, he ordered magazines of provisions to be formed, as if for a long sojourn, and gave out that he intended awaiting the termination of the monsoon, which it is probable he would have really done but for intelligence that auxiliaries were on their way to strengthen the enemy. Night after night, bodies of cavalry rode noisily up or down the right bank, and Porus repeatedly drew up his elephants and proceeded towards the quarter whence the clamour arose; until, wearied by false alarms, he paid no attention to the movements upon the opposite shore. Alexander having selected a spot a day's march distance above the camp,† where the river made a westerly bend, and a thickly-wooded island divided the stream, left a strong division at the first station with orders to remain there until the elephants should be withdrawn from their menacing position, in which case they were to attempt the passage forthwith. The same command was given at the series of posts (horse and foot), stationed between the camp and the place of embarkation. Here preparations were made, under cover of the wood which clothed the projecting bank of the river, the din of axes and hammers, which might otherwise have attracted attention, (notwithstanding the feints previously resorted to) being overpowered by pealing thunder and torrents of rain, that lasted through the night hours, but ceased at daybreak. Alexander set out, accompanied by Perdiccas, Lysimachus, and Seleucus, with the flower of the Macedonian cavalry, and the Bactrian, Sogdian, and Scythian auxiliaries. In passing the wooded island before mentioned, they were first seen by the Indians, who immediately gave the alarm. The invaders landed, on what they thought to be the river bank, but really on another island, separated from the main by a channel swollen by floods into a formidable stream, which however proved fordable, and the whole division was, after some delay, landed, and drawn up in order of battle. The cavalry numbered about 5,000, the infantry probably nearly 20,000. Porus, perceiving

* Tod says that Porus was a corruption of Pooru, the patronymic of a branch of the royal Lunar race (*Rajast'han*, vol. i.); and Rennell states that the predecessor of the prince in question reigned in Canoge or Canouj, on the Ganges, which, according to Ferishta, was then the capital of all Hindoostan (*Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan*, p. 54).

† The precise spots at which the army encamped upon the Hydaspes, and crossed it, are not ascertained. Strabo points out that Alexander marched as near as possible to the mountains, and this useful indication is considered by Masson to establish his having followed the high road from Attock to Jhelum, which probably was then as now the most northerly of the Punjaub routes, and the one almost exclusively practicable during the monsoons. Consequently Porus took up his position on the eastern bank of the Jhelum at the point to which he knew Alexander must come, that is near the present village of that name, in whose locality, the sites of Nicæa and Bucephala, (though on different sides of the river) must be sought for. Rennell places the encampment opposite where the fortress of Rotas afterwards stood; and Vincent (who supposes the wooded island passed by Alexander to have been Jamad) about twenty-eight miles below Rotas.

that Alexander's tent remained in its place, and that the main body were apparently still at the encampment, regarded his actual approach as a stratagem to tempt him from an advantageous position, and merely sent forward his son or brother Hages with 2,000 horse and 120 war chariots, whom Alexander charged fiercely, with the whole of his cavalry. Hages and some 400 of his followers were slain, and the chariots, which had been with great difficulty brought over ground turned into a swamp by the rains, were all captured. Porus, on learning this disastrous commencement, left a part of his elephants to contest the passage of the Greeks stationed under Craterus at the encampment, and advanced to the decisive conflict, with a force (according to Arrian) of 30,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, and 300 chariots. Beyond the swampy ground, near the river, lay an open sandy tract, affording firm footing, and here he awaited Alexander's approach; his 200 elephants, bearing huge wooden towers, filled with armed men, being drawn up in front of the line, at intervals of a hundred feet, occupied with infantry; while one-half of the cavalry was posted at each flank, and the chariots (each containing six armed men) in front of them. After a long and quick march, Alexander arrived in sight with his cavalry, and halted to allow time for the foot to join him. Observing the disposition of the enemy, he instantly apprehended the necessity of depriving Porus of the advantage he must obtain from the almost invincible strength of the elephants and chariots when brought to bear in a direct attack, as well as the superior numbers of the opposing infantry, by a skilful use of the mounted troops, in which his strength lay. An attack on the enemy's left wing, would, he foresaw, draw the cavalry into action for its protection. Therefore, ordering the horse-bowmen to advance, he followed up the slight disorder caused by their arrows, by charging with the rest of the cavalry; while the Indian horse from the right being brought up, as foreseen, Cœnus, in accordance with previous orders, charged them in the rear, and the Macedonian phalanx advanced to take advantage of the confusion that ensued. The engagement became very complex; the elephants hemmed in and maddened by wounds, turned their fury indiscriminately against friend and foe, until many were killed, and the rest, spent with pain and toil, ceased to be formidable. Another general charge of horse and foot was made by the Greeks; the troops of Porus were completely routed, and fled, pursued by Craterus and the division from the right bank, who, having by this time effected their passage, engaged with ardour in the sanguinary chase. As is usual with Alexander's historians,* his loss is stated at an extremely small, and that of the enemy, at a proportionably large amount. The more moderate statement of Diodorus Siculus, gives the number of the slain on the side of Porus, at 12,000, including two of his sons and great part of his chief officers, besides 9,000 taken prisoners. The loss of the Macedonians is given at less than 1,000. Porus himself, mounted on an elephant, to the last directed the movements of his forces; and, although wounded in the shoulder, (his body was defended by a corslet of curious workmanship which was proof against all missiles,) would not retire until his troops were hopelessly dispersed; then he turned his elephant for flight, but, being a conspicuous object, was speedily captured, and carried, while senseless from loss of blood, into the conqueror's presence. Alexander, who had observed his gallant bearing during a conflict of seven or eight hours' duration, asked him how he desired to be treated, but could obtain no other answer than "as a king;" and, on observing that "this a king must do for his own sake," Porus replied that, "nevertheless in that all was included." The quick perception of character, which was one of Alexander's distinguishing and most serviceable qualities, taught him that Porus might prove a valuable and trustworthy auxiliary. He reinstated him in royal dignity, added considerably to his dominions, and brought about a reconciliation, in form at least, with Taxiles. On the Hydaspes or Jhelum, the conqueror founded two cities; one near the field of battle, named Nicæa, and another near his landing-place, named Bucephala, in honour of his famous horse, which, having accompanied him thus far, sank from fatigue, wounds, and old age, in the hour of victory. Craterus was left to superintend the building of these cities; and the main body were allowed a month's rest, probably chiefly on account of the continuance of the heavy rains. Alexander himself, with a select division of horse and foot, pursued his aggressive march through the rich and populous valleys on the north of the

* The details recorded by Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Curtius, and Plutarch, vary considerably, but the general tenor is the same.

territory of Porus, to the river Acesines or (Chenab,)* receiving, according to the Greek historians, the submission of thirty-seven cities—none containing less than 5,000 inhabitants,—all of which he annexed to the kingdom of Porus. The younger Porus, called the coward, fled from his dominions, from the fear that the favour shown to his kinsman portended his ruin, and took refuge at the court of Nanda, the reigning monarch of the Prachii or Prasii—who swayed nearly the whole of Eastern India. Ambisares, the king or chief of a tribe of mountaineers, and Doxareus, another native rajah or prince are mentioned by Arrian, as tendering their allegiance; the former sent a present of forty elephants. After crossing the *Hydraotes* (*Ravee*), Alexander traversed the country of the Cathæans to attack Sangala, a city of great strength and importance, which seems to have occupied nearly the same site as the modern capital of the Sikh monarchy, Lahore, on a branch of the Ravee, near the edge of a small lake.† The Cathæans or Catheri, (supposed, by Sanscrit scholars, to be a corruption of Cshatra, a mixed race, sprung from females of the warrior class, and men of inferior cast,) ‡ had confederated with the Malli and Sudracæ, or Oxydracæ, that is, the people of Moultan and Outch. On approaching Sangala, the Greeks found the Cathæans entrenched on an isolated hill, behind a triple barrier of waggons. Alexander, at the head of the phalanx, forced the three lines, and carried the place by storm; but with the loss of 1,200 killed and wounded. This vigorous resistance was revenged by sanguinary carnage—17,000 of the Cathæans were slain, 70,000 made prisoners, and Sangala razed to the ground. Despatching Porus (who had arrived during the siege with about 5,000 men) to place garrisons in the Cathæan towns, Alexander continued to advance to the south-east, received the submission of two princes, called by the Greeks Sopithes§ and Phegelus, and arrived at the banks of the *Hyphasis* (*Beyah*), just above its junction with the *Hesudrus* (*Sutlej*). The limit of his eastern progress was at length reached, for, even under his leadership, the weary and home-sick army would proceed no farther. He could have given them, at best, but unsatisfactory grounds of encouragement to continue their course. The narrow boundaries assigned by the geographers of the day to India, and the eastern side of the earth, were manifestly incorrect; the ocean which he had been taught to believe was separated by no very vast distance from the banks of the Indus, had receded, as he advanced to an immeasurable distance; and he had learned that beyond the Hydaspes a desert, more extensive than any yet encountered, parted the plains of the Punjaub from the region watered by the tributaries of the Ganges—a river superior to the Indus, having on its banks the capital of a great monarchy, that of the Prasii and Gangaridæ, whose king could bring into the field 200,000 foot, 20,000 horse, and several thousand elephants. The king himself is however represented to have been looked upon as an upstart and a usurper; and Alexander might probably have hoped to be enabled to carry out his object, by similar divisions among the natives to those which had materially aided him in his partial conquest of the Punjaub. The very dangers and difficulties of the attempt were but incitements to one whose object was universal empire—to be attained at the hazard of life itself, which he unhesitatingly imperilled in every battle. With passionate eloquence he reminded the Macedonians that the Hydraotes had already become the limit of their empire, which extended westward to the Ægean Sea, and northward to the river Jaxartes; and he urged them to cross the Hyphasis; then, having added the rest of Asia to their empire, to descend the Ganges, and sail round Africa to the pillars of Hercules.—(Arrian, lib. v., cap. 25.)

Finding this appeal without effect, or at least overborne by the recollection of the fatigues and privations undergone during the preceding campaign in the rainy season, Alexander angrily declared that he should proceed, attended only by those who desired to accompany him; the rest might return home, and say that they had forsaken their king in the midst of enemies. The silence and deep gloom which pervaded the camp at length convinced Alexander that no considerable portion of the army could be prevailed upon to cross the Hy-

* Alexander called it Acesines; the ancient native name was Chandrabagha—the moon's gift.

† Burnes, vol. i., p. 156.—Masson does not consider the Sangala of Arrian to have denoted the Indian city of Sagala, whose site is now indicated by that of Lahore, but places it at Hareepah.

‡ Masson dissents, believing them to have been the Catti, a nomadic Scythian tribe.

§ According to Arrian, Sopithes submitted in the descent of the fleet from Bucephala, whence three days' journey brought Alexander to the territory of this prince, where Strabo says there were famous salt

phasis. He found either a pretext or a reason for yielding to the general wish, in the unfavourable auspices which attended the sacrifices offered for the purpose of consulting the gods respecting his future advance; and, after erecting twelve colossal towers or altars, in token of his gratitude for having been brought thus far safe and victorious, and reviving, by horse-races and gymnastic exercises, the drooping spirits of his troops, he conferred on Porus the government of the country towards the Hyphasis,* and commenced retracing his steps. At the Acesines he found the city which Hephæstion had been ordered to build, ready to receive a colony, and there he left the disabled mercenaries, and as many natives of the neighbouring districts, as were willing to join them. At the Hydaspes, he repaired the injuries caused by floods to Nicæa and Bucephala, and was reinforced from Greece by 6,000 horse and 7,000 infantry.† The fleet, (comprising 2,000 vessels of various kinds, whereof eighty were war galleys, which part of the army had been employed all the summer in constructing, while the rest, wanted for transport and provisions, had probably been seized from the people of the country,) was completed and manned, and the command entrusted to Nearchus. Having divided his army into four corps, of which the main body, with about 200 elephants, were to advance along the eastern bank, Alexander himself embarked, and proceeded without impediment to the confluence of the Hydaspes and Acesines, where, owing to the narrow channel and high banks between which the united rivers were then pent up, rapid and strong eddies were formed, which so astonished the sailors as to deprive them of the self-command necessary to fulfil the instructions previously given by the Indian pilots. Several of the long galleys were much shattered, two sank with the greater part of their crews, but the shorter and rounder vessels sustained no injury.‡ A headland on the right bank afforded shelter to the fleet, which Alexander left to undergo the necessary repairs, while he proceeded on an inland expedition to the westward against the Seevi or Saivas, a people evidently thus named from their worship of the second member of the Brahminical Triad, whose symbol they marked upon their cattle. Then, crossing the river, he marched eastward against the Malli and Sudracæ, the latter of whom appear from their designation to have been derived from the Soodra caste, while among the former the Brahmins decidedly predominated. They did not intermarry, and had little or no friendly intercourse. The sudden danger which threatened their independence had driven them to a partial junction, and their aggregate forces are stated at the lowest at 80,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 700 chariots, but want of unanimity in the choice of a leader had prevented their combination. The Malli especially seem to have relied confidently on the strength of their fortified towns, and on the natural advantages of their peninsula, which was protected to the north by a desert of considerable extent. As it was on this side that they might be expected to feel most secure, Alexander struck across the desert into the heart of the country with a division of light troops, while two separate corps, under Hephæstion and Ptolemy, traversed it in other directions to intercept the fugitives he might drive before him. By marching day and night, with a very short intermission, he appeared early on the second morning before one of the strongholds, in which, as likely to be last attacked, many of the natives had taken refuge. A great number were surprised unarmed without the walls, many were put to the sword, the rest fled into the town, which, notwithstanding a gallant defence, was speedily stormed, and the people massacred without distinction. The inhabitants of the neighbouring villages forsook them, and some fled to the Hydraotes, pursued in a forced night march by Alexander, who, on coming up to the ford, made considerable slaughter among those who had not yet crossed, and then, plunging in the stream, pursued the fugitives on the opposite side. Many took refuge in another fortified town, which is described by the Greeks as if inhabited by Brahmins only, and these are mentioned as a different race from the Malli, who fled to them for shelter. Here the most determined resistance was offered; when the besieged could no longer defend their walls against the

mines;—this seems to refer to the Salt range of Pindi Waden Khan.

* According to Arrian (lib. vi., cap. 2), by the final arrangement of the affairs of the northern Punjaub, Porus gained a fresh addition of territory, and became lord of (in all) seven nations and 2,000 cities.

† Quintus Curtius, lib. ix., cap. 3.

‡ The chief obstructions appear to have been worn away, for the passage is no longer formidable.

superior skill of the assailants, they retreated to the citadel, and this being stormed, set fire to their houses; and almost all, to the number of 5,000, perished fighting, or in the flames. The last memorable contest with the Malli, occurred in the taking of their capital, which Burnes considers to be represented by Moultan, but Rennell supposes to have been at Tolumba, nearer the Hydraotes. Having dispersed the hostile army drawn up on the high and steep banks of this river, Alexander encircled the town with his cavalry, and the next morning commenced the attack on two sides. The besieged retreated to the citadel, and the king and his troops, cutting their way with the hatchet through a postern, arrived at the foot of the wall. Here Alexander eagerly called for scaling ladders, but these, from the supposition that all resistance was over, had been mostly left behind. Two or three were however brought; seizing the first, Alexander fixed it himself, mounted and gained the top of the wall, which it seems was narrow and without battlements. The soldiers, alarmed for his safety, crowded after him with such impatience that the ladders broke with their weight, and Alexander, in his splendid armour, with but three companions, stood a mark for the enemy's missiles from the nearest towers and the adjacent parts of the fortress. The Macedonians beneath, entreated him to throw himself into their arms. He hesitated a moment, but to turn his back upon his foes, even under such circumstances as these, was a step he could not bring himself to take; and, probably remembering that his guards would dare a thousand deaths for his rescue, he leapt down into the citadel, and alighting on his feet, took his stand against the wall, sheltered also by the trunk and spreading boughs of a tree. Here he defended himself, until joined by his three associates, one of whom (Abreas) speedily received a mortal wound from an arrow, in the face. Almost immediately afterwards another arrow pierced Alexander's corslet, lodging deep in the right breast; and, after a short struggle, fainting through loss of blood, he sank upon his shield. His remaining companions, Peucestes and Leonnatus, though both wounded, stood over him until they were joined by their friends, who, by various expedients, (such as driving pegs into the clay walls,) had climbed the top, and forced a gate from the inside, through which numbers poured in, carried off their king, and in their fury slaughtered every man, woman, and child without exception. For some time the conqueror lay in his tent, reduced to the last extremity by the great loss of blood which followed the extraction of the barbed steel, while deep anxiety prevailed in the camp—inspired partly by true affection, and partly by fear for themselves, in the event of the death of the only man they believed capable of leading them back safely through the strange lands they had traversed as victors. At length Alexander rallied; during his tedious convalescence, such of the Malli and Sudracæ as had remained in arms, tendered submission. The envoys consisted of above 100 of their chief men; they were persons of lofty stature and bearing, all rode in chariots, were clad in linen robes embroidered with purple and gold, and bore magnificent presents. According to Curtius, a tribute of the same amount as they had previously paid the Arachosians was imposed upon them; and a thousand of their bravest warriors were demanded as hostages, or, if they were willing, to serve in the Greek army. These were immediately sent, together with 500 chariots as a free gift, and, among other rarities, several tamed lions and tigers. Alexander, pleased with their readiness, accepted the chariots and sent back the hostages. At the confluence of the Acesines with the Indus, he ordered a city,* with docks and arsenals, to be constructed; and sailed down the latter river to the chief place of a people, called, by the Greeks, Sudracæ or Sogdi. Here he planted a colony; changed the name to Alexandria, built an arsenal, refitted a part of his fleet, and, proceeding southward, entered the rich and fertile territories of a powerful ruler, whose real name has been apparently perverted into that of Musicanus. This prince proffered allegiance, which Alexander accepted, but ordered a fortress to be built in his capital, which was occupied by a Macedonian garrison; thence, marching to the westward, he advanced against a chief, spoken of under the name of Oxycanus, or Porticanus, who was con-

* It must be remembered that cities, so called, are very easily founded in the east. For this purpose a fort or castle, and walls of brick or mud, marking out the limits of "the Pettah" or town suffice for a commencement, and population soon follows, brought either by compulsion or attracted by the natural advantages of the site, to erect there the mud hovels which form their ordinary dwellings.

sidered to have held himself suspiciously aloof, and stormed two of his cities—in one of which, Oxycanus was himself taken or slain; upon this all the other towns submitted without resistance. In the adjacent high-lands, a chief, called Sambus, whose territory is now known as Sinde, fled from his capital (according to Arrian) at the approach of the invader; who took possession of his elephants and treasure, and proceeded to capture a town which ventured to oppose him, at the instigation of some Brahmins, whom he slew. The same influence, during Alexander's absence, had been exerted in the court of Musicanus, and he revolted, in an evil hour, for himself and his country: Being taken prisoner he was crucified with the leading Brahmins, and the chief towns razed to the ground, or subjected to the stern surveillance of foreign garrisons. The submission of the king of Pattala, named or entitled Mœris, whose rule extended over the Delta of the Indus, completed Alexander's command of that river. At Pattala, (thought to be now represented either by Tatta or Allore,) he immediately prepared to fortify a citadel, form a harbour, and build docks sufficient for a large fleet, and likewise to dig wells in the neighbouring districts, where there was great scarcity of water, to render the country habitable, and suitable for the passage of troops or travellers. According to a modern writer, (Droysen,) Alexander's object in so doing was nothing less than to facilitate the communication between Pattala and the east of India, and to open it for caravans from the countries on the Ganges and from the Deccan; but even supposing him to have obtained sufficient geographical knowledge for the formation of this plan, he had no present means of executing it, and must have contented himself meanwhile in surveying the mouths and delta of the Indus, and taking measures for the establishment of commercial intercourse with the West. With a squadron of fast sailing galleys he prepared to explore the western branch of the river to the sea; but the voyage proved disastrous, the native pilots brought from Pattala made their escape, and on the second day a violent gale meeting a rapid current of the Indus, caused a swell in which most of the galleys were severely injured and many went to pieces. While the shipwrights were engaged in repairing this misfortune a few light troops were sent up the country in search of pilots, who being obtained, conducted Alexander safely almost to the mouth, when the wind blew so hard from the sea, that he took refuge in a canal (*nullah*) pointed out by them. Here the Macedonians, first beheld the phenomenon called the "Bore," and witnessed with extreme consternation the sudden rush of a vast volume of water from the ocean up the river-channel, with such violence as to shatter the galleys not previously firmly imbedded in the mud. After again refitting, the fleet was moored at an island named Cilluta, but Alexander, with the best sailors, proceeded to another isle, which lay beyond in the ocean. Here he offered sacrifices to various deities; then, putting out in the open sea, to satisfy himself that no land lay within view to the southward, he celebrated different rites in honour of the sea-god Neptune, whose proper realm he had now entered. The victims, and the golden vessels in which the libations had been offered, having been thrown into the deep, he rejoined the squadron, and returned by the same arm of the Indus to Pattala.

The navigation of the rivers had employed about nine months; and nearly four appear to have been spent in and near Pattala. It was toward the end of August 325 B.C.,* when the preparations were completed for the departure of the fleet and army from the Indus; the former, under Nearchus the Cretan, being destined to undertake a voyage of discovery to the Persian Gulf; the latter, under Alexander, to march along the coast—an enterprise of little less danger, in which, according to tradition, the armies of Semiramis and Cyrus had perished almost to a man. Of the real difficulties of the route Alexander had probably but a vague conception, but he was incited to encounter them, by a desire to provide for the exigencies of the fleet, and to explore and consolidate a portion of the empire which he had hitherto at most but nominally subjected. The force of either armament is not recorded. On invading India it would appear the army had consisted of 120,000 men, and while there had received reinforcements; allowing therefore for the numbers lost or left behind in garrisons and colonies, and for the division previously sent from Pattala under Craterus, (through Arachosia to Carmania,) probably, at least

* Dr. Vincent in his *Voyage of Nearchus*, vol. i. p. 180, fixes the time of departure at a year earlier, but I have preferred following Thirlwall's reading or rather correction of Arrian's chronology.

50,000 remained under the immediate command of the king. Respecting the squadron under Nearchus, we have no other guide than the list of the thirty-three galleys before referred to as equipped on the Hydaspes; many of these were fitted out by individuals at their own cost, for it would appear that at that period the finances of their leader were at a very low ebb, probably owing to the unbounded munificence with which he lavished upon his friends what he had acquired by the sword. Some weeks had yet to elapse before the trade-winds would set in from the north-east, and so become favourable to the voyage. The departure of the army was not however delayed on this account, and Alexander set out on his return to the West, leaving the admiral and fleet to follow at leisure. His route need be here but briefly noticed. Crossing the chain of mountains which descends west of the Indus from the Paropamisus to the sea, he entered a region surrounded on three sides by lofty ranges, traversed by a river called the *Arabius*, (*Poorallee* or river of *Sonmeany*,) which separated the territory of two independent tribes—the Arabitæ and Oritæ, the former of whom fled to the adjacent desert, but the latter, who were more civilised and their lands better cultivated, offered a formidable resistance, fighting desperately with poisoned arrows. Their country was however overrun by the cavalry; and, in what seems to have been the largest of the villages in which they lived, named Rambacia, Alexander planted a colony. Thence advancing through a difficult pass in the western mountains, he arrived at about the beginning of October in the wild barren region of Gedrosia, the southern Mekran; the whole coast of which as far as Cape Jask, is called by the Greeks, the land of the Ichthyophagi or Fish-eaters. The heat, though beginning to subside, was still excessive; the troops generally moved during the night, but often at daybreak were obliged to prolong their weary march under a burning sun, until they should reach the next watering-place. Yet their road seems to have seldom diverged more than two or three days' journey from the sea —being frequently within sight of it—without crossing any part of the Great Sandy Desert, bounded by the mountains of southern Mekran; except perhaps for a short distance near the confines of Gedrosia and Carmania (Kerman). In the latter fruitful* and well-watered province, Alexander was soon after his arrival joined by Craterus and his division, and all anxiety respecting Nearchus was subsequently dispelled by tidings that the admiral had landed on the coast within five days' march of the camp. He had been compelled by the hostility of the natives at Pattala, to start before the proper season had arrived; and, though he waited four-and-twenty days on the Arabite coast, three of his vessels were afterwards lost in the adverse monsoon. On the coast of the Oritæ† he met Leonnatus, who had been left in Rambacia to furnish him with a ten days' supply of corn, and who had been meanwhile engaged in a sharp conflict with the natives. Nearchus does not appear to have lighted on any of the magazines stored at various points by Alexander for his use; but, after manifold hardships and perils from the dangers of an unknown sea, the barrenness of the coast, the hostility of the people, and the despondency of his own crews, he at length with the aid of a Gedrosian pilot reached the mouth of the Persian Gulf, and eventually landed near the mouth of the river *Anamis* (*Ibrahim*), not far to the west of the island of Ormuz. These happy events were celebrated by a solemn festival and triumphal procession—enlivened, as usual, by gymnastic games, musical and poetical contests, which probably gave rise to the idea of the march through Carmania having been one continued Bacchanalian revel. The king urged Nearchus to allow some other officer to conduct the fleet to the mouth of the Tigris and not expose himself to further danger and fatigue; but he would not consent to let another complete his glorious expedition, and rejoined the squadron with orders to meet Alexander at Susa. As it was winter the main body of the army proceeded thither along the Persian Gulf where the climate was mild, and Alexander with some light troops and cavalry took the upper road through Persepolis. At Susa we take leave of this great man; his career so far as India was concerned was quite ended, indeed life itself was fast ebbing away. In the spring of 323 B.C., in the second year after his return to Babylon, while planning a fresh capital for his Asiatic empire, he caught a fever in the Mesopotamian marshes, and this disorder being increased by one of the drinking matches

* Strabo says the grapes hung in clusters three feet long. † See note to page 27.

which disgraced his court, abruptly terminated an eventful career at thirty-two years of age, the solace of his last days being to hear Nearchus relate "the story of his voyage, and all that was most observable with respect to the ocean."* The long and sanguinary contests which ensued among his generals,—commencing while his body lay unembalmed and ending not until the majority of those disputants themselves, as well as all of his kin, (including his half-brother and successor Arridæus, his wives Statira and Roxana, his posthumous son Alexander, and his beloved though wicked and intriguing mother Olympias,) had fallen victims to the treacherous plots formed by the majority of them against each other—have no place in these pages. The history and triumphs of Alexander have been narrated at some length, for the sake of showing the manner in which he was led on, first by the pursuit of Darius, and afterwards of Bessus, to Bactria and to the verge of India. His progress is no mere matter of antiquarian research,† but exercises an important bearing on the political question of the present time, respecting the possible advance of an European army through central Asia to the Indus, or *via* Syria, the Euphrates, and the Persian Gulf, to the shores of the Indian Ocean; a subject which will be discussed when examining the motives of the British incursions into Afghanistan at various periods.

In the history of the civilized world, the epoch of Alexander would ever be memorable were it only for his exploits in India, since by them this great country was first placed as it were within reach, and some firm ground afforded to European geographers whereon to set foot in future investigations. The Greek historians though often contradictory, and censurable in many respects, have yet recorded much valuable information respecting the Indians (as they term the Hindoos), the accuracy of which is attested by the ancient records revealed to us by the labours of oriental students, and further by the striking resemblance which their descriptions bear, even after the lapse of two thousand years, to the existing characteristics of the inhabitants of the countries then visited. Thus Arrian, whose account of Ancient India is unquestionably the most to be relied on of any now extant, notices among other points the slender form of the Hindoos, the classes or sects into which they were divided, and the prohibition of intermarriage, widow burning,‡ perpetuation of trades in families, vegetable diet, faces streaked with colours, men wearing earrings, veils covering the head and shoulders, parti-coloured shoes, umbrellas carried only over principal personages, cotton manufactures of great fineness and whiteness, two-handed swords, and other matters. The people appear to have been extraordinarily numerous, and to have made considerable progress in the arts of civilised life. Their bravery was strikingly manifest; and it is remarkable, that notwithstanding the numbers recorded as having fallen in their engagement with Alexander, are as usual incredibly greater on their side than

* Langhorne's *Translation of Plutarch's Life of Alexander*, p. 218.

† It may be here well to observe, that in the foregoing brief sketch of Alexander's march, written for general readers, no attempt has been made to enter upon the discussion of the disputed localities at which he conquered or founded cities. One such point would involve as much space as can here be devoted to the whole march—at least, if the varying opinions of the several authorities ancient and modern, were to be fairly and fully stated. I have, therefore (with some slight exceptions), merely given the probable sites, leaving the reader to prosecute further inquiries in the pages of the oriental scholars already repeatedly named. It is greatly to be regretted that the works of none of the primary historians have descended to us, save some fragments preserved by their successors. Of these last, Arrian, who wrote in the early part of the second century B.C., is recognized as the most trustworthy, though his bald outline contrasts forcibly with the more highly-coloured pictures of Quintus Curtius, who seems to have followed Alexander's campaigns with much diligence. Strabo also is a most valuable authority on this as on other geographical questions. Yet the loss of the writings of Bæton or Biton the authorised recorder of the marches, is irreparable, (especially when we consider the importance attached by Alexander to accurate geographical information) as also those of the first Ptolemy, and of Apollodorus the famed historian of Bactria. No conclusive opinion can be formed regarding the knowledge possessed by the Hindoos of this invasion, until we are better acquainted with the records still stored up and hidden from us in various places. Thus, the literary treasures of the libraries of Patan (a city in Rajpootana) of Jessulmer (a town north-west of Joudpore) Cambay, and the Thibetian monasteries remain to be explored, as also many other valuable MS. collections, including those of the travelling Jain and Boodhist bishops. According to Tod and other writers, Alexander is known in India under the name of *Escander Dhulcarnein* (two-horned), in allusion to his dominions in what they considered the eastern and western extremities of the earth. The rajahs of Chittoor are also said to boast of descent from the sovereign termed Porus who opposed the Macedonian conqueror.

‡ In the country of Taxiles, but only however as an exceptional instance.

his; yet he lost a larger proportion of troops in battle with them than had previously fallen in the Persian war. The office of the husbandman was invariably held sacred among the Hindoos, he was never disturbed in his labours, and to root up or wilfully injure growing crops was a breach of a recognised natural law no native prince would have ventured to commit. On the whole the impression of the Indian character left on the mind of the Greeks was decidedly favourable; the people were described as sober, moderate, peaceable, singularly truthful, averse to slavery in any form, and attached to liberal municipal institutions.

The productions of India had by tedious routes (which it will be necessary to point out in a subsequent section, when depicting the present state of their commerce), long found a ready market in Europe. The desire for them now increased tenfold. The foresight of Alexander was fully vindicated by the rapidity with which the Egyptian Alexandria began, under the first Ptolemy, to receive and pour forth its full tide of wealth; and Babylon also became a great emporium. His characteristic policy* in freeing the Euphrates and Tigris from the physical impediments to navigation placed by a weak restrictive government, shattered the fetters which had long bound the enterprising spirit of trade in these countries, and enabled it to find vent in the passage opened up with India, both by sea and land.

The cities or military stations placed near the Indus soon languished, for the Europeans left there by the king, on hearing of his death hastened to escape from what they had from the first considered no better than hopeless exile. But commerce had received a powerful stimulus, and cotton and silk manufactures, ivory, gems richly set, costly gums, pepper and cinnamon, dyes and drugs, were poured rapidly into Europe in return for the precious metals,† which entered India in coins of many forms (now vainly sought for by antiquarians), and were there melted down to be shaped into idols, or to deck unhallowed shrines, and be thus stored up to an incalculable extent, to gorge eventually the avarice of the ruthless Mussulmans of a later age.

* Alexander's conquests were intended, as has been repeatedly stated, as a means of carrying out his vast commercial schemes. He hoped out of war to bring peace; and one of his favourite plans to promote this ultimate object was, the founding of several new cities in Asia and in Europe, the former to be peopled with Europeans, and the latter with Asiatics, so that "by intermarriages and exchange of good offices the inhabitants of those two great continents might be gradually moulded into a similarity of sentiments, and become attached to each other with mutual affection."—(Diod. Sic., lib. xviii., c. 4.)

† Pliny, writing in the first century of the Christian era, complains that Rome was exhausted by a

THE GREEK TO THE MOHAMMEDAN INVASIONS.—The king of the Prasii (as the Greeks termed the *Prachi* or *East*) at the time of Alexander's campaign in the Punjaub, was the last Nanda, who, as has been shown, both Greek and Hindoo writers agree in describing as of low birth. He was slain by his successor, Chandra Gupta, or Sandracottus, about 310, B.C., who appears to have spent a short time when a youth in the Macedonian camp, whence he fled to avoid the wrath of Alexander, which he had roused in some unexplained manner. Chandra Gupta was king when Seleucus, to whom in the division of power Syria and the Bactrian and Indian satrapries had fallen, proceeded to claim the sovereignty, though at first under the name of the governorship of these territories. He marched in person to reduce the local authorities to obedience, and flushed with victory proceeded at the head of a considerable force to India, B.C. 303. The brief and conflicting accounts of his progress which have descended to us, indicate that he advanced even to the Ganges, but was deterred from warlike proceedings, either by the necessity of turning back with his strength unimpaired to defend another portion of his dominions attacked by Antigonus, or else by the formidable array drawn out against him by Chandra Gupta, who had previously greatly extended and consolidated his kingdom. The result appears to have been that Seleucus made over to the Hindoo sovereign, not only all the country conquered by Alexander eastward of the Indus, but also that to the westward as far as the river *Arabius;* while Chandra Gupta on his part acknowledged this concession by a present of 500 war chariots. How far Porus and Taxiles, or their successors, were consulted in this proceeding, or how they acted, is not stated; but in their conduct immediately after the king's death, they showed themselves faithful and much attached to the Greeks. A family connection is alleged to have been formed between Seleucus and Chandra Gupta, by the marriage of a daughter of the former with the latter, (who being a Soodra might marry as he pleased;) and it is certain that friendly intercourse existed between them, an ambassador named

Megasthenes having been sent to Palibothra, the capital of the Prasii, where he resided many years. It is further stated that the Hindoo monarch had Greek mercenaries in his service, and placed Greek governors in some of his provinces; that during his reign the foreigners were much respected, but afterwards brought general odium upon their nation throughout Western India by their treacherous and cruel rapacity. Their language must have spread and taken root in the land—for according to Masson, one of our best authorities on this head, "there is sufficient testimony that the Greek language was studied and well known by the fashionable and higher classes during the first and second centuries of the Christian Era." The embassy of Dimachus to the son and successor of Chandra Gupta (called Allitrochidas by the Greek writers), is the last transaction recorded between Syrian and Indian monarchs, until the lapse of about 80 years, when Antiochus the Great, after the close of his war with the revolted provinces of Bactria and Parthia, entered India, and made peace with a king named Sophragasenus (supposed to be Asoca), after exacting from him elephants and money.

The descriptions given by Megasthenes,* who had the best means of judging correctly on the subjects of which he wrote, are calculated to convey a high opinion of the wealth and power of the kingdom generally, but especially of Palibothra.† Yet, according to this writer, India comprised no less than 118 independent states; but this however he only gives on hearsay, and, supposing the number to be unexaggerated, we cannot tell how small the territories may have been which this enumeration included.

The Soodra successors of Chandra Gupta certainly exceeded him in power—and in the hyperbolical language of the Puranas, are said to have brought the "whole earth under one umbrella."‡ Asoca, the greatest of that line, exercised command over the states to the north of the Nerbudda river; and the edicts§ graven on columns at remote points prove not merely the extent of his dominions but also the civilized character of his government, since they include orders for the establishment of hospitals and dispensaries throughout his empire, as well as for planting trees and digging wells along the public highways. And this too was to be done, not only in Asoca's own provinces, but also in others occupied by "the faithful," (meaning the Boodhists, of whom this king was the great patron), "even as far as Tambapanni; (Taprobane, or Ceylon,)" and "moreover within the dominions of Antiochus the Greek [Antiochia Yôna Raja] of which Antiochus's generals are the rulers." An edict found on a rock, and from its shattered state only partially legible, expresses exultation at the extension of the doctrines of Asoca (?) Pryadarsi (especially with regard to sparing the life of animals, which however is not a Boodhist tenet) in foreign countries; and contains a fragment translated thus:—"and the Greek king besides, by whom the chapta (?) kings Turamayo, Gongakena, and Maga."‖ Turamayo was considered by the late Mr. James Prinsep to denote Ptolemy Philadelphus, who had a brother named Magas, married to a daughter of Antiochus I., which would establish that the Antiochus referred to in the edict previously quoted, was either the first or the second of that

drain equal to £400,000 per annum, required for the purchase of luxuries—the produce of India, Seres, and Arabia; and Robertson, writing in 1791, says—"India, from the age of Pliny to the present time, has been always considered and execrated as a gulf which swallows up the wealth of every other country, that flows incessantly towards it, and from which it never returns."—(*Historical Disquisition*, p. 203.) At the commencement of the present century the golden current changed its course, and flowed with increasing volume from Hindoostan to Britain, not, however, by the channel of commerce merely, but of compulsory tribute, to an extent and in a manner which will be subsequently shown.

* Megasthenes wrote many works, of which only scattered fragments have been preserved. His disposition to exaggerate, and undue love of the marvellous, were urged as reasons for this neglect; but it is to be doubted whether the critics were always competent judges of what they rejected. As it is, enough remains to testify, in connection with existing Hindoo records, ruins, and inscriptions, that the writer was a keen observer, and a valuable witness, although occasionally led into the narration of fables, or at least gross exaggerations.

† Palibothra was described by Megasthenes as being eight miles long, and one and-a-half broad, defended by a deep ditch, and a high rampart, with 570 towers and 64 gates. Its site is placed by Rennell at Patna, by D'Anville at Allahabad, and by Wilford at Raj-mehal.

‡ Wilson's *Hindoo Theatre*, vol. iii., p. 14.

§ Similar mandates are inscribed on a rock on Girnar, a mountain in Guzerat; and on a rock at Dhauli in Cuttack on the opposite side of India. They were deciphered by Mr. Prinsep, and are written in Pali, the dialect in which the sacred books of the Boodhists are composed.

‖ At Kapur di Ghari, the entire edict exists in the Arian language, the word translated by Prinsep "Chapta" is there "chatare," *four*, Gongakena reads *Antakana* and Maga, *Maka*.—*Masson.*

name; that is, either the son or grandson of Seleucus. It is remarkable that Asoca, in his youth, was governor of Oojein or Malwa, which must therefore have been possessed by his father. The reigning family was succeeded by three other Soodra dynasties, the last of which, the Andras, acceded to power about the beginning of our era; and, according to two Puranas, terminated in Pulimat or Pulomarchish, A.D. 436. By a curious coincidence, the Chinese annals* translated by De Guignes, notice in A.D. 408, the arrival of ambassadors from the Indian prince, Yue-gnai, King of Kia-pi-li, evidently Capili (the birth-place of Boodha or, according to Colonel Sykes, the seventh Boodha, Sakya-muni), which the Chinese have put for all Magadha. Yue-gnai again bears some resemblance to Yaj-nasri, or Yajna, the king actually on the throne of the Andras at the period referred to. A confused enumeration of dynasties succeeds, with little attempt at historical order, from which a foreign invasion, followed by a long period of disorder, has been inferred, though perhaps not on sufficient grounds. At length, after an interval of several centuries, Magadha is spoken of as subject to the Gupta kings of Canouj, and from that period is no more distinctly noticed; but its fame has been preserved, from its having been, as before mentioned, the birth-place of Boodha, and from its language (Magadhi, or Pali) being employed in the writings of that extensively diffused religion, as well as in those of the Jains. The claim of universal monarchy in India, is found advanced in records and inscriptions, not only by princes of the Magadha dynasty, but also by those of Cashmere, of Delhi, Canouj, Bengal, Malwa, Guzerat, and other places; but the evidence cited in favour of their respective claims, is pretty generally deemed insufficient, and is frequently contradictory. To attempt reducing the histories of these kingdoms and their pretensions into form, would be a long and tedious task; which, even if successfully accomplished, could have little interest for the general reader, for at best, it would be but like arranging the scattered fragments of a child's puzzle, of which the chief pieces are wanting. At a future but perhaps not distant day, the patient and able research already so successfully directed to the study of oriental literature, may enable us to decide upon many points now involved in numberless difficulties and to draw a correct picture of India, without the danger, at present inevitable, of giving undue prominence to events of minor interest, and omitting altogether many important features. Before passing entirely from the subject of the condition of India between the time of Alexander and the Mohammedan era, it is, however, necessary to add a few remarks on the chief kingdoms of Hindoostan and the Deccan, so as to afford the reader

* Chi-fa-Hian, a Chinese Boodhist priest, visited India at the beginning of the fifth century, on a pilgrimage to the chief seats of the religion of Boodha, where he spent six years. His travels have been translated from the Chinese by M. Remusat. The Boodhistical religion, according to his account, had then suffered a serious and irreparable decline at Mathura and in the eastern districts of Hindoostan; and the Brahminical faith was in the ascendant. Temples and towers of past ages still existed, but the population had disappeared, and the country was in many such places a wilderness. Rajagriha, the abode of Jarasandha, the first of the Magadha kings, and the ancient capital, then exhibited the ruins of a large city, of which traces were still visible to Dr. Buchanan, in 1807–1814. The palace of Asoca, or A-yu, at Patali-pootra, or Kusuma-pura, built of stone, was entire when seen by Fa-Hian, and presented such superior specimens of sculpture and engraving, that they were ascribed to superhuman architects—genii, who laboured for the patron of *Fo*. The city of Ni-li, built in the neighbourhood by Asoca, was embellished by a handsome column, surmounted by a lion. Other columns, with lion capitals, were seen in different places. Central India is spoken of as under the government of one king; the cities and towns large, the people rich, charitable, and just in their actions, but given to discussion. In the month of May (the birth-day of Sakya-muni) four-wheeled cars were drawn about the streets; they had each a building of five stages which looked like a tower, were ornamented with gold, silver, coloured glass, and embroidery, and hung with carpets and white felt, adorned with painted figures of the celestial divinities; on the summits were a figure of Boodha. This was a season of great festivity, the streets were filled with people who flocked in from the neighbouring country; there were theatrical representations, feats of the athletæ, concerts of music and nightly illuminations; hospitals were opened for the sick, cripples, and orphans, who were solaced and relieved by the representatives of the different chiefs. At Magadha the priest sat himself down in a monastery for three years to study the sacred language and copy the MSS. Bengal then carried on extensive maritime traffic with the south-west regions and other places. Fa Hian took a passage in a large trading ship to Ceylon, which he reached (during the north-west monsoon) in fourteen days; thence he sailed for Java in a Hindoo ship, with 200 people, provisioned for ninety days. Altogether the travels of this intelligent Chinese abound in curious information; they corroborate the accounts of cities, and of the manners and customs of their inhabitants, given by native writers, and prove the Hindoos were then merchants, and even navigators on a considerable scale.—(Abstracted from *notes on Ancient India.* By Colonel Sykes.)

some slight clue to their relative importance, antiquity, and position.*

That of *Bengal* is mentioned in the Maha Bharat, and the Ayeen Akbery continues the succession through five dynasties up to the Mohammedan conquest. These lists are to some extent supported by the inscriptions found in various places, which among other matters refer to a series of princes with names ending in Pala, who reigned apparently from the ninth to the latter part of the eleventh century, and are asserted to have ruled all India from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin, and from the Brahmapootra to and even beyond the Indus. They are also asserted to have subdued Tibet. The dynasty of Pala was succeeded by one whose names ended in Sena, and this last was subverted by the Mohammedans about A.D. 1203.

The kingdom of *Malwa* is far less ancient than those already mentioned. Its famous monarch, Vicramaditya, is the Haroun al Raschid of Hindoo tales, of which a great number have been collated by the indefatigable zeal of Colonel Wilford. He is said to have passed the early part of his life among holy men in austere seclusion, and even when arrived at regal power, to have eschewed all pomp, using utensils of earth rather than of gold, and sleeping on a mat instead of a bed. There is reason to believe that this hero of romance was really a powerful monarch and conqueror, who ruled a civilised and prosperous country, extended his sway over the Deccan and even over Cabool, and was a distinguished patron of literature. Oojein became populous on account of the great image of Maha-Cali, or Time, which he erected there; but he himself worshipped only one invisible God. He was slain, 56 B.C., in old age, in battle with Salivahana, a prince of the Deccan, who will be subsequently referred to; and his death formed the commencement of an era, which is still current among the countries northward of the Nerbudda. It is of Vicramaditya that the traditions of universal empire are most common in India. A long period of anarchy ensued in Malwa upon this abrupt conclusion of his able government. The next epoch is that of the renowned Rajah Bhoja; whose reign of forty years terminated about the end of the eleventh century. His grandson was taken prisoner, and his country conquered by the Rajah of Guzerat; but Malwa soon recovered its independence, which was finally destroyed by the Mohammedans, A.D. 1231.

In *Guzerat*, from its having been the residence of Crishna, and other circumstances, an early principality would appear to have existed; and the whole is spoken of as under one dominion, by a Greek writer of the second century.† Colonel Tod mentions another principality, founded at Ballabi, in the peninsula of Guzerat, in the middle of the second century, B.C., by an emigrant of the Solar race, which reigned in Oude. This dynasty was expelled in 524, by an army of barbarians, variously conjectured to have been Parthians, Persians of the Sassanian dynasty, and Indo-Bactrians. The second supposition is probably correct, as Sir John Malcolm asserts on the authority of various Persian writers, that Nousheerwan, who reigned at or about this period, carried his victorious arms into India; but that the tribute, which was the fruit of his conquest, was after his death no longer paid to his degenerate son and successor.‡ Another Rajpoot tribe, called the Chauras, succeeded to the rule of Guzerat, and finally established their capital in A.D. 746, at Anhalwara, now Pattan. Failing Chaura, in A.D. 931, through the death of the last rajah without male issue, the succession devolved on his son-in-law, a prince of the Rajpoot tribe of Salonka; whose family were chiefs of Callian, in the Deccan, above the Ghauts. The kingdom was absorbed by the Mussul-

* The authorities mainly relied on being the valuable summary contained in Elphinstone's *India*, vol. i., pp. 388 to 425; the *Ayeen Akbery*; Brigg's translation of Ferishta; Todd's *Rajast'han*; and Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*.

† Vincent's translation of the *Periplûs*, p. 111.

‡ Malcolm's *Persia*, vol. i., p. 112.—"The countries beyond the Oxus, as far as Ferghana, all those to the Indus, *some provinces of India*, and the finest districts of Arabia, acknowledged the sway of the mighty monarch of Persia." Sir John adds that the emperors of China and India sent presents, the description of which reads more like a chapter from the *Arabian Nights* than the page of even a Persian historian. Among the gifts of the first potentate was the image of a panther, the body covered with pearls, and the eyes formed of rubies; a wonderful robe, the border of which was of celestial blue, while the centre was occupied by a representation of the king himself, clothed in his royal robes, and surrounded by his attendants; and lastly, enclosed in the same golden box as the robe was a female figure, the beauty of the face veiled by long tresses, and "overpowering as a flash of day during a dark night." The Indian offerings were a thousand pounds' weight of aloe-wood, a vase filled with pearls, and formed of one precious stone, on which was engraven the figures of a maiden seven hands in height, and of a lion; and a carpet made of a serpent's skin, delicately fine and exquisitely tinted.

man conquests of 1297. *Canouj*, in early times, was called Panchala, and seems to have been a long but narrow territory, extending on the east of Nepaul (which it included); and on the west, along the Chumbul and Bunnass as far as Ajmeer. Notwithstanding the notice it has attracted as one of the most ancient, wealthy, and magnificent places in India, its early history is very little known.* Its wars with the neighbouring state of Delhi contributed to accelerate the ruin of Hindoo independence; and it was conquered by the Mussulmans in 1193. *Cashmere* is asserted, by its historians, to have existed 2,600 years B.C. Its last monarch was subdued by Mahmood, A.D. 1015. Its annals, as before stated, have been written carefully and at length; and placed within reach of the British public by Professor Wilson.

Delhi is first named in the Maha Bharat; it was governed by a Rajpoot line, whose last prince was dethroned, A.D. 1050, by an ancestor of the Prithwi Rajah, conquered by the Mussulmans, A.D. 1192.

The earliest mention of *Benares* is found in the same poem; and its independence terminated contemporaneously with that of Delhi. *Mithili* existed in Rama's time, and was the capital of his father-in-law, Sita. It was famous for a school of law, and gave its name to one of the chief Indian languages. *Gour*, named in the Maha Bharat, seems to have lasted up to about A.D. 1231.

Sinde, referred to in the same record, was independent in the time of Alexander (325 B.C.); and was finally conquered by the Mohammedans. *Mewar*, *Jessulmer*, and *Jeipur*, founded respectively in A.D. 720, 731, and 967, still exist as distinct states. *Ajmeer* is traced back by Tod, for seven generations before A.D. 695; it fell at the same time as Delhi. The *Punjaub* can hardly be spoken of as a distinct kingdom, since it appears to have been generally broken up into various small states; but from a very remote time a great city is thought to have existed near Lahore,† though under a different name.

Our insight into the history of the *Deccan* commences, for the most part, at a much later date than that of Hindoostan. The five distinct languages—Tamul, Canarese, Telugu, Mahratta, and Urya, are considered to denote an equal number of early national divisions, the first-mentioned indicating the most ancient, viz., the country of Dravira, which occupied the extreme south of the peninsula; the earliest colonists from Hindoostan having traversed the bleak plateaux of the upper Deccan, and settled down on the fruitful plains of the Carnatic and Tanjore. The kingdom of *Pandya* was formed about the fifth century. In the time of the "Periplûs" it comprehended a part of the Malabar coast; but it was usually bounded by the Ghauts to the westward, and occupied only the territory now known as the districts of Madura and Tinivelly. The seat of government was at Madura, in Ptolemy's time, and remained there until about a century ago. The last prince was conquered by the nabob of Arcot, in 1736. The neighbouring kingdom of *Chola* was at one time of considerable extent, its princes having, it is supposed, about the middle of the eighth century, possessed large portions of Carnata and Telingana. Their sway was greatly diminished in the twelfth century, being reduced to the limits of the Dravira country. Chola lost its separate existence about the end of the seventeenth century. The capital was, for the most part, at Conjeveram, west of Madras. *Chera* comprehended Travancore, part of Malabar, and Coimbatore, and seems to have existed about the commencemencement of our era. It was subverted in the tenth century, and its lands portioned among the surrounding states.

Kerala included Malabar and Carnara. About the first or second century of the Christian era a colony of Brahmins from Hindoostan settled here, divided the country into sixty-four districts, and governed it by means of a general assembly of their cast; renting allotments to men of the inferior classes. The executive government was held by a Brahmin elected every three years, and assisted by a council of four of the same tribe; but in the course of time, a chief of the military class was appointed. The northern division appears to have been ruled by a dynasty of its own till the twelfth century, when it was overturned by the Belala rajahs; and subsequently became subject to the rajahs of Vijayanagar.

The *Concan*, in early times, was a wild forest tract (as great part of it still remains), thinly inhabited by Mahrattas.

Carnata seems to have been originally

* The Pala dynasty at Canouj are thought to have displaced as paramount rulers in India, the Gupta dynasty of Prayaga and Delhi. Prayaga or Allahabad, the ancient Gupta capital, contains a column with an inscription of Samadras Gupta's, which has been translated by Mr. Prinsep.

† When the Pala princes held Canouj, members of the family ruled at Lahore, and thence extended

divided between the Pandya and Chera princes and those of Carnara (the northern half of Kerala). It was afterwards partitioned among many petty princes, until the middle of the 11th century, when one considerable dynasty arose—the family of Belala—who were, or pretended to be, Rajpoots* of the Yadoo branch, and whose power at one time extended over the whole of Carnata, together with Malabar, the Tamul country, and part of Telingana. They were subverted by the Mussulmans about A.D. 1310. The eastern part of Telingana appears to have been, from the beginning of the ninth to nearly the end of the eleventh century, in the hands of an obscure dynasty known by the name of Yadava. A Rajpoot family of the Chalukya tribe reigned at Callian, on the borders of Carnata and Maharashta. They are traced by inscriptions, from the tenth to the end of the twelfth century; are supposed to have possessed the whole of Maharashta to the Nerbudda,† and even to have been superior lords of the west of Telingana.‡ The last king was deposed by his minister, who was in turn assassinated by some fanatics of the Lingayet sect, which was then rising into notice, and the kingdom fell into the hands of the Yadoos of Deogiri (Doulatabad). Another branch of the Chalukya tribe ruled over *Calinga*, the eastern portion of Telingana, which extends along the sea from Dravira to Orissa. The dynasty perhaps began about the tenth century, and certainly lasted through the whole of the twelfth and thirteenth; it was greatly reduced by the Ganapati kings of Andra, and finally subverted by the rajahs of Cuttack.

Andra is the name of all the inland part of the Telingana country, the capital being at Varangul, about eighty miles north-east of Hyderabad. Its kings, Vicrama and Salivahana, alleged to have been connected with the Andra race in Magadha, are among the earliest mentioned. After them, according to local records, the Chola rajahs succeeded; then a race called Yavans,§ who reigned from 515, A.D., till 953; next came the family of Ganapati, who attained great power about the end of the thirteenth century, and are even affirmed to have possessed the whole of the peninsula south of the Godavery. In 1332 the capital was taken by a Mohammedan army from Delhi, and the state merged at length in the Mussulman kingdom of Golconda.

The history of *Orissa*, like all others in the Deccan, begins with princes mentioned in the Maha Bharat, describes in a very confused manner the successive occupation of the country by Vicramaditya and Salivahana, and the repeated invasions of Yavans from Delhi, from a country called Babul (supposed to mean Persia), from Cashmere and from Sinde, between the sixth century before, and the fourth after, Christ. The last invasion was from the sea, and in it the Yavans were successful, and kept possession of Orissa for 146 years, being expelled, A.D. 473, by Yayati Kesari. This point is thought to be the first established, for the traditions regarding the Yavans cannot be satisfactorily explained. The natives suppose them to have been Mussulmans, but the first Arab invasion was not till the seventh century after Christ. Others apply the story to Seleucus, or to the Bactrian Greeks; while Masson suggests the possibility of the people of Yava or Java being meant. The Kesari family lasted till A.D. 1131, when their capital was taken by a prince of the house of Ganga Vansa; his heirs were supplanted by a Rajpoot dynasty, of the Sun or Surya race. The government having fallen into confusion about 1550, was seized on by a Telingu chief, and ultimately annexed to the Mogul empire by Akber, in 1578. The greatest internal prosperity and improvement seems to have been enjoyed towards the end of the twelfth century; but during several years before and after that date, the people of Orissa claim to have made extensive conquests, especially to the south. In the middle of the fifteenth century the government of Orissa sent armies as far as Conjeveram, near Madras; and about the same time their rajah advanced to the neighbourhood of Bidr to assist the Hindoo princes of those parts against the Mohammedans.

their sway to Cabool, where they remained up to the time of Sultan Mahmood, the then rajah being named Jaya Pala.—*Masson.*

* "Some of the Hindoos assert that the tribes of Brahmin and Kshetry [Cshatriya] existed from time immemorial, but that the Rajpoots are a modern tribe, only known since the beginning of the Kulyoog [Cali Yuga, A.M. 3215.] The rajahs, not satisfied with their married wives, had frequently children by their female slaves, who, although not legitimate successors to the throne, were styled Rajpoots, or the children of the rajahs."—(Briggs' *Translation of Ferishta.*—Introduction, p. lxiii.).

† *Vide* Mr. Walter Elliot's contributions to *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. IV., p. 1.

‡ Wilson, *Introd. to Mackenzie papers*, p. cxxix.

§ The country north of Peshawur was anciently called Yava, perhaps these Yavans came thence.

Maharashta or the *Mahratta country*, though situated on the frontier of the Deccan, and of great size, if we may judge from the wide extent over which the language bearing that name is spoken, is only vaguely noticed in early records. After the legends regarding Rama, whose retreat was near the source of the Godavery, the first fact mentioned is the existence of Tagara, which was frequented by Egyptian merchants 250 years B.C. It is alluded to in inscriptions, as a celebrated place in the twelfth century, and is still well known by name. It is mentioned by the author of the "Periplûs,"* but in such a manner as to certify little more respecting its site than that it lay about 100 miles to the eastward of Paitan, on the Godavery. Grant Duff supposes it to have been somewhat to the north-east of the modern town of Bheer.† It is said to have been a very great city, and one of the two principal marts of Dachanabades, a country so called from Dachan, which in the "Periplûs" is stated to be the native word for *south*. The other mart was named Plithana.‡ Tagara, wherever situated, became the capital of a line of kings of the Rajpoot family of Silar. The reign of their most famous monarch, Salivahana, gave rise to a new era, commencing A.D. 77. He is stated to have been the son of a potter, and to have headed an insurrection which overturned the existing government (whatever it might have been), and removed the capital to Prutesthan or Paitan, on the Godavery. From this period nothing is known of the history of Maharashta (except by the inscriptions of the petty princes of Callian and Pernala) till the beginning of the twelfth century: a family of Yadoos then became rajahs of Deogiri, and continued to reign until 1317, when the country, which had been previously invaded by the Mohammedans from Delhi, was finally subjugated. About this time the Mussulman writers begin to mention the Mahrattas by name; before they had been noticed only as inhabitants of the Deccan. Our information regarding their early attainments so utterly fails to elucidate the testimony which the famous cave temples of Ellora and elsewhere, bear to the capabilities and numbers of the people by whom such mighty works were planned and executed, that, notwithstanding the useful labours of their historian (Grant Duff), we may believe there is yet much to be learned respecting them, probably a very interesting portion of their existence as a nation. Recently they have played a prominent but desolating and destructive part, which has drawn from the pen of a modern writer a denunciation of "those southern Goths, the Mahrattas.' —(Tod's *Rajast'han*. Introduction.)

Concerning the social condition of the inhabitants of Hindoostan and the Deccan during these dark middle ages, we have certainly not sufficient data on which to found any general conclusions, except those which may be deduced from the edicts of such exemplary monarchs as Asoca—unhappily rare in all countries—and other collateral evidence. Our present information divides itself into two classes; and comes either through the channel of poetry, that is, of history travestied into fable; or else through the medium of Brahmin or Boodhist priests: it must consequently be well searched and sifted before it can be relied on as unbiassed by political motive or sectarian prejudice. But search and sift as we may, little light is thrown on the condition of the people, nor probably ever will be, at least in the sense given to that phrase in the present era of European and American civilization. The states noticed in the foregoing sketch would each one of them afford matter for a volume, full of wars, usurpations, change of dynasty, and, above all, extension of dominion; all this resting on local records, and reading on smoothly enough; but much of it entirely incompatible with the equally cherished traditions of neighbouring states. The code of Menu is perhaps an exception to this censure, but the uncertainty attached to the epoch at which it was written, and the extent to which its

* The "Periplûs [description] of the Erythrean Sea," is the title of a Greek work, issued in 1533, from the printing-press of Froben, at Basle. It contains the best account extant of the commerce carried on from the Erythrean or Red Sea and the coast of Africa, to the East Indies, during the time that Egypt was a Roman province. Dr. Vincent, the learned Dean of Westminster, who, in 1800, wrote an elaborate treatise, in two vols., 4to., to elucidate a translation of the "Periplûs," says—"I have never been able to discover from what manuscript the work was first edited;" neither could he ascertain the name of the author, generally supposed to be Arrian the historian, but who, in his opinion, must have lived a century before. There is internal evidence, according to the Dean, that the writer was a Greek, a merchant of Alexandria, and that he actually made a voyage on board the fleet from Egypt as far as the Gulf of Cambay, if not to Ceylon.—(*See* Vincent, vol. ii.)

† *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 25.

‡ Elphinstone conjectures Plithana to be a mistake of the Greek copyist for Paithana or Paitan. The word occurs but once in the "Periplûs."

institutes were ever observed, greatly impairs its value. The first objection applies also to the Ramayana and Maha Bharat.

Thus much perhaps may be reasonably inferred, from the concurrent testimony of Hindoo and foreign records, of inscriptions, and much incidental evidence of various kinds—that, at a period long antecedent to the Christian era, and while the natives of Britain were nude, nomadic savages, the people of India had attained a high position in arts, science, literature, and commerce, and lived under the hereditary rule of their own kings or rajahs; the evils attendant on the otherwise irresponsible power of a patriarchal and despotic ruler being probably counterbalanced by the respective rights of the chiefs of the sacred, and of the warrior casts, but still more by the municipal institutions which seem to have been general throughout the country. In many smaller states the government appears to have been a sort of oligarchical republic. The manners and customs of the Hindoos, the influence of cast, and the changes gradually brought about by Mussulman and British conquerors, will, if space permit, be specially though briefly narrated in another section. Between the time of Menu and the Mohammedan epoch, the religious and social habits of the people had sadly deteriorated. Their belief in an omnipresent or "all-pervasive" God had gradually been warped by perverted but plausible reasoning, into a belief that because God was in everything, therefore anything might be worshipped, not simply as His representative, but actually as Himself. Beginning probably with those glorious natural objects of the Sabæan heresy, the sun, moon, and stars, they had at length become so degraded as to fall down before images of wood and stone, and had lost sight almost wholly of their original doctrine of an indivisible triad, by ignoring Brahma (the creating principle) and according to Vishnu (the preserving) or Saiva (the destroying),* a paramount place in the pantheon of hero-gods, sacred animals, and grotesque, or often (to European eyes) immodest figures, which gradually arose, and swallowed up in the darkness of heathenism the rays of light which possibly shone upon the earliest of the Hindoo race in the patriarchal age. Their *religious observances* involved a tedious and almost impracticable ritual, with abstinence from many things which in the christian dispensations are treated as harmless—but the character of Brahmin and also of Boodhist teaching, generally distinct, was alike in being, with some great and glaring exceptions, merciful and even comparatively moral.

The laws of the Hindoos, especially for civil judicature, have been eulogized by Sir W. Jones, Munro, and other authorities, though severely criticised by Mill, who on this subject was prejudiced, and in fact possessed but a small part of the information since revealed. The equal partitionment of property, and the consequent disability of willing away land or money, has been much canvassed as to its effect in preventing the accumulation or improvement of possessions. It undoubtedly stimulated the dedication of large sums to religious, charitable, or public purposes; to the building of temples, of 'choultries or houses of refreshment for travellers,' and to the formation of tanks and canals—most necessary works in a land where such means, under Providence, can alone prevent hundreds, nay thousands, not only of cattle, but of human beings, from perishing by the maddening pangs of thirst, or in the more prolonged agonies of hunger, when the parched earth, gaping in deep chasms, plainly bids man, if he would be sustained by her increase, use the energy and ability with which God has blessed him, to supply as best he can, the want of kindly dew and rain, to renew her strength and fertility.

The *position of women* was decidedly superior to that of the weaker sex in almost any other ancient nation, with regard to the hereditary laws of property: they were, if unmarried, to receive portions out of their brothers' allotments. Menu ordains that whoever accosts a woman shall do so by the title of "sister," and that way must be made for her, even as for the aged, for a priest, for a prince, or a bridegroom; and in his text on the laws of hospitality he enjoins that "pregnant women, brides and damsels, shall have food before all the other guests." The seclusion and ignorance to which females are now subjected had their origin in the like Mohammedan custom. Formerly they were taught to read and write, they were the ornament and delight of the social circle; and historic or traditionary annals abound in records of their virtuous and noble deeds. Suttee or widow-burning; infanticide; the carrying out of the sick, when deemed past recovery; suicide under the same or different

* These are mythologically represented as having wives, namely, Seraswati or Devi, Lakshmi or Bhavani, and Parvati or Durga, considered metaphysically as the active powers which develop the principle represented by each member of the triad.

circumstances, including immolation beneath the car of Juggernaut and self-inflicted tortures are almost entirely innovations which gradually crept in: Juggernaut especially—being of quite modern date.

The extent of scientific knowledge acquired by the Hindoos and the date of its attainment, is a source of endless discussion; yet the subject is too important to be wholly passed over, even in this intermediate stage of their history.

In *astronomy*, much merit is assigned them by Cassini, Bailly, and Playfair, who assert that a considerable degree of progress had been made 3,000 years before the Christian era, as evidenced by observations still extant. La Place, De Lambre, and others dispute the authenticity of these observations, but all agree in admitting a great antiquity. Mr. Bentley, who has examined the calculations very minutely, and is one of the most strenuous opponents of the claims of the Hindoos, pronounces their division of the Ecliptic into twenty-seven lunar mansions, to have been made B.C. 1442. Mr. Elphinstone is of opinion that the Indian observations could not have commenced at a later period than the fifteenth century, B.C., or one or two centuries before the first mention of astronomy in Greece. In the fifth century the Brahmins discussed the diurnal revolution of the earth on its axis, and they were more correct than Ptolemy in their notions regarding the precession of the Equinoxes.

In an Indian work (the *Surya Sidhanta*) to which the date of the fifth or sixth century is generally assigned, a system of *trigonometry* is laid down which involves theorems that were not known in Europe until the sixteenth century. *Geometry* was probably studied long previous to the date of the above book, as exemplified in the demonstrations of various properties of triangles, the proportion of the radius to the circumference of the circle, and other problems. The invention of *decimal notation* is ascribed to the Hindoos, who, even in *algebra*, so early as the sixth century,* under a celebrated teacher, (Brahma Gupta,) excelled all their cotemporaries, not merely in propounding problems, but in its application to astronomical investigations and geometrical demonstrations. Their *chronology* has long been a stumbling-block (see p. 15), but it is nevertheless considered by several critical inquirers to admit of satisfactory explanation by means of astronomical and arithmetical calculations. Megasthenes expressly declares that the Indians and the Jews were the only nations possessed of a rational chronology, and that they agreed. Mr. Masson remarks, on this statement,—"when I look at the enormous sums given of millions of years elapsed during the three first *yugas*, and ask how can they be reconciled with the dictum of Megasthenes, I call to mind a verse somewhere in Menu, which tells us that a year of a mortal is but a day with the gods, and conceit that these large numbers have been calculated on some such base as there suggested—just as in the Hebrew Prophets, Daniel, &c., periods are expressed by days, weeks, &c.—only in these, multiplication is needful, and with the Hindoos division." In the private letter from which I have ventured to quote the preceding passage, Mr. Masson adds, that by the use of the multiple 360 and the divisor nine (the sacred number of the Tartars and other nations), the Hindoo statement can be made to agree with that found in one (? the Samaritan† version) of the Scriptures within a single year.‡ And he considers that the system of Indian chronology was framed in some manner intelligible to the initiated,§ by whom the sacred writings were solely, or at least particularly, intended to

* "Mr. Colebrooke has fully established that algebra had attained the highest perfection it ever reached in India before it was known to the Arabians, and, indeed, before the first dawn of the culture of the sciences among that people."—(Elphinstone, vol. i., p. 250).

† The Samaritan is the most ancient of the oriental versions of the Scriptures, but its exact age is unascertained; it contains only the Pentateuch.

‡ The anonymous writer of a *Key to the Chronology of the Hindoos*, whose opinions are set forth in 2 vols. 8vo., printed at Cambridge in 1820, undertakes to convince his readers that "the Hindoo dates correspond with the Hebrew texts of our Scriptures, and that they date the *Lotos* or creation 5,817 years from the present time, which is only six years from the true period, according to the best calculations we have, and only two years according to the vulgar era of Christ, A.M. 4004." In an elaborate disquisition he contends that the commencement of the fourth historical age, *Cali yuga*, "is correctly placed at B.C. 3182;" the three previous ages "contain a period of 900 years only;" and by adding 900 years to the current year of the fourth, or *Cali* age, we get the true epoch of creation, according to all oriental chronology." The *year of the world* is computed by the Greek church at B.C. 5509; by the Abyssinian church, 5492; by the Jews, 3760. The Bible chronology gives it as 4004 B.C.

§ It is stated in the "*Key*" that some European suggested to Sir W. Jones an explanation by cutting the ciphers off the numerals.

be read, the Brahmins in this respect differing essentially from the Boodhists.

In *geography* they had, as a nation, made little progress, and though unquestionably engaged in traffic more or less direct with the nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa, probably entered, at the utmost, only as individuals on the carrying trade beyond their own coast, and gave little thought to the position or affairs of other countries; and this accords with the metaphysical, rather than practical, turn of their minds. There is, however, a passage in Menu which shows that marine insurance was practised his time; and various writings, poems, plays, and tales written during different periods from the first to the twelfth century, detail adventures at sea, in which Indian sailors and ships are immediately concerned. That the Hindoos established colonies in Java and other places there is reason to believe, though we cannot tell at what time, or under what circumstances. Bryant, who contends that Chaldea was the parent country of the Hindoos, asserts, in his *Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, that these people were found in Colchis, in Mesopotamia, and even in Thrace. Recently they have been met with in Arabia, Armenia, and Astracan.

In *medicine* they had not merely studied the virtues of simples, but had also attained considerable skill in chemistry, and knew how to prepare (for the most part in modes peculiar to themselves) sulphuric, nitric, and muriatic acid; oxides of copper, iron, lead (of which they had both the red oxide and litharge) tin, and zinc; the sulphurets of copper, zinc, and iron, and carbonates of lead and iron. They employed minerals internally, giving both mercury, arsenic, and arsenious acid; cinnabar was used for fumigations, to produce safe and speedy salivation. They also practised inoculation for small-pox. Their *surgery* is still more remarkable, from their ignorance of *anatomy*—dissection or even the touch of dead bodies, being deemed the extreme of pollution—yet they cut for the stone, couched for cataract, and performed other delicate operations;* and their early works enumerate no less than 127 sorts of surgical instruments, which, however, were probably always rude.

Of the *languages* and *literature* of India, it would be impossible to convey any idea in few words, without appearing to assume a dogmatic attitude on the many difficult questions involved therein. The translations of Sir William Jones from the Sanscrit, of *Sacontala*, a pastoral drama of great antiquity, and other poems, together with the *Hindoo Theatre* of Professor Wilson, enable English readers to form their own opinions of the degree of dramatic excellence very early attained in India. Portions of the Ramayana, of the Maha Bharat, and the whole of the Sama Veda have also been translated; the fourth, or Antharva Veda, (whose authenticity is disputed), being still sedulously withheld by the Brahmins, and denounced as a "Black Book," teaching astrology and witchcraft. The six Angras or Shastras, are supposed to have been written by inspiration to elucidate the sublime mysteries contained in the Vedas. They treat of theology and ritual observances; of grammar, metre, astronomy, logic, law, the art of government, medicine, archery, the use of arms, music, dancing, and the drama. With the eighteen Puranas we are not immediately concerned, for two reasons. They must be subsequently referred to as explanatory of the present (would to God that we could say the past) idolatrous polytheism of the Hindoos; and moreover in the opinion of Professor Wilson, none of them assumed their existing state until the time of Sankara Acharya, the great Saiva reformer, who flourished about the eighth or ninth century, and consequently, subsequent to the period of which we are now treating: Wilson traces several of them to the twelfth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries of our era. The Puranas have been already frequently quoted, because they comprise the genealogies of various dynasties, especially of the solar and lunar races; which are valuable, although sometimes misleading, being evidently a compilation of fragments obtained from family records. Many historical documents probably yet remain uninjured, hidden away from the desolating torch of the soldiers of the Crescent, who generally did their utmost to destroy the writings of an idolatrous people, at least any that might appear connected with their creed, which all were more or less. Doubtless much valuable data has thus utterly perished; and the loss is now irreparable. The remark made by the people of Rajast'han to Colonel Tod, when he complained of the numerous deficiencies in their annals, was sufficient explanation and apology. "When our princes," said they, "were in exile, driven from hold to hold, and com-

* *Vide* Dr. Royle's Essay on the *Antiquity of the Indian Materia Medica.*

pelled to dwell in the clefts of the mountains, often doubtful whether they would not be obliged to abandon the very meal preparing for them—was that a time to think of historical records?"*

In the lighter department of literature they excel; and, indeed, in tales and fables appear to have set the example to the rest of mankind, since to them may be traced the subjects of the most popular Oriental and even European fictions.†

Their *music* is said to have been systematic and refined, but it has since greatly deteriorated: *painting* was probably always at a low ebb, unless beautifully illustrated manuscripts may form an exception—in which, however, the figures are the worst executed portion of the ornaments. Their ancient *sculpture* often presents spirited and sometimes exceedingly graceful groups; but is generally rendered unpleasing, not only by the grotesque and many-limbed forms of the gods and goddesses, but also by their ignorance of anatomy, and inattention, even as copyists, to the symmetrical arrangement of the limbs and muscles, and to the maintenance of proportion between different figures.

Architecture early became a favourite and practical study,‡ but varied greatly in different parts of India (*vide* section on topography). It is said that the arch was not understood before the Mussulman era, but this seems to be contradicted by the age of some specimens which still exist. Tanks or reservoirs for irrigation or for bathing were made on a scale of great extent and magnificence, and also wells of considerable depth and breadth, the more ancient of which were square and surrounded by galleries, with a broad flight of steps from top to bottom. Their triumphal columns and massive gateways and pagodas take rank among the finest specimens of the architecture of any nation.

Their *manufactures* and *commerce* have been noticed sufficiently for the present purpose: their mode of *agriculture* was so nearly what it is at present, that that subject, together with their rights in the land and the *revenue system* generally, may be best deferred for examination to a future chapter.

Chariots were drawn in war by horses, but on a march by oxen and sometimes by camels. Elephant chariots were also kept as a piece of extraordinary magnificence, used in their famous festivals, when well appointed troops marched in procession; and thrones, tables, goblets, lavers, set with precious stones, and robes of exquisite colours richly embroidered with gold, were borne along in state. Tame lions and panthers formed part of the show which birds, remarkable for gorgeous plumage or sweet song, were made to enliven; being conveyed on trees transported on large waggons. In short, a Hindoo fête in the ancient days, was a thing that even a Parisian of the time of the third Buonaparte might sigh for—always excepting fireworks, for it does not appear that they had any knowledge of gunpowder, although in war they are said to have used arrows tipped with some combustible or explosive compound.

The *police system* Megasthenes declared to be excellent; *royal roads* are spoken of by Strabo, in one place, and mile-stones in another.§ The *dress*, as described by Arrian,‖ was precisely the two wrappers of cotton cloth, still worn by the people of Bengal and by strict Brahmins everywhere.

It is asserted that no *Indian coinage* existed prior to the introduction of that of the Greeks or Bactrians. This, if proved, would be no criterion of barbarism: the Chinese, at the present day, have no gold or silver pieces—their only coin being a small alloyed copper "cash," of which about a thousand are equal to one Mexican dollar. All sales have for ages been regulated by bars or blocks of the precious metals, with a stamped attestation of their respective purity; and it is possible that in ancient times a similar course was pursued in India. There are however passages in a Sanscrit play and in the penal code of the Hindoos which refer, not only to the standard, but to the fabric and stamp of coin, and to the punishments due to the fabricators and falsifiers of the public monies. Small flat pieces of silver, square, round, or oblong, weighing from forty-eight to fifty grains, with a rude punch, symbolical of a sun, moon, or star, or a nondescript figure, of an unknown age, have been found in considerable quantities in various localities.

Hindoo gold and silver coins, tolerably well executed, have been discovered at Beghram, Cutch, Benares, and other places appertaining to the Balhara dynasty; which is thought to have ruled the country from Oojein to the Indus, 375 years posterior to the

* *Rajast'han*, vol. i. p. ix.

† *Vide Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 166, on the Indian origin of European fables.

‡ *Essay on Hindoo Architecture* by Rám Ráz, published by the Oriental Translation Fund.

§ Strabo, lib. xv., pp. 474—494, ed. 1587.

‖ *Indica*, cap. xvi.

Vicramaditya era. Coins of the Chandra Gupta dynasty have been collected from the ruins of Behat near the Doab Canal, and at Canouj; others, of a Jain or Boodhistical type, have been procured at Rajast'han and at Hurdwar on the Ganges.

Recent investigations* have brought to light no inconsiderable quantity of Indo-Scythian and Sassanian coins, which gradually mixed with and at length merged into a distinct Hindoo type. This, with modifications, lasted to the time of the Mohammedan conquerors. A very curious English collection of Hindoo silver monies connects two dynasties; indeed, there are not many links wanting to form an entire series of Greek, Bactrian, Nysæan,† Sassanian, Indo-Scythian, and Hindoo‡ (Guzerat, Rajpoot, Canouj, or Rahtore, &c.) coins, from the time of Alexander to that of the Moslems in the eleventh century. The Roman coins discovered in India extend in antiquity through a period of more than 1,000 years, from the Augustan age down to the decline of the Lower empire; those generally found are of the smaller denominations, consisting of the common currency of the eastern parts of the empire: many of the copper coins are of Egyptian fabrication.

Bactria, Aria, and Parthia.—The two first-named countries, comprising the territory lying on either side of the Hindoo Koosh, between the Oxus and Indus Rivers, are on the high road of Asiatic conquest, and have been the battle-field of every tribe and nation that has risen to dominion in the East. Parthia has been always intimately connected with them, and the three have jointly and severally exercised an influence in India, the extent and nature of which is still but imperfectly understood.

Recent discoveries of coins (above referred to) have confirmed and augmented the information bequeathed by ancient authors, and thrown a new light on the connection which existed with the kingdom of Bactria—that is, of the country watered by the Oxus and its tributaries, and separated from Hindoostan by the range of mountains whence the Oxus and Indus derive their respective sources. It has been already stated, that after the first contest for the partition of the vast empire of Alexander, all his eastern conquests, including Hyrcania, Parthia, Bactria, Aria,§ &c., were appropriated by Seleucus. Bactria remained subject to his descendants, until civil wars and the impending revolt of the Parthians induced Diodotus, or Theodotus, the satrap or governor of the province, to assert his independence and become the first king, about 250, or, according to Bayer, 255, B.C. Parthia also successfully revolted from the sway of the Seleucidæ, under Arsaces,‖ who, according to Strabo, was by birth a Bactrian, but is called by other writers a Dahian, that is, a native of Sogdiana:¶ whoever he was, he appears to have used Greek only on his coins and in his public letters and correspondence.

Bactria itself, however, cannot be supposed to have been colonised by any great body of Greeks, but probably received many of the partially-disciplined recruits raised by Alexander during the later part of his progress. Even the Greeks, by intermarriage with Persian, and doubtless with Indian wives, would soon lose their distinctive character; and after the establishment of Parthian power, the immigration of adventurers from Greece, and, indeed, all communication with that country would cease. This accounts for the total silence of Greek authors respecting the termination of the Bactrian kingdom. Its limits, during the most flourishing period, included some parts of India. Strabo quotes an ancient author, who asserts that the Bactrians possessed

* See *Ariana Antiqua*, a descriptive account of the antiquities and coins of Afghanistan, with a memoir of the buildings, called topes, by C. Masson, Esq. Edited by Prof. Wilson, 4to, 1841. Also the expositions of J. Prinsep in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*; and H. T. Prinsep's *Hist. Results.*

† The features of the sovereigns of the various dynasties stamped on these coins are quite distinct, and they are generally well executed. The Nysæan have a fillet or diadem round the head; reverse, a horseman; the Indo-Scythian an erect figure of Hercules resting on his club: the Sassanian, a fire altar on the reverse. The legends are generally in Greek, or in Pehlevi, a language which was contemporary with the Parsi (of Persia), and the Zend (of Media), five or six hundred years, B.C. It was used in the region round Assyria, and probably in Assyria itself,—but together with the Zend has been a dead language for more than two thousand years.

‡ The ancient Hindoo coins have various devices—a horseman, a horse, an elephant, a lion, a bull, an antelope, a goat, the Sankh, or sacred shell, or the hieroglyphic called *Swastika.*

§ Aria is the territory of which Herat is the capital. Ariana (Eeran) is the general name for the country east of Persia and Media to the Indus.

‖ Sogdiana designates the mountains which feed the Jaxartes and divide that river from the Oxus.

¶ Arsaces was the title of Parthian princes. The Parthians were the Sacæ of Asia, and Saca-dwipa (the country of the Sacæ) lay about the fountains of of the Oxus.—Conder's *Modern Traveller.* (*India.*)

"the most conspicuous part of Ariana" (Khorasan), and conquered more nations in India than even Alexander. In this last achievement the principal actors were Menander, Appollodotus, and Demetrius, who are mentioned together by Strabo; but their date and the limits of their sway are not clearly stated. Demetrius is a puzzle, or rather the site of his kingdom, for he once had one, and was a conqueror besides. Two or three of his coins have been found in Cabool, not sufficient to establish the fact of his rule there, but rather the reverse; two or three others — of silver — have been brought from Bokhara. Appollodotus and Menander* certainly ruled over Cabool, their copper coins being found in such numbers, and so constantly, as to prove they were once a currency there; but then, as regards Appollodotus, Cabool is held to have been merely a province, his capital being established elsewhere, to be looked for, perhaps, where his copper money was circular instead of square, as at Cabool, and such circular coins are discovered more eastward in the Punjaub, and even at Muttra (the old Methora), on the Jumna. Masson strongly suspects the kingdom of Appollodotus and Menander to have been rather Indian than Bactrian; and Professor Lassen supposes three kingdoms to have existed besides that of Bactria, of which the eastern, under Menander and Appollodotus, comprehended the Punjaub and the valley of the Indus, with Cabool and Arachosia, or Candahar, added in times of prosperity. The western kingdom, he places conjecturally at Herat and in Seestan, and the third would include the Paropamisan region, which, however, Prinsep inclines to attribute to Bactria.† Unfortunately, no information has been obtained to prove how far north or west of Cabool the currencies of the aforesaid kings spread, otherwise the limits of their rule might have been partially traced in those directions. The Greeks, under Menander, made extensive conquests, subduing the Seres and Shauni to the north and north-east of India; crossing the Hypanis (Hyphasis, or Beyah), and proceeding as far as the Isamus to the south-eastward; and on the south-westward reducing Pattalene, that is, the country about Tatta, forming the Delta of the Indus. All the intermediate territory appears, from the statement of Strabo, to have been vanquished; and we might form a tolerably satisfactory conclusion as to its extent, but for doubts suggested of the meaning of the word *Isamus*. This is by some considered to denote the Jumna River, by others the Himalaya Mountains (sometimes called Imaus), and, thirdly, with perhaps better reason, the Isamutti River, which falls into the Hooghly, a western branch of the Ganges.

Bactria Proper, as established by Diodotus, appears to have continued through his successors Diodotus II., Euthydemus, Eucratides, and his successor (supposed by De Guignes and Bayer to have been his son and murderer, Eucratides II., but by Masson, Heliocles), until about 125 years B.C., when, (according to Chinese records, quoted by De Guignes) a great movement which took place in Central or Eastern Tartary impelled across the Jaxartes (Sir) an irresistible torrent of Scythian hordes. This statement is corroborated by the testimony of Strabo, who gives the names of the four principal tribes by whom the overthrow of the Greek kingdom was effected. From these names they would appear to have been composed of a mixture of Getæ or Goths, Dahi or Dacians, Sakarauli or Sakas, and Tochari, perhaps, but not certainly, Turks. All seized portions of Bactria; and after some time the Getæ subdued the others, and advanced upon India. Crossing the Hindoo Koosh, they dispossessed the successor of Hermias, if not the old king himself; and their presence is very clearly indicated by those coins bearing the name of that king, with the prefix Su. Soon after the coinage was varied; busts probably intended to represent their own kings or chiefs were introduced, and Bactro-Pali legends on the reverse, much differing from the Greek ones encircling the busts—the latter, indeed, becoming unintelligible. The Getæ, moreover, we are assured, retained power in the countries bordering on the Indus for four centuries—liable, necessarily, to vicissitudes,

* Whether Appollodotus succeeded or preceded Menander is uncertain, but an opinion may be raised that although always mentioned first, he really followed Menander, because his circular coins so closely resemble in style and fabric those of Azes (in Bactro-Pali, Aya) that it is evident the one currency followed the other, in the Punjaub and to the east, but not in Cabool, where that of Hermias prevailed. For this remark, as well as other information interwoven in the text conveying a brief sketch of Bactrian affairs, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Charles Masson.

† Because of the bilingual as well as pure Greek coins of Heliocles and Antimachus, kings of Bactria. —*Historical Results deducible from recent discoveries in Afghanistan*, by H. Prinsep, Esq., p. 66.

but still maintaining themselves until finally overcome by the Huns. The Parthians benefited by the occasion of attacking Eucratides, and deprived him of two satrapies; but although certain coins bearing a national tinge, with an attempted imitation of the names and titles of Heliocles are found in Cabool, there is little other evidence of Parthian rule there—while in the Punjaub, immediately on the banks of the Indus, there is more. It is not improbable, that they contested the possession of Cabool with the Getæ, but were unsuccessful, and directed their attention rather to Sinde, and thence ascended the Indus; but it may be doubted if these Parthians were those established in Persia—although of the same or kindred race—they may have been Dahæ. Though weakened and disorganised, Bactria cannot have been entirely overwhelmed by Scythian or Parthian incursions, that is not in the time of Eucratides or Heliocles, since Horace, 120 years later, deemed it of sufficient importance to engage the attention of Augustus. Its final disruption by Parthian agency must have been of considerably later date.

The fortunes of *Parthia* likewise underwent considerable vicissitudes. Arsaces possessed only Parthia and Hyrcania, the nucleus of his sovereignty being the colonies planted by Alexander eighty years before. His immediate successors were brave and valiant, and their empire at one time extended from the Euphrates to the Jaxartes; but whether it included or received tribute from the ancient soil of the Hindoos is little better than matter of conjecture.* The sceptre of Persia continued to be wielded by this line until A.D. 235, when Ardeshur Babakun, or Artaxerxes, a distinguished officer of the Parthian army—having been slighted by the reigning monarch, Arsaces-Artabanus—revolted, and after three severe battles, conquered and slew Artabanus, and established his own dynasty, the Sassanian, being crowned at Balkh, where his last victory was gained. Thus closed the Greco-Parthian dominion in central Asia, after a continuance of very nearly 500 years; and the same date marks the end of the transition of Parthia back from Hellenism to an entirely Asiatic sovereignty and condition of society. The system of government had been always purely Asiatic; that is, by subordinate satraps or viceroys invested with full and absolute authority over the person and property of the people committed to their charge. Alexander had experienced the evils of thus forming an *Imperium in imperio* in every province, in the misconduct of several satraps during his absence in the Indian campaign; and, had he lived, would probably have introduced a sounder system but his successors had neither the ability to plan, nor perhaps opportunity to execute, any such radical change in their respective governments. They lacked, moreover, the prestige of their great master's name and character, which had alone enabled him to check the ambition or rapacity of his vicegerents, by the exercise of an arbitrary power of removal. After his death, the method generally adopted of controlling, removing, or punishing a military satrap, was to turn against him the arms of a rival neighbour. The result was, of course, the origin of a number of irresponsible despots. Keeping this in mind, it is the less surprising that Parthian coins should be found, asserting independence and bearing arrogant titles, in Afghanistan, since these may indicate nothing but the temporary successes or pretensions of various petty satraps.† The most celebrated of the later Sassanian kings was Chosroes, who reigned from 531 to 571; his grandson was deposed in 628, and after a few years of tumult and distraction, Persia fell under the power of the Caliphs, by whom it has ever since been ruled.

* Mithridates II., who reigned in the early part of the century before the Christian era, and whose death was followed by an interregnum of civil war, or doubtful sovereignty, in Parthia, was the first of the Arsacidæ who adopted the title of "Great King of Kings," which is believed to be of Indian origin, and was probably assumed after the acquisition of countries bordering on India.—Prinsep's *Historical Results*, p. 67.

† *Vide* Prinsep's *Historical Results*, for much interesting discussion regarding Bactrian coins, especially the opinions of Wilson, Masson, and Lassen; also regarding the newly-deciphered language generally used in writing, when Greek became quite extinct, called Arian, Arianian, Bactrian, and Caboolian, according to the supposed locality of its native use. Mr. James Prinsep, (whose laborious investigations had before been mainly instrumental in restoring the language of the ancient Indian kings who made treaties with Antiochus and Seleucus,) while examining coins with bilingual inscriptions, used the names given in Greek on one side, to find out those of the unknown language on the other. He thus obtained a key to the alphabet, and deciphered words which proved to be Pracrit (the vernacular form of Sanscrit), written semitically from right to left. There are still, however, some inscriptions in the Arian characters upon rocks and on the relics of topes and tumuli, remaining to reward further research.

Mohammedan to British Epoch.—In the beginning of the seventh century, when the Christian church was torn by dissensions and perplexed by heresies, and when the greater part of the inhabitants of Asia and of Africa were sunk in barbarism, enfeebled by sensuality, or enslaved by idolatry, there arose on the shores of the Red Sea, a Power, at once religious and militant, which rapidly attained and has since continued to exercise an extraordinary influence on the condition of perhaps a third of the human race.

Arabia is considered by oriental writers to have been originally colonised by the posterity of Shem and Ham, the former having followed pastoral, the latter agricultural pursuits; to these were subsequently added a mixed race—the descendants of Abraham, through Ishmael, the son of Hagar the bondwoman.* The posterity of Ham, through Cush and Nimrod, his son and grandson, brought with them from Mesopotamia one of the most ancient languages (supposed to be the Himyaritic, still spoken in parts of the country), and the creed of the Patriarchs, or at least a portion of it; that is, the existence of one God, the Creator and Governor of the world, and the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, of future rewards and punishments. A sense of sin and unworthiness probably induced "the adoration of heavenly spirits as mediators between man and one immutable Holy Being; and to these they raised temples and altars for sacrifices and supplications, to which were subsequently added fastings."† The sun and moon next became the objects of worship, at first probably as symbols; next followed the seven planets, the twelve signs of the zodiac, and the twenty-four constellations. Almost every tribe had its peculiar idol, dead men were worshipped, and also angels or genii; some even denied all kinds of revelation, having sunk into the lowest depths of idolatry; but the descendants of Shem passed from pure Theism into Sabæism, or a belief in the peopling of the heavenly bodies with superior intelligences, by whom the lives and actions of men were regulated. The immigration of a few Jewish and Christian tribes had introduced among the more thoughtful, purer notions both of faith and practice; but these had made little progress among the mass of the people, who, as regarded their political and social state, were still, as they had been for ages, to a great extent isolated by poverty and by geographical position, from the rest of the world. Their country, consisting of some mountain tracts and rich oases, separated or surrounded by a sandy desert, has been aptly compared to the coasts and islands of a sea.‡ The desert was thinly scattered with small camps of predatory horsemen, who pitched their tents wherever a well of water could be found; and aided by the much-enduring camel, overspread extensive regions, to the great peril and anxiety of peaceful travellers. The settled inhabitants, though more civilized, were scarcely less simple in their habits; the various tribes formed distinct communities, between whom there could be little communication except by rapid journeys on horseback or tedious marches, in the present caravanseray fashion. Each tribe acknowledged as its chief the representative of their common ancestor; but probably little check was ever imposed upon the liberty of individuals, save in rare cases, when the general interest imperatively demanded such interference. The physical features of the land and its scanty agricultural resources helped to foster the hardy and self-reliant character of its sons, who, unconnected by the strong ties of religious or commercial fellowship, and never compelled to unite against a foreign foe, found vent in the innumerable feuds which constantly spring up between independent tribes and families, for the warlike and roving instincts which seem so inseparably bound up with the wiry, lithesome, supple frame, and the fiery, yet imaginative and sensuous temperament, of the Arab.

Such a people, united for a common purpose under a common leader, might, it was evident, accomplish extraordinary results; and purpose and leader were presented to them in the person of a man, whose fame as a subjugator may be mentioned in the same page with that of Alexander the Great, and who, as a lawgiver, takes much higher rank—higher, that is, in the sense of having used and abused powers never entrusted to the Macedonian. Mohammed the False Prophet, was, beyond all doubt, intimately acquainted with both the Jewish and Chris-

* Ishmael is said to have married the daughter of Mozauz or Modhaugh, the sovereign of Hijaz.—(See tabular genealogies of these three tribes in Colonel Chesney's work on the Euphrates and Tigris, vol. i.)

The sons of Ham, *Cush*, *Mizraim*, *Phut*, and Canaan peopled parts of Western Asia, as well as Africa.

† *Ecchellensis*, *Chron. Orien.*, App., c. 6, p. 148.

‡ Elphinstone, vol. i., p. 488.

tian scriptures, he recognised the mighty truths they contained, and the sharp weapons those truths would afford, wielded against idolatry. Incited by strangely-blended motives of ambition and fanaticism, he boldly defied the curse pronounced on those most impious of all deceivers, who shall dare to add unto, or take away from, the revealed word of God. (*Revelation, ch.* xxii. *v.* 18, 19.)

It is necessary to know something of his private life, before we can understand the steps by which an unknown enthusiast sprang suddenly into importance; and, gathering together with marvellous skill and energy the scattered tribes, formed them into a nation, prohibited retaliation without the previous sanction of a trial and a sentence, and in short, induced them to abandon intestine strife and combine in a religious crusade. Mohammed was born A.D. 569, at Mecca, one of the oldest cities in the world, and belonged to the head family of the tribe of Koreish, who were the hereditary guardians of the great temple of Caaba, which is built round a well, supposed to be that miraculously pointed out to Hagar to save the life of Ishmael. Tradition declares the temple itself, or at least the first temple which existed on this site, to have been vouchsafed in answer to the prayer of Adam, who implored that he might be permitted to have a sanctuary like that in which he had worshipped in Eden. The prayer was granted, and in curtains of light a model of the paradisaical temple was let down, precisely beneath the spot where the original had stood. On this model Seth built a temple, which was swept away by the deluge, but rebuilt by Abraham and Isaac. The worship offered in the Caaba was at the beginning of the sixth century idolatrous, the chief objects being Abraham and Ishmael, to whose images, each holding a bunch of arrows, such as the Arabs use for divining, regular worship was offered. Thus Abraham, the divinely-commissioned witness against idolatry, became in process of time the object of the very crime he had so zealously condemned. With him and his son there appear to have been in all 360 gods, the number having probably reference to the days of the Persian year.

The chief command of the Caaba and of the city were vested in the same person, and to this double office of priest and chief Mohammed was presumptive heir, when the death of his father Abdallah before his grandfather, cut him off from the succession, and threw him a destitute orphan on the care of his uncle, Abu Taleb, who taught him the business of a merchant, and carried him on long trading journeys into Syria, thus giving him early insight into foreign countries and creeds. When but fourteen, Mohammed entered into a rancorous war that had broken out among the tribes, and greatly distinguished himself for courage and ability. Till twenty-five he remained in the service of his uncle, and then married Kadijah, the richly-endowed widow of a merchant of Mecca. Thus raised to independence, he was enabled to pursue the objects most congenial to his own mind; but the nature of his occupations for many years is unknown. Some suppose him to have employed that long interval in the study of various manuscripts, although throughout his life he constantly affirmed himself unable to read or write* a single word. It is very possible that, by the aid of a retentive memory, he might have obtained orally a great part, or even the whole, of the information he possessed, especially with regard to the unity of God, by intercourse with a cousin of his wife's, named Warka ben Naufel, who was skilled in Jewish learning, and is said to have translated the Scriptures from Hebrew into Arabic. He withdrew himself at length from all society, and spent long periods in complete solitude in the cave of Hara, near his native city, giving free scope to meditations, which brought him to the verge if not actually into the abyss of insanity, and opened a door for fancied visions and every species of mental delusion. At length, when about forty years of age, he declared his alleged mission to his wife, and afterwards to a few of his family; and, some three or four years after, publicly announced himself as "the last and greatest of the prophets." He is represented as having been a man of middle size, singularly muscular, with a very large head, prominent forehead, eyebrows nearly meeting, but divided by a vein, which in times of excitement throbbed violently, black flashing eyes, aquiline nose, full and florid cheeks, large mouth, and small teeth of the most exquisite whiteness; glossy black hair fell over his shoulders, and a full beard flowed down upon his chest. His countenance is alleged to have been beautiful in the extreme, and to

* Perhaps the strongest presumption against the truth of this assertion, is the circumstance of his calling for a pen that he might write, while delirious, during his last illness. The request was refused.

have added not a little to the effect produced by his insinuating address and consummate eloquence upon the impressionable natures of his countrymen.* The creed he first taught was simply this:—"There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet;" and all who received and repeated this comprehensive formula were styled "true believers." The Koran he declared to be a perfect book, already written in heaven, but communicated to him in portions only, through the medium of the angel Gabriel. This provision enabled him to disseminate his doctrines gradually, to observe the manner in which they were received, and to modify and even change them at successive periods; but, at the same time, the very facility of obviating immediate difficulties, led to many discrepancies and contradictions in his pretended revelations. In spite, however, of much extravagance, of the wildest dreams related as if sober realities, and, worse than all, of the glaring impiety of pleading the Divine command as a reason for intolerance and immorality, many chapters of the Koran are still remarkable as compositions.† They stamp their author as far superior to any existing writer of his country, and even exhibit him in the light of a reformer—for his religion was founded on the sublime theology of the Old Testament, and his morality, faulty indeed in comparison with the Christian code, was yet far purer than that then general in Arabia, for it must be remembered that Mohammed represented himself as privileged to break through at pleasure the very rules he most strenuously enforced on others. The Koran abounds in admonitions to spiritual and moral excellence, enunciates the necessary laws and directions for the guidance of Mohammedans, and especially enjoins the worship and reverence of the only true God, and resignation to his will. In the course of its 114 chapters, Adam, Noah, Moses, Joseph, David, Solomon, and other patriarchs, prophets, and kings, are referred to by name, the facts being evidently derived from the Jewish Scriptures, the fictions in which they are enveloped, from tradition, or more frequently from the teeming brain of the impostor. It seems almost profanation to mention the sacred name of the Great Redeemer in connection with the lying tales of the False Prophet. Suffice it to say that His divine mission is recognised in the Koran, but His divinity denied.

For ten years after the first public announcement of his alleged calling, Mohammed continued to play the part of a zealous and enduring missionary, suffering himself "to be abused, to be spit upon, to have dust thrown upon him, and to be dragged out of the temple by his own turban fastened to his neck."‡ Persecution had its usual effect of drawing its object into notice; his doctrines gradually took root, until, upon the death of his uncle and protector, Abu Taleb, the rulers of Mecca determined on his destruction. He lost his faithful wife and earliest convert, Kadijah, about the same time, and a complete change came over him.

At Medina, 270 miles from Mecca, his doctrines had been favourably received, and a deputation from that city invited him to become its governor. He gladly fled thither, escaping, by stratagem, from a conspiracy formed in Mecca, leaving his young cousin Ali lying on his bed, covered with his well-known green robe. The Hejira or flight forms the era from which Mohammedans date; it occurred A.D. 622. On his arrival at Medina, whither all his converts followed him, he was immediately made governor. Many Jews and Christians then resided there, the latter he rather favoured, but the former as a nation incurred his bitter enmity, by indignantly rejecting his overtures to become proselytes, or to aid in making Jerusalem the head-quarters of the new creed. Once established at Medina he built a mosque, threw off his submissive attitude, and declared his intention of having recourse to arms in his own defence, and also for the conversion or extermination of infidels. He strengthened his cause by several marriages, and subsequently added to the number, as policy or inclination prompted, until he had fifteen, or as some say, twenty-one so-called legitimate wives—other men being allowed four at the utmost. The true secret of his success probably lay in the

* For a graphic and condensed account of the impostor and his early proceedings, see a published lecture on Mohammedanism, by the Rev. W. Arthur. Major Price's compendious *Mahommedan History* is an excellent book of reference, as well as of agreeable reading.

† "The style of the Koran," says its able translator, Mr. Sale, "is generally beautiful and fluent, especially where it imitates the prophetic manner and scripture phrases: it is concise and often obscure, adorned with bold figures after the Eastern taste, and in many places, especially where the majesty and attributes of God are described, sublime and magnificent."—(*Preliminary Discourse*, p. 44.)

‡ *Tarikhi Tabari;* quoted by Col. Kennedy, in the *Bombay Literary Transactions*, vol. iii.

force of his grand doctrine of the unity and omnipotence of God, as contrasted with idolatry. This he declared was to be insisted upon everywhere, at the cost of life itself, which it was meritorious to lavish freely, whether that of believers in spreading the right faith, or of infidels to lessen their number. The enthusiastic Arabs were easily induced to unite as fellow-workers in an enterprize they believed enjoined by the direct command of God, and eagerly dared the fiercest contest in the battle-field, intoxicated by the lying words which asserted that "the sword is the key of heaven and of hell; a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, or a night spent under arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting or prayer. Whoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven at the day of judgment; his wounds shall be resplendent as vermillion and odoriferous as musk; the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubims."*

The first contest, which took place at Beder between 300 of the Mohammedans and 900 of the Koreish tribe, terminated in favour of the new sect, and laid the foundation of a great military empire, of such rapid growth, that when in the tenth year of the Hejira, and the sixty-third of his age, Mohammed lay writhing in the last struggles of the long agony of four years' duration, which followed the eating of the poisoned dish prepared by the persecuted Jews of Chaibar—not only was all Arabia united under his sway, but the king of Persia, the emperor of Rome, and the king of Ethiopia had been called upon to acknowledge his divine mission and receive the Koran: the dominions of the emperor (Heraclius) had indeed been actually invaded by a successful expedition into Syria. Yet this was but the nucleus of the singular power exercised by his successors, for instead of falling to pieces like a snow-ball in the contest for its possession, as might have been expected, since Mohammed, like Alexander, left no undoubted heir, the reins of government were placed by his followers in the hand of Abubekir, one of the earliest of the so-called "true believers," in spite of the opposition of Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of Mohammed, who had expected to be chosen caliph and imaum.† Abubekir, fearing the revival of the domestic feuds of tribes or clans, forthwith proclaimed anew throughout the Arabian peninsula the favourite and convenient doctrine of the False Prophet, that fighting for religion was the most acceptable service which man could render to his Maker, and declared his intention of sending an army for the complete subjugation of Syria. The life and rule of Abubekir terminated in two years. In accordance with his desire, Omar, a noble citizen of Mecca, acceded to the supreme authority, with the title of "commander of the faithful." Under his vigorous rule the Arabs invaded Persia and utterly destroyed the second or Parthian empire, gained complete possession of Syria, after defeating 40,000 Greeks in a severe contest on the *Yermuk*, a river running into the lake of Tiberias, and, as a crowning triumph, compelled the surrender of Jerusalem, for which, as the "city of the prophets," Mohammed had always professed high veneration.

Egypt was over-run by Khaled, a general whose victories had procured from Mohammed the title of "the sword of God," and Alexandria was speedily added to the brilliant roll of Mussulman conquests. The great abilities, united to extreme simplicity and purity of life, which distinguished Omar, doubtless contributed to the spread of the doctrines and temporal sway of the people he governed. At the expiration of ten years he was slain while praying in the mosque, by a Persian, whose rage was excited by being obliged to pay two pieces of silver daily, as a penalty for refusing to abjure his faith—the alternatives offered by the Mohammedans, being "the Koran, tribute, or the sword." The large majority of the conquered chose the first, especially in Persia, where a lifeless form of government and a fantastic and superstitious creed, needed but a slight shock to hasten the progress of decay, and crumble into dust, to be moulded anew and receive vital energy, in greater or less degree, according to the will and ability of the first dominant power which might be brought to bear upon it. The doctrine of the unity and omnipotence of God was received by the Persians as a mighty truth, divinely revealed to man, as it really was, notwithstanding the false and distorted medium through which it reached them, and it must have peculiarly commended itself to all who had seriously considered the

* The *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, contains a detailed account of the rise and progress of the Moslem empire, written with all the power and caustic irony peculiar to Gibbon.

† That is, civil and spiritual ruler, or high-pontiff.

subject of religion, by freeing them from the enthralment of a cowardly and degrading system, which taught men to seek the aid or deprecate the wrath of beings who added to superhuman influence the worst vices of fallen creatures.

Othman succeeded Omar, but quickly displeased his generals, and at the close of a turbulent reign of twelve years, was besieged in his own house, and after a long defence, murdered with the Koran on his knee. Ali was at length elected caliph, notwithstanding the rivalry of Mauwiyah, the lieutenant of Syria, but assassinated within five years in Persia, while entering a mosque for evening worship. His son and successor Hassan, was defeated by Mauwiyah and abdicated in his favour. The new caliph, the founder of the dynasty of the Ommiades, extended the dominion of the Arabs to the Atlantic, having subjugated all Roman or Northern Africa.

In A.D. 713, Spain was subdued, and the Mussulmans continued to advance until they had reached the heart of France, but were met on the Loire, in 732, between Poitiers and Tours, by Charles Martel, and utterly routed.

The last caliph of the dynasty of the Ommiades (Merwan) was slain in a sedition raised by the descendants of Abbas, Mohammed's uncle. The second prince of this dynasty built the city of Bagdad and removed the seat of government thither; the fifth was the famous Haroun al Raschid. Under the Abbassides learning flourished and the original simplicity of the court gave way to luxury and magnificence, but the coherent strength of the now vast empire was on the decline, and a gradual but sure progress of dismemberment commenced. In Spain, a branch of the Ommiades maintained an independent sway; Khorassan and Transoxiana became virtually independent, and in Egypt, descendants of Fatima, (daughter of Mohammed and wife to Ali,) established a distinct caliphate. The fortunes of these new powers will be noticed when connected with India, as also those of the Seljuk tribe, whose barbarities at Jerusalem (under the dreaded name of Saracens) provoked the nations of Christendom to attempt the rescue of the Holy Land; but the struggle carried on there for nearly three centuries, never immediately affected the centre of the Mohammedan empire, which continued at Bagdad for about 500 years. Mustassem was caliph when Hulaku, a descendant of the celebrated Jengis Khan, besieged and captured Bagdad. The cruel victor, after mocking his wretched prisoner with vain hopes until he had obtained his hidden treasures, exposed him for some days to the lingering torments of starvation, and then, under the pretence of unwillingness to shed his blood, caused him to be wrapped in coarse camlet, and rolled about on the ground until he expired. Thus perished the last of the Abbassides, A.D. 1258. In the city alone, 800,000 persons, or according to some authorities, a much greater number were slain, so that the Tigris was dyed with gore.

Indo-Arabic Conquests. — In A.D. 664, a large force marched from Meru to Cabool, and made converts of upwards of 12,000 persons. At the same time, Mohalib, (afterwards an eminent commander in Persia and Arabia,) proceeded thence with a detachment in the direction of India, penetrated to Moultan, and having plundered the country, triumphantly rejoined the army at Khorassan, bringing with him many captives, who were compelled to declare themselves converts to the Moslem* creed. No further attempt is recorded as having been made on the north of India during the continuance of the Arab rule, but the prince of Cabool appears to have been rendered tributary, if not subject to the caliphs, since his revolt is mentioned by Ferishta,† as the occasion of a new invasion of his territories eighteen years later. The Arabs at this period met with an unexpected check: they were drawn into a defile, defeated, and compelled to surrender, and to purchase their freedom by an ample ransom. One old contemporary of Mohammed is said to have disdained all compromise, and to have fallen by the swords of the infidels. This disgrace was immediately revenged by the Arab governor of Seestan,

* Islam, derived from an Arabic root, signifies "the true faith," Moslem or Mussulman a believer therein.

† Mohammed Kasim, surnamed Ferishta, resided at the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah II., at Beejapoor, about the close of the sixteenth century, and, sustained by royal patronage and assistance in collecting authorities, wrote a history of the rise of the Mohammedan power in India till the year 1612, which has been ably translated from the original Persian by Colonel Briggs. A considerable portion of it had been previously rendered into English by Colonel Dow, but the value of his work is lessened by mistranslations, and also by being largely interspersed with reflections and facts collated from other sources, which, though often interesting and important in themselves, are so closely interwoven with the text as to leave the reader in doubt regarding the portion which actually rests on the testimony of Ferishta.

and yet more completely by Abdurehman, governor of Khorassan, who in A.D. 699, led a powerful army in person against the city, and reduced the greater part of the country to subjection. A quarrel with Hejaj, the governor of Bassora, led Abdurehman into rebellion against the reigning caliph (Abdelmelek, one of the Ommiades), whereupon he formed an alliance with his former enemy, the prince of Cabool, in whose dominions he was compelled to take refuge, and at length, to avoid being given up to his enemies, committed suicide.*

The nation to which this prince of Cabool belonged is rendered doubtful by the position of his capital at a corner where the countries of the Paropamisan Indians, the Afghans, the Persians, and the Tartars are closely adjoining each other. Elphinstone supposes him to have been a Persian, and considers it very improbable that he could have been an Afghan, as Cabool is never known to have been possessed by a tribe of that nation.

At this period the northern portion of the tract included in the branches of the Hindoo Coosh, and now inhabited by the Eimaks and Hazarehs, was known by the name of the mountains of Ghor, and probably occupied by Afghans, as also the middle part, all of which seems to have been included in the mountains of Soliman.† The southern portion, known by the name of the mountains of Mekran, were inhabited by Beloochees as at present; and the other ridges connected with the same range as those of Ghor, but situated to the east of the range of Imaus and Soliman, were probably tenanted by Indians, descendants of the Paropamisadæ. Ferishta seems to have been led by their traditions to believe the Afghans‡ to have been converted to Mohammedanism in the life-time of its originator, and represents them as invading the territory of the Hindoos as early as A.H. 63, and as afterwards continually engaged in hostilities with the Rajah of Lahore, until, in conjunction with the Gukkurs (a people on the hills east of the Indus), they obtained from him a cession of territory, secretly engaging in return to protect him from the attacks of other Mussulmans. It was owing to this compact that the princes of the house of Samani never invaded the north of India, but confined their predatory incursions to Sinde. Ferishta further mentions that the Afghans gave an asylum to the remains of the Arabs who were driven out of Sinde in the second century of the Hejira. §

This account is on the whole sufficiently probable. The Afghans may have willingly received the Koran || long before their subjugation by Sultan Mahmood. On the subject of their early religion, Mohammedan historians afford no light, owing to their not distinguishing denominations of infidels. Arab descents on Sinde by sea are mentioned as early as the caliphate of Omar, but they were probably piratical expeditions, undertaken for the purpose of carrying off the women of the country, whose beauty seems to have been much esteemed in Arabia. Several detachments were also sent through the south of Mekran (the Gedrosia of Alexander), during the reigns of the early caliphs, but all failed owing to the impracticable character of this barren region.

At length, in the reign of the caliph Walid, an Arab ship laden with slave-girls and rarities from Sinde having been seized at Dival or Dewal, a sea-port connected with Sinde (supposed to be the site of the modern Kurrachee), the rajah, named Dahir by the Mussulmans, was called on for restitution. The capital of this prince was at Alor, near Bukkur, and he possessed Moultan and all Sinde, with, perhaps, the adjoining plain of the Indus, as far as the mountains at Calabagh. His territory was portioned out among his relations, probably

* *Kholasat al Akhbar*, and the *Tarikhi Tabari*, quoted by Price (vol. i., pp. 455—463).

† Elphinstone, vol. i., 496. I am informed by Mr. Masson, on the authority of Mirza Sami, the minister of Dost Mohammed, who corrected the mistake made by Sir A. Burnes on the subject in his presence, that the term Hindoo Coosh is especially given to the high peak of the range to which it belongs, immediately overhanging Ghosband, although it is applied, in ordinary parlance, to some extent of the range stretching east or north-east.

‡ Ferishta records, on the authority of the Mutlaoo.-Anwar, a work supposed to be no longer extant, but which he describes as written by a respectable author, that the Afghans are Copts of the race of the Pharaohs, many of whom, after the overthrow of the infidel monarch and his host in the Red Sea, became converts to the true faith; but others, stubborn and self-willed, continued obstinate, and, leaving their country, came to India and settled in the Soliman Mountains under the name of Afghans. (Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i., p. 6.) The people themselves claim descent from Afghaun, grandson of Saul, king of Israel.

§ A quarter of the Balla Hissar, or citadel of Cabool, retains the name of Arabah, and its occupants are of Arabic descent.

|| The Tartar nations, China, the Malay country and the Asiatic islands, afford evidence of the propagation of the religion of the Mussulmans, independent of their arms.

on the feudal tenure still common among the Rajpoots. Dahir refused compliance with the demand of Walid, on the ground that Dewal was not subject to his authority; the excuse was deemed unsatisfactory, and a body of 1,000 infantry and 300 horse were despatched to Sinde; but this inadequate force perished like its predecessors on the road. Hejaj, the before-mentioned governor of Bassora, prepared a regular army of 6,000 men at Shiraz, and entrusted the command to his son-in-law, Mohammed Casim, then only twenty years of age. By him the troops were safely conducted to the walls of Dewal, A.H. 92 (A.D. 711). Casim, being provided with catapultas and other engines, commenced operations by attacking a celebrated pagoda without the city, surrounded by a high enclosure of hewn stone, and occupied, in addition to the numerous Brahmin inhabitants, by a strong garrison of Rajpoots. The Arab leader having learned that the safety of the place was believed to be connected with that of the sacred standard displayed on the tower of the temple, directed his engines against this object, and having succeeded in bringing it to the ground, the dismay of the besieged soon terminated in surrender. The town was likewise taken, and a rich booty obtained. The Brahmins rejected the proposed test of conversion—circumcision: all above the age of seventeen were put to death, and the remainder, with the women, reduced to slavery. Brahmanabad, Neron Kow (now Hyderabad), Sehwan, and Salem* were in turn reduced, and Casim, strengthened by a reinforcement of 2,000 horse from Persia, continued to advance, notwithstanding the opposition of a powerful force under the rajah's eldest son, until he reached the neighbourhood of Alor or Abhor, where he was confronted by the rajah himself, at the head of 40,000 men. The disproportion of numbers rendered retreat or advance equally hazardous for the invader, who prudently ensconced his small force† in a strong position, and awaited the attack of the Hindoos, anxiously watching for any error or disaster which might create disorder among their unwieldy ranks. Such a circumstance occurred at an early period of the engagement. A naptha fire-ball struck the rajah's elephant, and the terrified animal becoming absolutely ungovernable, rushed from the field of battle and plunged into the adjacent river Indus. Dahir, although severely wounded by an arrow, mounted his war-horse and returned immediately to the scene of action, but the disappearance of the leader had produced its usual effect on an Asiatic army; the fortune of the day was already decided; and the brave rajah, after vainly attempting to rally his panic-stricken forces, plunged into the midst of the Arab cavalry, and, with a small band of trusty followers, fell covered with wounds. His son fled to Brahmanabad, but his widow collected the remains of the routed army and successfully defended the city, until famine within the walls proved a more powerful enemy than the sword without. Inflamed by her example, a body of Rajpoots resolved to devote themselves and their families to death, after the manner of their tribe. When all hope of deliverance had fled, they bathed, and with other ceremonies took leave of each other and the world; the women and children were then sacrificed on a funereal pile, and the men, headed by the widow of Dahir, flung open the gates of the fortress, and all perished in an attack on the Mohammedan camp. The city was then carried by storm, those who remained in arms were slaughtered, and their families reduced to bondage.

A last desperate stand was made at Ashcandra, after which Moultan seems to have fallen without resistance, and every part of the dominions of the ill-fated Dahir‡ was gradually subjected. Each city was called upon to embrace the religion of Mohammed or to pay tribute; in default of both, an assault was commenced, and unless saved by timely capitulation, the fighting men were put to death and their families sold for slaves. Four cities held out to the last extremity; and in two of them the number of soldiers who were refused quarter is esti-

* The site of Brahmanabad is supposed by Burnes to be marked by the ruins close to the modern town of Tatta (*Travels*, vol. iii., p. 31), but Captain M'Murdo (*R. A. S. Journal*, No. I., p. 28), thinks it must have been situated on the other side of the present course of the Indus, much farther to the north-east. Sehwan still retains its ancient name. The site of Salem is doubtful.

† It is stated in a work, abstracted from the family annals of Nawab Bahawal Khan, and translated and published by Shahamet Ali (a native gentleman in the service of the British government), under the title of the *History of Bahawalpur* (London, 1848), that a Brahmin of great ability forsook his master, the rajah, previous to the final conflict, and afforded great assistance to Casim; if so, he was probably accompanied by other deserters.

‡ In the history of Sinde, translated by the late Captain Postans, it is asserted that Dahir ruled Cabool, as well as Sinde, and coins have been found

mated at 6,000 each. The merchants, artizans, and such like were exempt from molestation, beyond what must have been inseparably connected with the storming of a town. When the payment of tribute was agreed to, the sovereign retained his territory, simply becoming amenable to the usual relations of a tributary prince, and the people retained all their former privileges, including the free exercise of their religion.

Casim himself, notwithstanding his extreme youth, seems to have united to military talents of the first order, discretion and ability to keep by conciliatory measures what he had gained by violence.* Several Hindoo princes were induced to join him during the war, and at its conclusion he re-appointed the Hindoo prime minister of Dahir to his previous office, on the express ground that he was best qualified to protect old rights, and maintain established institutions.

The conquest and occupation of Sinde being completed, the victor organised an army on a large scale.† By some writers he is alleged to have accomplished a triumphant march to Canouj on the Ganges, establishing a Mohammedan garrison in every large town on his route, when a sudden blow from a most unexpected source terminated at once his projects and his life. Among the females captured at Sinde were the two daughters of the ill-fated rajah, who, from their beauty and high rank, were deemed worthy to grace the seraglio of the Commander of the Faithful. There they remained until the year of the Hejira 96 (A.D. 714), when Walid became enamoured of the elder sister, who vehemently declared herself unworthy of his notice, having been dishonoured by Casim before being sent from her own country. The enraged caliph, in the first headlong impulse of passion, wrote with his own hand an order to Casim, that he should cause himself to be sewn up in a raw hide and thus embrace the fate which he deserved. The faithful subject literally obeyed this tyrannical mandate, and his body was sent to Damascus. The caliph showed it to the princess, as evidence of the fate which attended those who dared insult the "deputy of the prophet," upon which she exultingly declared that his ill-fated servant was wholly innocent of the crime attributed to him, and had fallen a victim to her successful stratagem, planned to revenge the death of her father, mother, brother, and countrymen. This strange and romantic incident is recorded with little variation by Mohammedan historians, and it is perfectly consistent with the determined character of the Hindoo women, where the objects of their affections are concerned, and also with the pure and unhesitating self-devotion repeatedly evinced by the servants of the caliphs.‡

The conquests of Casim were made over to his successor Temim, whose family possessed them for about thirty-six years, that is, until the downfall of the house of Ommia, A.D. 750, when the Mussulmans were expelled by the Rajpoot tribe of Sumera, and their territories restored to the Hindoos, who retained possession for nearly 500 years. Part of the expelled Arabs found refuge, (as before stated) among the Afghans.

Such is the account given by Elphinstone, on the authority of Ferishta and the Ayeen Akbery—but in the *History of Bahawalpur*, since published, it is asserted that on the expulsion of the Ommia dynasty and the accession of Abul Abbas, governors were sent out by him to Sinde and the Punjaub. But little resistance was made, and the Abbas house continued in the enjoyment of their Indian acquisitions without molestation, until the caliphate of Kader-Bellah, that is, for a period of 286 lunar years, at the expiration of which the formidable enemy of Hindoo independence, Mahmood of Ghuznee, appeared on the stage.

These statements are quite contradictory; but whatever degree of influence or authority the Arabs may have retained after the check given by the death of their leader, Casim, it is certain that neither their power nor their creed spread, but rather diminished from that moment. The passive courage of the Hindoos generally, as well as the more active bravery of the Rajpoots, associated especially with a devoted attachment to a religion closely interwoven with their laws and customs—opposed great obstacles to invaders, even more desirous of converting than of conquering them. Besides this, the great change which took place in the spirit of the Mohammedan rulers, rendered their antagonism far less dangerous. The rude soldiers of Arabia, who had raised the

with Nagari legends, which Mr. Masson reads as referring to Sri Dahir, but Professor Wilson, to Sri Mahe.

* A Persian MS., the *Tarikhi Hind o Sind*, preserved in the India House, is the source whence most accounts of Casim's military transactions are derived.

† About 50,000 Mohammedans are said to have collected around his standard on this occasion.

‡ Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. iv., p. 410.

wild war cry of Islam, passed away; succeeding generations filled their place, reared less hardily, while their chiefs in an absorbing desire for luxury and magnificence at home, cared little for the dear-bought triumphs of victory and the glory of their standard abroad. Omar set out to join his army at Jerusalem, (in compliance with the stipulation of the Christians that he should personally receive the surrender of the holy place), with his arms and provisions on the same camel with himself; and Othman extinguished his lamp, when he had finished the necessary labours of the day, that the public oil might not be expended on his enjoyments. Al Mahdi, within a century from the last-named ruler, loaded 500 camels with ice and snow; and the profusion of one day of the Abbassides would have defrayed all the expenses of the four first caliphs. Thus it was left to other Mussulman nations, and to dynasties formed during the gradual dismemberment of the great Arab empire, to establish permanent dominion in India.

*House of Ghuznee.**—To understand the origin of this powerful family, it is necessary to retrace our steps, and briefly notice the country from whence they came.

After the conquest of Persia, the Oxus became the northern Arab frontier: on the opposite side lay a tract of country (bounded on the north by the Jaxartes, on the west by the Caspian Sea, and on the east by Mount Imaus,) to which they gave the name of Mawer ul Nahr, literally *Beyond the River*, but commonly translated Transoxania. It comprised much desert ground, intermingled with tracts of remarkable fertility, and was occupied partly by settled inhabitants, who were chiefly Persians, and partly by nomadic and pastoral tribes, comprehended under the vague and general name of Tartars.† To which of the three great nations, commonly included in European writings under this head, the people of Transoxania belonged at this period, whether Turks, Moguls, or Manchoos, is still undetermined; but the first-named people are generally supposed to have formed the bulk of the wandering and also a section of the permanent population. It was more than half a century after the subjugation of Persia and five years before the occupation of Sinde, that the Arabs crossed the Oxus under Catiba, governor of Khorassan, and after eight years spent in a contest, with varying success, Transoxiana was subjected to the sway of the caliphs, A.D. 713. In 806, a revolt occurred, which the son and successor of Haroun al Raschid, Mamoon, was enabled to quell, and afterwards by residing in Khorassan, to retain authority over that province. But on the removal of the court to Bagdad, Taher, who had been the principal instrument of Mamoon's elevation to the caliphate, to the detriment of his brother Ameen, established independent authority in Khorassan and Transoxiana, which were never again united to the rapidly decaying empire.

The family of Taher were deposed after about fifty years' rule, by the Sofarides, whose founder Yacub ben Leith, a brazier of Seestan, commenced by raising a revolt in his native province, afterwards overran Persia,‡ and died while marching to attack the caliph in Bagdad. At the expiration of forty years, the Samanis, a family of distinction, whose members had held governments under Mamoon while he resided in Khorassan, and afterwards under the Taherites, superseded the Sofarides and took possession of their territory, nominally in behalf of the caliph, but really without any reference to his authority. It was in the reign of Abdelmelek, the fifth prince of this dynasty, that Aluptugeen, the founder of the kingdom of Ghuznee, rose into importance. He was of Turkish descent, and had been a slave, but his royal master recognising his ability, had appointed him to various offices of trust, and at length to the government of Khorassan. On the death of his patron, a deputation was sent to consult Aluptugeen respecting the choice of a successor from the royal family, and having given his suffrage against Mansoor the presumptive heir, on account of his extreme youth, he incurred the ill-will of this prince, (who had meantime been raised to the throne,) was deprived of his office, and but for the

* Ghuznee, otherwise spelt *Ghizni* and *Ghazni*.

† Tod, referring to De Guignes, says—the Heong-nou and the Ou-houn, the Turks and Moguls, were called "Tatar," from Tatan, the name of the country from the banks of the Irtish, along the mountains of Altai, to the shores of the Yellow Sea. De Guignes invariably maintains Heong-nou to be but another name for the Turks, among whom he places Attila and the majority of his army, whose hideous physiognomy and savage manners lent a fearful prestige to their desolating marches. Another division of the same branch of the Heong-nou had previously settled among the Persians in Transoxiana, and acquired the name of the White Huns, from their changed complexion.—(*Histoire generale des Huns.*)

‡ He likewise subjugated Cabool.—(*Mr. Thomas.*)

fidelity of a trusty band of adherents, aided by his own military skill, would have lost liberty, if not life. At Ghuznee, in the heart of the Soliman mountains, the fugitive found safety, accompanied by 3,000 disciplined slaves (*Mameluks*). Here he was probably joined by soldiers who had served under him, as well as by the hill Afghans, who, even though they might not acknowledge his authority, would be readily induced by wages to enter his service. In his flight Aluptugeen was attended by a faithful slave named Subuktugeen, brought by a merchant from Turkistan to Bokhara.* Following the example of his early benefactor, he had fostered the abilities of the youth until, on the establishment of a kingdom in Ghuznee, he rewarded the service of his adherent, both as a counsellor and general, by the titles of Ameer-ool-Omra (chief of the nobles) and Vakeel-i-Mootluk (representative). He is even said to have named him as his successor, but authorities differ on this point, some stating that Subuktugeen acceded immediately to the throne on the demise of Aluptugeen, A.D. 975; others, that he was chosen, on the death of that monarch's son and successor, two years later, by general consent of the chiefs, and then married the daughter of his patron. Having been recognised by the caliph Mansoor as governor of Ghuznee, he had, consequently, nothing to dread from that quarter, but was speedily called upon to make preparations against Jeipal (*Jaya Pala*), rajah of Lahore, who, alarmed by the growing power of a Mohammedan ruler so near his frontier, and already harassed by frequent incursions, determined in turn to become the assailant. At the head of a large army he crossed the Indus, marched to Laghman at the mouth of the valley which extends from Peshawur to Cabool, and was there met by Subuktugeen. Some skirmishes ensued, but a general engagement was prevented by a terrible tempest of thunder, wind, and hail, in which some thousands of both armies were said to have perished. This disaster was attributed to supernatural causes;† and the Hindoos, less accustomed than their hardy foes to the extreme vicissitudes of climate, and probably more superstitious, proposed terms of peace, to which Subuktugeen, notwithstanding the opposition of his warlike son Mahmood, then a mere boy, at length consented, on representation being made to him of the determined courage of the Hindoos, especially the Rajpoots, when driven to the last extremity. Jeipal surrendered fifty elephants, and engaged to pay a large sum of money, but on regaining the shelter of his own dominions, fear gave way to resentment, and, forfeiting his pledge, he imprisoned the messengers sent to demand its redemption. Hostilities re-commenced; the rajahs of Delhi, Ajmeer, Calinjar, and Canouj,‡ made common cause with their countrymen; and when the rival forces again met in Laghman, the Ghuznee sovereign, having ascended a height to ascertain the disposition of the enemy, beheld the whole plain covered with an almost countless host, comprising 100,000 horse and a prodigious number of foot soldiers. Undaunted by the prospect, and considering himself "as a wolf about to attack a flock of sheep," Subuktugeen divided his troops into squadrons of 500 men each, and directed them to attack successively one particular point of the dense line of the enemy, which would thus be continually compelled to encounter fresh troops. The manœuvre succeeded in occasioning some disorder, which was the signal for a general assault; the Hindoos gave way, and were driven with dreadful slaughter beyond the Indus, up to which point Subuktugeen at once took possession, levied heavy contributions in addition to the plunder found in the camp, and left an officer, supported by 10,000 horse, as governor of Peshawur. The Afghans and Khiljis (a distinct Tartar tribe) tendered allegiance, and furnished useful recruits. He then employed himself in consolidating his own dominions, which now extended on the west beyond Candahar, until an appeal for help from his nominal sovereign Noah (the seventh of the Samanis) against the inroads of the Hoeike Tartars, who then possessed all Tartary as far east as China, induced him again to have recourse to arms.

* He is alleged to have been lineally descended from Yezdijerd, the last of the Persian monarchs, who when flying from his enemies during the caliphate of Othman, was murdered while sleeping at a water-mill near the town of Meru. His family being left in Turkistan formed connections among the people, and his descendants became Turks.

† Prince Mahmood learning that in the camp of Jeipal was a spring, into which, if a mixture of ordure were thrown, a fearful storm would arise, caused this to be done and the predicted result immediately followed.—(*Ferishta.*) The fact of there being near Laghman, a spot subject to tempests of extraordinary severity, renders this tale interesting.

‡ These princes were all of the Pala family, and consequently related to the rajah of Lahore.

So efficient was the assistance rendered, that Noah, reinstated in his authority, recognised the right of Subuktugeen over all his acquisitions, and conferred the government of Khorassan on Mahmood, with the title of Syf-ood-Dowla (Sword of the State). This arrangement was almost immediately disturbed by the death of the two chief parties, and the changes and dissensions which arose in their dominions.

Mahmood, being absent at the time of his father's demise, was supplanted in his claim to the succession by his brother Ismael, whom, after defeating in a pitched battle, he captured and imprisoned for the rest of his life, mitigating however the severity of the sentence by every indulgence consistent with such a situation. During the seven months spent in establishing himself in Ghuznee, events occurred in Bokhara very detrimental to his interests. The new king, Mansoor II., fell into the power of the old enemies of his family, and by the influence of Elik Khan the Tartar sovereign, was compelled to receive Faik, one of his most turbulent and rebellious nobles, as his prime minister or rather master. The application of Mahmood to be continued in the government of Khorassan was abruptly rejected, and soon afterwards some court intrigues led to the unhappy Mansoor's being dethroned and blinded, whereupon Abdulmelek was elected his successor as the instrument of Faik, A.D. 999. On this, Mahmood ordered the name of the Samanis to be omitted in the public prayers; took possession of Khorassan in his own behalf; and having received an investiture from the reigning caliph (the dispenser of powers which he himself no longer enjoyed) proclaimed the independence of his sway. He is henceforth commonly termed Sultan, an old Arabic word signifying king, but this title is not found upon his coins.* He next made peace with, and married the daughter of Elik Khan, who had secured his share in the spoil of a falling dynasty by seizing on Transoxiana, and had thus put an end to the dominion of the Samanis after it had lasted 120 years. Mahmood was now little more than thirty years of age. The vigour and ambition of his mind were in accordance with his athletic and well-proportioned frame, but, greedy of personal distinction of every kind, he considered the *mens sana in corpore sano* insufficient compensation for an ordinary stature, and features disfigured with the small pox in a manner, which at least in his youth, he bitterly regretted, as calculated to mar the effect of the splendid pageants in which he delighted to form the chief object. For Mahmood, famous warrior as he afterwards and had indeed already proved himself, could not as a legislator bear comparison with his vaunted teacher Mohammed, and was very far from uniting the comprehensive ability of the statesman to the sword of the conqueror, like his mighty predecessor in India, Alexander; who, heedless of the externals of royalty, lavished gold and jewels upon his followers until his own coffers were empty,† and—superior to the vanity which led his successors to stamp their resemblance on coins and images, cared so little for this species of notoriety, that of his kingly form no popular notion remains, save that connected with the keen intelligence of the eye, and the peculiar carriage of the head, dwelt on by cotemporaries as his peculiar characteristics.

The vice of covetousness, in the indulgence of which Mahmood's intense selfishness found constant gratification, gradually swallowed up the higher qualities of his intellect, as well as the better feelings of his heart. It had probably been early stimulated by the rich booty captured during his father's war with Jeipal, and by reports of the immense stores of wealth heaped around idolatrous shrines, which it was the duty of every "true believer" to pillage and destroy. The unsettled state of the surrounding nations offered a wide scope for his ambition, but Indian conquest appears to have been his paramount desire. Having therefore, as before stated, entered into a friendly alliance with Elik Khan and made arrangements for the government of his own dominions, he proceeded with 10,000 chosen horse to invade India, A.D. 1001. Near Peshawur he was met by his father's old antagonist, the rajah of Lahore, whom, after totally defeating, he made prisoner. From thence the conqueror pursued his victorious march beyond the Sutlej, to the fort of Ba-

* *Sultan*, first stamped by the Seljuk, Toghral Beg, was assumed in Ghuznee some fifteen years later by Ibrahim, A.D. 1060. (Thomas, on *Ghazni Coins.*)

† Alexander was reproached by his mother for placing his friends on a level with princes, by his unbounded generosity. Mahmood when dying ordered his treasures to be spread out before him, and shed bitter tears at the thought of parting with them, but distributed no portion among the faithful adherents who had assisted him in their acquisition.

tinda,* which he stormed, and then returned to Ghuznee with the rich spoils of the camp and country, including sixteen necklaces, one of which, belonging to Jeipal, was valued at 180,000 dihnars,† or £81,000.

In the ensuing spring the Hindoo prisoners were released on payment of a heavy ransom, but the Afghan chiefs who had joined them were put to death. Jeipal himself returned to his kingdom, and having made over his authority to his son Anung Pal, bravely met the fate a mistaken creed assigned as a duty to a sovereign twice conquered by a foreign foe; and mounting a pyre which he had caused to be prepared, set it on fire and perished in the flames. Anung Pal *(Ananda Pala)* appears to have at first endeavoured to fulfil his father's engagement, but the rajah of Bhatia,‡ a dependency of Lahore, on the eastern side of Moultan, refused to furnish his quota of the stipulated tribute, upon which the sultan proceeded in person to enforce it (A.D. 1004), and drove the offending rajah, first from a well-defended intrenchment, and then from a strong fortress, until the fugitive, in despair, finding himself pursued even among the thickets of the Indus, where he had hoped for refuge, and being at the point of capture, turned his sword against his own breast: the majority of his remaining adherents perished in vainly endeavouring to avenge his death.

After annexing Bhatia and its dependencies the conqueror departed, bearing away as usual much booty of various kinds, including 280 elephants and many captives.

A third expedition into India was soon undertaken against the Afghan ruler of Moultan, Abul Futteh Lodi, the grandson of the chief who had joined Subuktugeen after his first victory over the Hindoos. Abul, although educated as a Mussulman, had "abandoned the tenets of the faithful,"§ and what Mahmood considered of more importance, thrown off his political allegiance, and entered into a close alliance with Anung Pal, who, on learning the approach of their joint foe, advanced to intercept him, but was defeated near Peshawur, pursued to Sodra (near Vizirabad) on the Chenab, and compelled to take refuge in Cashmere. Moultan was then besieged, but at the end of seven days a compromise was effected, the revolting chief promising implicit obedience for the future and the payment of an annual tribute of 20,000 golden dirhems;‖ terms which Mahmood was only too glad to grant, having received intelligence of a formidable invasion of his dominions by the armies of Elik Khan. The ties of relationship had not sufficed to prevent the encroaching Tartar from endeavouring to take advantage of the unprotected state in which his son-in-law had left his home possessions, while intent on aggressive incursions abroad. Hoping to acquire Khorassan without difficulty, he despatched one force to Herat and another to Balkh to take possession. But he had formed too low an estimate of the energy of the opponent he had wantonly provoked. Committing the charge of his acquisitions on the Indus to Sewuk Pal, a Hindoo who had embraced Mohammedanism, Mahmood immediately proceeded by long and rapid marches to Ghuznee, and thence to

* Situated in an almost inaccessible tract inhabited by the Bhattis or Shepherds. Though surrounded by a sort of desert, the rajah resided here, alternately with his capital Lahore, probably as a measure of security. Bird's *History of Gujarat*, from the Persian of Ali Mohammed Khan.

† Valuing the dihnar at nine shillings.

‡ Site disputed, generally considered to be the present Bhulneer.

§ Brigg's *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 40. This expression probably alludes to a supposed falling into heterodoxy rather than paganism. Sects and dissensions had early arisen among the Mohammedans, and increased until they amounted to seventy-three, the number said to have been foretold by Mohammed. These may be classed under two heads. The believers, generally deemed orthodox, are included under the term *Sonnites* (or traditionists), because they acknowledge the authority of the Sonna, a collection of moral traditions of the sayings and actions of their founder, which is a sort of supplement to the Koran, answering in name and design to the Mishna of the Jews. The Sonnites regard the Koran as uncreated and eternal, in opposition to the Motazalites (or separatists) and others, who maintain such an assertion to be rank infidelity; and some caliphs of the Abbas family (Motassem and Wathek) endeavoured to suppress it by punishing its advocates with whipping, imprisonment, and even death. An account of the numerous false prophets who sprang up, in imitation of the arch-deceiver himself, is ably given in the introduction to Sale's Koran; among them figures Mokanna, the veiled prophet, the hero of Moore's most popular production. The *Sheiahs*, a term signifying sectaries or adherents in general, is peculiarly applied to the followers of Ali, who hold him to have been the rightful Caliph and Imaum, or high pontiff, (by virtue of his birth, of his marriage with Fatima, and of his having been the first independent person who recognised the mission of Mohammed,) and consider the supreme authority both temporal and spiritual inalienably vested in his descendants. The Persians are mostly Sheiahs; the Turks generally come under the head of Sonnites, and these, like many less conspicuous sects, are in direct opposition to each other.

‖ The value of the silver dirhem is about fivepence; that of the golden one, Colonel Briggs states, is not estimated in any work he has examined.

Balkh, whence the intruders fled, as did the troops at Herat, before the force detached for their expulsion.

Elik Khan, alarmed at the turn of affairs, applied for assistance to Kadr Khan of Khoten, who marched to join him with 50,000 men. Thus strengthened he crossed the Oxus and was met near Balkh by Mahmood, who had employed even more than wonted skill in the arrangement of his resources. Not the least of these was a body of 500 elephants, captured at various times from the Hindoos, the mere sight of which would, he rightly conjectured, check the fury of the Tartar charge, and probably succeed in breaking their line: but being well aware that failing in this, these timid and unwieldy, though sagacious and gentle creatures, would, as he had often witnessed, becoming alarmed and injured, rush back furiously on their masters, he stationed them at intervals among the troops, leaving free way for their retreat in the event of a repulse. This forethought, however, proved needless. Both armies advanced with impetuosity to the charge, and Elik Khan, attended by his guards, attacked the centre of the army of Mahmood, who, perceiving his intention, leaped from his horse, and after (as was his wont, on the eve of any great struggle) prostrating himself on the ground and invoking the aid of the Almighty,—mounted an elephant and advanced to meet his assailant. The well-trained animal seizing the standard-bearer of the enemy in his trunk, tossed him aloft, to the dismay of his companions. The Ghuznevides urged on the other elephants and pressed forward themselves to support their leader; the Tartars were driven off the field with prodigious slaughter, and Elik Khan escaped across the Oxus with a few attendants, having received a severe lesson not again to meddle with the dominions of his warlike relative. But for the inclemency of the season, it being the winter of 1006, he might have fared still worse; for Mahmood, after two days' pursuit, was not without great reluctance compelled to return to his capital by the intense cold, from which some hundreds of his men and horses perished.*

Meanwhile Sewuk Pal, the renegade Hindoo governor, had relapsed into idolatry and expelled all the officers appointed by Mahmood, who, marching to India, detached a body of cavalry in advance, by whom the offender was surprised and captured. His sentence was a heavy fine and imprisonment for life.†

In the spring of 1008, the Sultan assembled a large army and set out on his fourth Indian expedition, on the plea of revenging the opposition he had received during the hostilities in Moultan from Anung Pal, who, on becoming aware of his danger, sent ambassadors to the Hindoo princes on all sides, urging them to unite for the protection of their religion and independence. The appeal was successful; the rajahs of Oojein, Gwalior, Calinjar, Canouj, Delhi, and Ajmeer entered into a confederacy, and collecting their forces, advanced into the Punjaub with an army, whose magnitude so astonished Mahmood, that instead of displaying his usual alacrity to meet danger, he halted in the presence of the enemy, took up a position near Peshawur and remained forty days in a defensive attitude. It must have seemed to him as if the whole male population of Hindoostan had come, *en masse*, to obstruct his progress, and to die, if necessary, in the attempt. Their numbers and enthusiasm daily increased, contributions constantly arrived from the women of distant parts, who sold their jewels and melted down their ornaments to provide ample resources for the defence of their country, and the Gukkurs and other warlike troops rallying round the

* On the third night of the pursuit a violent storm of wind and snow occurred. The army remained unsheltered, but the royal tents had with much difficulty been pitched and heated by stoves, so that many of the courtiers began to throw off their upper garments. One of them came in shivering with cold, which Mahmood perceiving, addressed him with—"Go, Dilchuk, and tell Winter that he may burst his cheeks with blustering—here we defy his power." Dilchuk went out, and returning, declared that he had delivered his message, and the surly season replied, that though he might fail to touch royalty or its immediate retainers, yet he would so evince his power over the army that in the morning the sultan might be compelled to saddle his own horse. With all his faults, Mahmood seems to have been neither irascible nor tyrannical in his bearing towards those about him. The reproof thus wittily conveyed is said to have induced him to renounce the idea of further advance, but the distressing scenes of death and suffering manifested by the dawn of the following day must have sufficed to afford reason for retreat.—(Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i., p. 44.)

† In the text I have followed the example of Elphinstone in adopting the statement of Ferishta; but Mr. Bird asserts, on the authority of older Persian writers, that there was no such person as Sewuk Pal, and that the mistake arose from placing the expedition to Moultan before, instead of after, the war with Elik Khan.—(*History of Gujarat*, p. 23.)

popular standard, encompassed the Mohammedans, who were compelled to intrench their camp. Mahmood perceiving the increasing danger, strove to profit by the strength of his defences, and sent out a body of 6,000 archers to provoke an attack. The success of this stratagem had well nigh proved fatal to the schemer, for the hardy Gukkurs having repulsed the archers, pursued them so closely, that in spite of the sultan's personal efforts, a numerous body of these mountaineers, bare-headed and bare-footed, variously and strangely armed, passed the entrenchments on both flanks, and throwing themselves among the cavalry with irresistible fury, proceeded to cut down and maim both horse and rider, until in a very short space of time between 3,000 and 4,000 Mohammedans were slain. The assailants however, after the first onset, were checked and cut off as they advanced, till, on a sudden the elephant on which the Hindoo leader rode becoming unruly* turned and fled, and his followers thinking themselves deserted, gave way, and were easily routed. Mahmood immediately despatched 10,000 men in pursuit of the retreating army, of whom nearly twice as many were slain before they could reach a place of safety. Then, without allowing the scattered hosts time to reassemble, he followed them into the Punjaub, and on their effectual dispersion, found himself at liberty to give free scope to his plundering propensities in the rifling of the fort of Bheem (now Nagarcot), a fortified temple on a steep mountain connected with the lower range of the Himalaya. This edifice was considered to derive peculiar sanctity from a burning fountain or natural flame, which issued from the ground within its precincts, and was enriched by princely offerings, besides being the depository of the wealth of the neighbourhood; so that, according to Ferishta, such an amount of treasure was never collected by any prince on earth. It would seem incredible that a place of the first importance should be left unguarded, but its garrison having been drawn off during the late effort to free Hindoostan from her persecutor, the rapidity of his movements had cut off any chance of reinforcement; and when, after having laid waste the surrounding country with fire and sword, he approached the walls, no opposition was attempted by the defenceless priests, who gladly capitulated on the condition of their lives being spared. Entering the temple with the chief officers of his court and household, Mahmood gazed in delighted amazement at the vast stores garnered up therein. Gold and silver, wrought and unwrought, in dihnars, plate and ingots; pearls, corals, diamonds, rubies and various other jewels,† accumulated since the time of Rajah Bheema, in the heroic ages, became the prize of the royal marauder, who returned with his booty to Ghuznee, and in a triumphal festival held during three days on a spacious plain, displayed on golden thrones and tables manufactured from his Indian spoils, the richest and rarest of his acquisitions. Sumptuous banquets were provided for the spectators, alms liberally distributed among the poor, and magnificent presents bestowed on persons of distinction; all this display being at once very gratifying to the sultan's love of magnificence, and well calculated to contribute to his popularity, and the maintenance of internal tranquillity during his frequent absence.

In A.D. 1010, Mahmood proceeded against the strong country of Ghor, in the mountains east of Herat. The inhabitants were Afghans, and had been converted and subdued by the caliphs in the commencement of the second century of the Hejira. Their chief, Mohammed Soor, strongly posted, and at the head of 10,000 men, repelled the attacks of his assailant from early morning till noon, but was eventually tempted from his secure position, by the pretended disorderly retreat of the Ghuznevides, in pursuit of whom the Ghorians sallied forth, but were speedily made aware of the trap into which they had fallen, by the sudden halt

* In various copies of *Ferishta*, the cause of the elephant's alarm is ascribed to guns and muskets. As no Persian or Arabic history speaks of gunpowder before the time assigned to its European invention, A.D. 1317, Briggs, by a slight change of the diacrital points in the manuscripts, renders it—"naptha balls and arrows." Elphinstone deems the expression an anachronism of the author; but as there is every reason to believe that this explosive material was then used in China, it seems just possible that it might have been obtained from thence.

† There are said to have been 700,000 golden dihnars, 700 mauns of gold and silver plate, 200 mauns of pure gold in ingots, 2,000 mauns of unwrought silver, and 20 mauns of jewels. There are several kinds of maun; the smallest, that of Arabia, is two pounds; the most common, that of Tabriz, eleven pounds; and that of India, eighty pounds. Taking the smallest weight, we have 1,400 lb. of gold and silver plate, 400 lb. of golden ingots, 4,000 lb. of silver bullion, and 40 lb. weight of jewels.—(Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i., p. 48.)

and fierce onset of the foe, by whom they were competely defeated. Their chief being taken prisoner, swallowed some poison, which he always kept about him in a ring, and died in a few hours. His country was annexed to the dominions of Ghuznee, but it is worthy of note that by his descendants the conquering dynasty was at length utterly overthrown.

Two years afterwards, the mountainous country of Jurjistan,* adjoining Ghor, was reduced, and another attack made upon Moultan, which had revolted. In the words of Ferishta, who, as a Mussulman historian, chooses very gentle phrases in which to express the sanguinary deeds of fellow-believers, "a number of the infidel inhabitants were cut off," and Abul Futteh Lodi brought to Ghuznee as a captive, and doomed to languish in the gloomy fort of Ghooruk for life. In the following year, 1011, Mahmood undertook an expedition of unusual length to Tanesur (thirty miles west of Delhi). He was met by the urgent entreaties of the Hindoos that he would spare the temple, which they held in great veneration, and accept a ransom, but he replied, "the Koran declared that the extent to which the followers of the prophet exerted themselves for the subversion of idolatry would be the measure of their reward in heaven,—it therefore behoved him, by Divine assistance, to root out the worship of idols from the face of all India." Proceeding forthwith to Tanesur, before its defenders had time to assemble, he plundered the temple, destroyed the idols, sacked the town, and carried away 200,000 captives and much treasure, so that throughout the camp "no soldier was without wealth or many slaves."†

Two predatory incursions into Cashmere were next attempted, the second of which proved disastrous from the difficulties of a march commenced when the season was too far advanced.‡ A brief interval of repose for India followed, during which Mahmood took advantage of the disturbed state of the affairs of Elik Khan's successor in Tartary to acquire possession of Transoxiana, and extend his dominion to the Caspian Sea. From this period his Indian exploits were on a grander scale, and he seems to have united a much stronger desire for the permanent possession of conquered territories, to his zeal for the destruction of idols, and the appropriation of their spoils. Assembling an army of 100,000 horse and 20,000 foot, drawn more especially from his newly-acquired dominions, he made judicious arrangements for the home government during his absence, placed his two sons in important governments aided by trusty counsellors, and then commenced carrying out the plans which, after much careful investigation, he had devised for the prosecution of a three months' march to the Ganges, across seven great rivers, in an unexplored country. Leaving Peshawur in the spring of 1017, he passed near the confines of Cashmere, and being joined by the prince whom he had established there, proceeded on his way, keeping close to the mountains until he had crossed the Jumna. Then turning south, and driving all opposition before them, the Mussulmans presented themselves unexpectedly before the walls of Canouj; a city, says Ferishta, "which raised its head to the skies, and, in strength and beauty, might boast of being unrivalled." The rajah, taken by surprise, made no attempt at defence, but came out with his family and surrendered himself to Mahmood, who, on this occasion, (either from a motive of policy, or possibly actuated by one of the kindly impulses in which his nature, though warped by bigotry and avarice, was by no means deficient,) showed unusual clemency, and after three days' tarry, left the stately city uninjured.

Other places and their rulers were less fortunate—many were bravely defended. At Mahawan, near Muttra, terms had been entered into, when an accidental quarrel among the troops led to the massacre of the Hindoos, whose leader, conceiving himself betrayed, destroyed his wife and family, and then committed suicide. Muttra§ itself, the famous seat of the Hindoo religion, was completely devastated by the excesses of the troops during a twenty days' halt, the horrors of a conflagration being added to the ordinary sufferings of the people of a sacked city. Idols of gold and silver, with eyes of rubies, and adorned with sapphires and precious stones, were demolished, melted down, and packed on camels; destined perhaps to

* Mistaken by D'Herbelot and others for Georgia.

† Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 53.

‡ Stewart's *History of Bengal*, pp. 10, 11.

§ Mahmood writing to Ghuznee declared that Muttra contained a thousand edifices "as firm as the faith of the faithful," mostly of marble, besides innumerable temples, and considered that many millions of dihnars must have been expended on the city, the fellow to which could not be constructed under two centuries.—(*Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 58.)

excite scarcely less censurable feelings in the breasts of their new possessors, than formerly as the unhallowed mediums, or too often the actual objects, of Hindoo worship. The temples were however left standing, either on account of the excessive, and, in one sense at least, unprofitable labour necessary to their destruction, or else for the sake of their extraordinary beauty. The fort of Munj was taken after a siege of twenty-five days, its Rajpoot defenders at length ending the long struggle by rushing through the breaches on the enemy, springing from the works, or meeting death in the flames of their own houses, with their wives and children; so that not one remained to be enslaved.

Various other towns were reduced and much country laid waste, before the victorious army leaving the beautiful plains of ill-fated, because idolatrous, Hindoostan steeped in blood and tears, returned to their homes in triumph, carrying with them many prisoners.* New tastes had been acquired together with the means for their gratification, and incited by the recollection of the stately structures they had ruthlessly despoiled, the rough soldiers so lately accustomed to make the saddle their seat by day, their pillow by night, now, following the example of their king, employed the wealth, labour, and talents of their wretched captives, in rearing palaces for their private abodes as well as public buildings for the adornment of the capital, which soon became ornamented with mosques, porches, fountains, aqueducts, and reservoirs beyond any city then existing. Mahmood himself erected a magnificent mosque of marble and granite, called "the Celestial Bride," which was in that age the wonder of the East; and founded a university, supplied with an extensive and valuable library, and a museum of natural curiosities. To the maintenance of this establishment he appropriated a large sum of money, and formed a permanent fund for the support of the students and the salaries of qualified instructors. He also set aside a sum nearly equal to £10,000 a-year, for pensions to learned men—and through this munificence his court became as celebrated through Asia for its brilliant literary circle, as was afterwards that of the Medici in Europe. The liberality thus evinced contrasted strongly with his usual parsimony, and it was well directed, for it did much to secure for him the present and posthumous fame which he ardently desired. Large rewards were offered for the production of an historical poem which should embody the achievements of ancient Persian† heroes; and the author who commenced the work (Dakiki) having been assassinated when he had finished about a thousand couplets, the continuation was entrusted to the celebrated Ferdousi, who performed his task with such ability that, although so obsolete as to require a glossary, it is still the most popular of all books among his countrymen.‡ The sultan was delighted with the poem; but when, after thirty years' labour, it was at length concluded, his characteristic failing prevailed over justice, and the proffered reward was so disproportioned to the expectations held out, that the disappointed Ferdousi indignantly rejected it, and withdrew to his native city of Tus, whence he launched a bitter satire at Mahmood, who on mature reflection evinced no ordinary amount of magnanimity by passing over the satire (which is still extant), and remitting for the epic, what even its author must have considered, a princely remuneration. But it came too late; the treasure entered one door of Ferdousi's house as his bier was borne out of another. His daughter proudly rejected the untimely gift, but was eventually prevailed upon by Mahmood to accept it, as a means of procuring an abundant supply of water for the city where her father had been born, and to which he had been always much attached.

In 1022, the sultan was roused from the unusual quiet in which he had remained for five years, by advices from India that a confederacy had been formed against the rajah of Canouj by the neighbouring princes to avenge his alliance with the enemy of his country. Mahmood immediately marched to his relief, but on arriving found that the unfortunate prince had been defeated and slain by the rajah of Calinjar, against whom the Mohammedan arms were directed, but without any remarkable result. § This campaign is however memorable as marking the establishment of the first permanent garri-

* Ferishta's confused account of their route is discussed in Bird's *History of Gujarat*, p. 31.

† The ruling dynasty was Turkish, but Mahmood was the illegitimate son of a Persian mother, and in language and manners identified with that nation.

‡ The *Shah Namah* or *Book of Kings*.

§ In the kingdom of Ghuznee at this time, many soldiers and magistrates were Arabs by descent, but a great portion of the court and army were Turks, and the rest, with almost all the people, were Persians.

son on the east of the Indus; for the new rajah of Lahore (Anung Pal's successor) having ventured to oppose the invader, was driven from his country, which was despoiled and annexed to Ghuznee. In 1024, Mahmood performed, if not the greatest, at least the most famous of his Indian exploits. At the head of an immense army, swollen by a crowd of volunteers from beyond the Oxus, and attended by 20,000 camels bearing supplies, he set off, nerved to encounter a long march, partly through hostile territories and partly through a desert 350 miles broad, of loose sand or hard clay, almost entirely without water or forage. Having overcome these obstacles he suddenly appeared before Ajmeer to the consternation of the rajah and inhabitants, who fled, leaving the Mussulmans to ravage the country and pursue their desolating course, to Anhalwara, the capital of Guzerat, whose rajah, also taken by surprise, was constrained to abandon it precipitately, and leave the way clear for the invaders to the great object of their hopes, the famous temple of Somnauth, the richest and most frequented place of worship in the country.* It stood at the southern extremity of Guzerat, on a peninsula connected with the main land by a fortified isthmus, the battlements of which were guarded at every point by armed men; who, on witnessing the approach of the Moslems, loudly asserted, in the name of their object of worship, that this great force had been drawn together only to be utterly destroyed as a retribution for the desecrated shrines of India.

Nothing deterred, Mahmood brought forward his archers, who commenced mounting the walls with their accustomed war-cry, "Alla hû Akbur!" (God is supreme!), but the Rajpoots having prostrated themselves before the idol, hurried to the defence and drove back the enemy with heavy loss. The next day brought a more signal repulse, and on the third the neighbouring princes presented themselves in order of battle. In the furious conflict which ensued victory was doubtful, when the arrival of the rajah of Anhalwara with a strong reinforcement brought the invaders to the verge of defeat. Mahmood, leaping from his horse, prostrated himself, invoking Divine aid; then, remounting and taking a Circassian general by the hand, he advanced against the foe, loudly cheering the troops who had so often fought and conquered with him, and who now, excited to renewed exertion, rushed forward with unlooked-for impetuosity, broke through the opposing line, and in a single charge laid 5,000 Hindoos dead or dying at their feet. The rout became general; the garrison of Somnauth beheld it with dismay, and renouncing all hopes of further defence broke up, and, to the number of 4,000, made their way to their boats, some of which were intercepted and sunk by the enemy.

Mahmood then entered the temple, accompanied by his sons and chief nobles, and gazed with astonishment on the stately edifice. The spacious roof was supported by fifty-six pillars, curiously carved and set with precious stones, and illuminated (the light of heaven being excluded) by a lamp suspended by a golden chain, whose flame, reflected from the numerous gems, shed bright gleams around. The idol itself stood in the centre, and was of stone, five yards in height, two of which were sunk in the ground. According to Ferishta, it is a well authenticated fact that Mahmood was entreated by a crowd of Brahmins to accept a costly ransom and spare the object of their veneration, but after some hesitation, he exclaimed that were he to consent, his name would go down to posterity as an idol-seller instead of destroyer, he therefore struck the face of the image with his mace, and his example being followed by his companions, the figure, which was hollow, burst open and exposed to view a store of diamonds and other jewels, far surpassing in value the sum offered for its preservation.† Altogether, the treasure taken is said to have exceeded that acquired on any former occasion. Mahmood next captured Gundaba, a fort supposed to be protected by the sea, by entering the water at the head of his troops during a low tide. He appears to have passed

* For its maintenance, the revenues of 2,000 villages had been granted by different princes; 2,000 priests, 500 dancing-women, and 300 musicians officiated in its ceremonies, at which 200,000 to 300,000 votaries used to attend during the eclipses. The chain supporting a bell which the worshippers struck during prayer weighed 200 mauns of gold, and the idol itself was daily washed with water brought from the Ganges, a distance of 1,000 miles.

† Besides this idol, we are told there were some thousands of smaller ones, wrought in gold and silver, and of various shapes and dimensions; but no description is given of the especial object of worship, a simple cylinder of stone, the well-known emblem of Saiva or Siva, from whose designation Sama Nàtha, *Lord of the Moon*, the temple derives its name. The famous sandal-wood gates carried by Mahmood to Ghuznee will be subsequently alluded to.

the rainy season at Anhalwara, with whose mild climate, beauty, and fertility he was so much delighted, as to entertain thoughts of transferring the seat of government thither, at least for some years, and making it a point of departure for further conquests. Among his projects, was that of the formation of a fleet for maritime invasions; the pearls of Ceylon and the gold mines of the Malayan peninsula offering cogent reasons for the subjugation of these countries.

These schemes his counsellors earnestly and successfully opposed, and as the rajah of Anhalwara still kept aloof and refused submission, Mahmood selected a new ruler, a man of royal descent, who, though living the life of an anchorite, was not proof against the attractions of a throne, though clogged with the humiliating conditions of subjection and tribute to a foreign foe.* The homeward route of the Mussulmans was fraught with toil and suffering—the way by which they had come was occupied by a strong force under the rajah of Ajmeer and the rightful, though fugitive prince of Anhalwara. Mahmood, with an army already wasted by the casualities of war and climate, did not care to risk a conflict, the effect of which, even though successful, would still further thin the ranks and diminish the energy of those who had afterwards a long and weary march to encounter, besides risking the rich booty with which they were encumbered. He therefore avoided further hostilities, by returning a different road, through the sands to the east of Sinde. The hot season was advanced when the troops started, and their sufferings for want of water and forage increased, until they reached a climax in three days of intense agony, during which they wandered through the worst part of the desert, wilfully misled, it is said, by their guides, who after severe torture, were brought to confess themselves disguised priests of Somnauth. Many of the soldiers perished miserably, some died raving mad, and when at length they came upon a pool of water, it was received with inexpressible transport as a miraculous interposition of Providence in their favour.

Eventually they reached Moultan, and from thence proceeded to Ghuznee,† but before the expiration of the year, their restless leader was once more in arms to avenge the molestation offered by a body of Juts,‡ in the Jund mountains, to his forces during their march to Somnauth. Foreseeing the expedient to which the Juts would have recourse, he was provided with an extensive flotilla; and when they took refuge in the islands of the Indus, hoping to elude pursuit by repeatedly shifting their position, he pursued them so pertinaciously that though not without a desperate defence, the men were mostly destroyed and the women and children enslaved.

Thus terminated Mahmood's thirteenth and last expedition to India. Hostilities were then directed against the Turki tribe of Seljuk,§ whose growing power he had incautiously favoured, until they became too unruly to be restrained by his local representatives; nor were they without difficulty compelled to respect his immediate authority. The next act was the seizure of Persian Irak (extending from the frontier of Khorassan, westward to the mountains of Koordistan, beyond Hamadan). This he

* The conclusion of the new rajah's history affords a remarkable instance of retributive justice, even allowing for oriental embellishment. Fearing the rivalry of a relation, he prayed Mahmood to deliver him into his custody, promising to spare his life, and kept his pledge by causing a cell to be dug under his own throne, in which his victim was to linger out the remainder of his existence. A sudden revolution occurred, which is said to have been occasioned by a vulture having flown upon the rajah while lying asleep under a tree with his face covered with a red handkerchief, and totally blinded him by fixing its talons into his eyes; thus rendering him, by the laws of his country, incapable of reigning. The position of the parties was immediately reversed, the cruel schemer being forthwith removed to the dungeon which he had himself prepared; thus, says Ferishta, fulfilling the Scripture, in which it is written—"He who digs a pit for his brother, shall himself fall therein."—(Briggs, vol. i., p. 80.)

† It is surprising that the passage along the Indus should not have been chosen by Mahmood, who must have been acquainted with it, both from the account of Mohammed Casim's proceedings and from the neighbourhood of the Afghans. Elphinstone, in commenting upon this circumstance, suggests the existence of physical obstacles now removed, adding, that the *Runn of Cutch*, now a hard desert in the dry season, and a salt marsh in the rains, was, doubtless, formerly a part of the sea; and remarks, that the changes which have taken place under our own eyes prepare us to believe that still greater may have occurred in the 800 years that have elapsed since the fall of Somnauth. (Vol. i., p. 558.)

‡ Probably a Tartar horde of the Getæ stock, widely disseminated over India, and, according to Tod, called by their ancient name of *Jits* in the Punjaub, *Jats* on the Jumna and Ganges, and *Juts* on the Indus and in Saurashtra.

§ The tribe is supposed to have originated in a chief who held a high station under one of the great Tartar princes, but having incurred the displeasure of his sovereign was driven into exile, and his sons and adherents became subject to Mahmood in Transoxiana, frequently however, carrying on wars and incursions on their own account.

accomplished by taking advantage of the disturbances which occurred in the reign of one of the representatives of a branch of the family of Buya, called also the Deilemites; the person of the prince being treacherously seized in the Moslem camp. The resistance of the people of Ispahan and Cazvin was cruelly revenged by the massacre of several thousands in each city.

The ordinary excuse of zeal for the glory of Islam—that is to say, the bigotry which has sometimes really prompted cruel aggressions, but has far more frequently been assumed as a mask to cover ambition or rapacity, cannot in this case be urged in palliation of these grasping and sanguinary transactions, probably the worst, as they were the last, of the life of Mahmood. Returning triumphant to Ghuznee, he was attacked by a disease which soon completely prostrated his extraordinary physical and mental energies, and of which he died, after a reign of thirty-three years. During paroxysms of excruciating agony, he might well have envied even the wretched slaves whom his marauding incursions had made so cheap that purchasers could not be found for them at ten dirhems (about 4*s.* 7*d.*) a head. At such moments his hundred measures of jewels * could afford but poor consolation; even the delusive doctrine of the Koran condemned alike the means by which they had been acquired, and the master-passion whose strength was never manifested more forcibly than in the closing scenes of his eventful career. When taking a sorrowful leave of his great possessions, the dying Sultan perhaps thought bitterly of a sentiment some of the numerous poets of his court might have rhymed, though scarcely so sweetly as our own Southey:

> "In heaven ambition cannot dwell,
> Nor avarice in the vaults of hell —"

He had ample reason to regret leaving a world in which he had—with reverence for the sacred text be it spoken, "laid up much treasure for many years;" nor is it probable that he could look for reward or even pardon in another, on the ground of faithful service to the cause of Islam.

Notwithstanding his character for bigotry, and frequent and public invocations of Divine assistance, a careful review of Mahmood's actions renders it more than doubtful whether all these were not hollow pretences to raise the enthusiasm of his more truthful followers who, it must be borne in mind, had been accustomed from the earliest times to prayer before battle, and thanksgiving in the hour of victory. If he were really a sceptic† regarding the creed which he made the pretext for destroying or enslaving unoffending multitudes, his condition was wretched indeed; but if he did actually believe it an imperative duty to increase the numbers of "the faithful," at all costs, then at least his conduct, with the exception of some few memorable instances, was very unaccountable; for, besides his apathy in not endeavouring to establish Moslem colonies in India, schools, or other means of instruction, it appears that he never hesitated to exercise perfect tolerance whenever it suited his views. The rajah of Canouj, for instance (his only ally), was an unconverted Hindoo; he appointed a strict devotee to the throne of Guzerat; employed a large body of native cavalry, without regard to their religion, and contrary to orthodox Mohammedanism — circumstances which would testify liberality of feeling, but for their manifest inconsistency with other parts of his conduct, for which excessive zeal is urged in apology.

The house of Ghuznee reached its culminating point in the person of Mahmood's turbulent son, Masaud, who, having deposed and blinded his brother Mohammed, after five months' rule, mounted the throne, and completed the remaining conquest of Persia, except the province of Fars. He made three expeditions into India, during which he captured Sersooty on the Sutlej, quelled a rebellion at Lahore, and stationed a garrison in Sonpat, near Delhi. In the meanwhile the Seljuks completely defeated his general, and compelled Masaud, on his return, to march against them in person. After two years of indecisive operations a battle took place near Meru, in which the Ghuznevides were totally routed. The sultan returned to Ghuznee, but finding it hopeless to restore order there, determined to withdraw to India. All respect for his authority was however destroyed, and soon after crossing the Indus, the remnant of his forces mutinied against him, and placed the injured Mohammed on the throne, A.D. 1040. This prince being rendered incapable by blindness of conducting the government, transferred the administration to his

* Hearing of the wealth of the Samani princes, who had accumulated jewels enough to fill seven measures, he exclaimed exultingly, that he possessed sufficient to fill an hundred.

† On this point, see Elphinstone, vol. i., p. 569.

son Ahmed, one of whose first acts was to put his uncle the deposed king to death. But the sins of this family, committed on the plea of just retaliation, did not end here. Modood, the son of Masaud, on hearing of his father's murder, quitted Balkh, where he had been engaged in watching the proceedings of the Seljuks, and with a small body of troops made his way from Ghuznee to Lahore. At Futtehabad, in the valley of Laghman, he was met by Mohammed with Ahmed and other relatives, who after a fierce contest were defeated, taken prisoners, and all put to death by the conqueror, with the exception of Prince Abdool, a son of Mohammed's, who was spared for the sake of kindness shown to Masaud during his captivity. Modood had not yet removed all domestic foes—the opposition of his own brother, Madood, was still to be overcome, and it threatened to be troublesome, this prince having obtained possession of Lahore and its dependencies. The armies of the rival brothers were marshalled for action when the dispute for superiority was suddenly terminated by the death of Madood and his vizier (prime minister) apparently by poison. The forces then coalesced under Modood, who contrived not only to occupy Ghuznee, but to recover Transoxiana, which he was perhaps enabled to do the more readily from having espoused the daughter of a Seljuk chief. But while thus successful in the west, the rajah of Delhi recovered the territory seized by Masaud beyond the Sutlej; and elated by this first success, pushed his forces to the very gates of Nagarcot. Volunteers crowded into the Punjaub, and entered with such ardour into the enterprise that the temple-fortress, despite its strong position and garrison, became again their own. The Moslems driven thence took refuge in Lahore, and after a seven months' siege, during which no succour arrived from Ghuznee, were well nigh reduced to despair, when swearing to stand by each other to the last they rushed out upon the enemy, and by one determined effort induced the Hindoos to disperse, and raise the siege. Modood died A.D. 1049, one of his last acts of treachery being to render Ghor tributary and in some sort dependent on himself, by perfidiously murdering the prince whom he had promised to assist in recovering possession of the throne. The speedy decline of the house of Ghuznee from this period would be of little interest but for its important bearing on the fortunes of Hindoostan, nor does it seem necessary to follow in detail the tedious and distasteful accounts of conspiracies and assassinations which too generally form the staple of oriental historians, the progress and condition of the people being rarely even alluded to. Suffice it to say, that the second successor of Modood succeeded in recovering Nagarcot from the Hindoos, but being compelled to oppose the sedition of a chief named Toghral in Seestan, marched to attack the rebels, leaving the bulk of his army in India. His force proved unequal to the task, and he was compelled to shut himself up in Ghuznee, where he was seized and put to death with nine princes of the blood-royal. Toghral seized upon the vacant throne, but was assassinated within forty days; and the army, having by this time returned from India, resolved upon continuing the crown in the family of the founder of the kingdom. Three princes of his lineage were discovered imprisoned in a distant fort, and their claims being nearly equal were decided by lot. The chance fell on Farokhzad, whose brother and successor Ibrahim, celebrated for sanctity, captured several cities on the Sutlej. In the following reign (that of Masaud II.) the royal residence began to be transferred to Lahore (about A.D. 1100.)

Behram, a prince of great literary renown, acceded to the throne in 1118, but after thirty years of peace and prosperity, committed an act of cruel injustice, which led to his own ruin and the extinction of his dynasty. Having had a difference with his son-in-law, the prince of Ghor, he caused him to be put to death; and after a long contest with the brother of his victim, succeeded in defeating and slaying him also, under circumstances of aggravated barbarity. Ala-oo-deen Soor, indignant at the fate of his murdered brothers, entered the territories of their destroyer at the head of a small but determined force, compelled him to fly for his life, and seizing on Ghuznee, devoted the magnificent city, and its miserable inhabitants, for three (or some say nine days) to the desolating effects of flame, slaughter, and pillage. The superb monuments of its kings were utterly demolished, except those of Mahmood, Masaud, and Ibrahim. Behram strove to take refuge in India, but died on his way, worn out by fatigue and disappointment. His son Khosru continued the retreat to Lahore, and there established himself, A.D. 1152. The next king, Khosru Malik, the last of the race of Subuktugeen

reigned in tranquillity for twenty-seven years, and was then defeated and taken prisoner, with his family, and eventually slain by the Ghor princes, from whom his house thus received the final blow, in return for a long series of injuries and aggressions.

House of Ghor. — Shahab-oo-deen, the conqueror of Malik, on taking possession of Lahore, was supported by an army drawn from all the warlike provinces between the Indus and Oxus, and accustomed to contend with the Seljuks and the northern hordes of Tartary. Being at liberty to direct his exclusive attention to India, he probably expected to subjugate extensive territories with ease and rapidity, owing to the peaceful character of the people, the more so as their chief rulers were at variance with one another. Of the existing kingdoms the greatest were those of Delhi, held by the clan of Tomara; Ajmeer, by that of Chouhan; Canouj by the Rahtores, and Guzerat by the Baghilas, who had supplanted the Chalukas. The Tomara chief dying without male issue, adopted his grandson Prithwi, rajah of Ajmeer, who thus acceded to the double authority, greatly to the mortification of the rajah of Canouj, another grandson of the deceased ruler.

These internal differences did not however prevent very determined resistance being offered to a foreign foe, though it probably marred the effect which might have resulted from a more united plan of defence. None of the Hindoo principalities fell without a severe struggle, and some were never entirely subdued, owing chiefly to the essentially warlike habits, and peculiar social position of the Rajpoots, whose almost feudal system of government, led them to contest the ground, not so much in a single great action, as inch by inch, each man fighting for his own chief, and his own hearth and home. The origin of this still powerful and interesting class has been alluded to (see p. 42), and will be more particularly mentioned in commenting on the characteristics of the Hindoo population. Here it may be observed, that had their practical ability and energy in time of peace kept pace with their chivalrous enthusiasm and unswerving resolution under the stimulus of war, India might have spurned the hateful yoke of the Moslems. But the constant use of pernicious drugs, seconding only too effectually the enervating tendencies of an eastern clime, brought indolence and sensuality in their train, and while rendering their victims daily more infatuated with the varied forms of idolatry, which rapidly multiplied, to the extinction of more spiritual aspirations—induced also inertion and listlessness with regard to material dangers, until the hour for preparation was passed, and no alternatives remained save death, slavery, or apostacy. Then indeed they kept the foe at bay with the courage of the lion, and braved their fate with more than Spartan fortitude. Thus Shahab-oo-deen and his successors found their task long and tedious, and repeatedly contested the possession of the same ground. The first attack was directed against Prithwi rajah, and took place at Tirouri, between Tanesur and Kurnaul, on the great plain where most of the conflicts for paramount power in India, have been decided. The Hindoos succeeded in outflanking and completely routing the Mussulmans, who charged after their usual method with successive bodies of cavalry. Shahab himself was dangerously wounded, and after a pursuit of forty miles escaped with difficulty to Lahore, where, having collected the wreck of his army, he crossed the Indus, and after visiting his brother at Ghor, settled at Ghuznee.

Two years later (1193) having recruited a fresh force he again encountered Prithwi rajah, whom he overcame by the dangerous stratagem, so frequently recorded in Mohammedan annals, of a pretended flight. The immense Hindoo army followed in headlong pursuit, when a body of Afghan horse 12,000 strong, suddenly wheeled round and charged upon them with terrible effect; the viceroy of Delhi and many chiefs were slain on the field, and the brave rajah himself being captured, was put to death in cold blood by his merciless opponent, who soon afterwards, having taken Ajmeer, massacred some thousands of its inhabitants, reserving the rest for slavery. In 1194, Jaya Chandra, the rajah of Canouj, was defeated and slain on the Jumna;* Canouj and Benares were taken by Shahab, whose power was thus extended into Behar. In the following year Gwalior, in Bundelcund, and several other strong positions there, as also in Rohilcund, were successively seized, and the invader pursued his conquering career until the death of his brother placed him on the throne of Ghor, A.D. 1202. His four years'

* The body was recognised by the false teeth, or according to other writers, by the golden studs required to fix the natural ones into their sockets, on account of extreme age.

reign was full of vicissitudes. A report of his death during a war with the king of Kharizm,* occasioned the defection of several of his western tributaries, and the wild tribe of the Gukkurs issued from their mountains in the north of the Punjaub, took Lahore, and devastated the whole province. Kootb-oo-deen, originally a Turki slave, but raised by Shahab to the government of his Indian possessions, remained faithful to his patron, aided him in recovering the Punjaub, and induced the Gukkurs to embrace Islamism. Shahab was, however, slain in his camp on the Indus by a band of these mountaineers, who, stimulated by the desire of revenge, having lost relations in the late war, swam across the river at midnight, and entered the royal camp unopposed.† He left no son; and, although his nephew Mahmood was proclaimed throughout the whole of his uncle's dominions, yet these broke up without a struggle into separate states. The deceased monarch had carefully trained several Turki slaves, of whom three were in possession of extensive governments at the time of his death. The most noted, Kootb-oo-deen, was invested by Mahmood with the insignia of royalty, A.D. 1206, and thus commenced the line, named from the seat of government, the *Slave-kings of Delhi*. The whole of Hindoostan Proper (of course excluding the Deccan), except Malwa and some contiguous districts, had now been subjugated in a greater or less degree; Sinde and Bengal were in rapid course of reduction, but in Guzerat little dominion had been acquired beyond that connected with the possession of the capital, which was for a short time retained. Thus an Indian empire was established, of which the Indus formed the western boundary, though before this epoch there seems reason to believe that "India," in the common acceptation of the term, had a far wider extent.

Altamsh acceded in 1211; he was of a noble family, but had been sold as a slave by his envious brothers. During his reign the whole face of Asia was changed by a terrible scourge. Jengis Khan, originally a petty chief among the Moguls, having subdued the three nations of Tartary and swelled his bands with their united hordes, swept like a desolating torrent over the Mohammedan kingdoms. Altamsh, by politic conduct, succeeded in shielding most of his territories from the fury of Jengis and his myriads; but Sinde and Moultan, under the dominion of a refractory Moslem governor, did not escape so easily. In the former place, 10,000 prisoners were massacred on account of a scarcity of provisions in the Mogul camp.

Altamsh employed the last six years of his life in completing the conquest of Hindoostan Proper, that is, in bringing the principalities into partial dependence, in which state they continued during the whole period of Tartar and subsequently of Mogul supremacy, the degree of subjection varying greatly with the character of the reigning prince, and being occasionally interrupted by isolated attempts at freedom on the part of native rulers. The caliph of Bagdad formally recognized the new kingdom, in which, during the general subversion of Mohammedan governments, no less than fifteen sovereign princes (of Ghor, Kharizm, Bagdad, &c.,) took refuge at one time, during the reign of Bulbun or Balin (1266 to 1286). The only monarch of this line claiming especial notice is the Sultana Rezia, who, Ferishta writes, "was endowed with every princely virtue, and those who scrutinise her actions most severely will find in her no fault but that she was a woman." So great was the confidence of her father Altamsh in her practical ability, that during his campaigns he left Rezia in charge of the home authority in preference to his sons. Her administration when raised to the throne (after the deposition of her brother, a weak and incompetent prince) is represented as unexceptionable; but the faction by whom her accession had been opposed raised a rebellion, on the pretext of the undue partiality evinced to an Abyssinian slave who had been elevated to the rank of Ameer-ul-omra. The sultana marched for its suppression, but the army mutinied and delivered up their sovereign to the hostile leader, a Turki chief, who, becoming enamoured of his captive, married her and proceeded to assert her rights against his former confederates.

* Kharizm, the Chorasmia of the ancients, a city which gives its name to the province, became independent under Atziz, the revolting governor of a Seljuk Sultan, by the aid of the Khitans, a Tartar tribe. The Kharizm kings conquered Ghor, and were overthrown by Jengis Khan.

† By another account, the death of Shahab is attributed to one of the Fedeyan or zealots of Almowut (*Eagle's nest*), a famous fortress in the Kohistan, tenanted by a cruel and powerful set of fanatics, who for more than a century and-a-half were the dread of orthodox Mohammedans; the caliph on his throne and the dervise in his cell, alike falling victims to the knives of these midnight assassins, who were at length extirpated by Hulaku Khan. Their chief was termed the Sheikh-ul-Jubbul, or *Old Man of the Mountain*.

After two severe conflicts, both Rezia and her husband were taken and put to death in cold blood, A.D. 1239. The short reigns of the two succeeding kings both ended in deposition and murder: that of the latter is memorable for a Mogul incursion through Tibet into Bengal, the only one recorded from that quarter during the period of authentic history; on the north-western frontier they were frequent and destructive. The assassination of Kei Kobad (a cruel and dissolute monarch) in 1288, paved the way for a new dynasty.

House of Khilji.—Jelal-oo-deen was placed on the throne by his tribe, the (Khilji*) when seventy years of age, in spite of his own reluctance. At the end of his reign the Deccan was invaded by his nephew, Ala-oo-deen, who, diverting the attention of the Hindoo princes by a pretence of having quarrelled with his uncle and being about to join the Hindoo ruler of Rajamundri, succeeded in marching at the head of a chosen body of 8,000 horse to Deogiri (Doulatabad), a distance of 700 miles, great part of it through the mountains and forests of the Vindya range. Deogiri, the capital of Ramdeo, rajah of Maharashta, once reached was taken without difficulty, as Ramdeo, utterly unprepared for an assault, had no means of defending it, but retired to a hill-fort with a body of 3,000 or 4,000 citizens and domestics. The town was pillaged and the merchants tortured to make them surrender their treasures. The fortress might have held out successfully, but that in the hurry of victualling the garrison sacks of salt had been taken in mistake for grain. The rajah was consequently obliged to make the best terms he could, which involved the payment of gold and jewels to an immense amount, and the cession of Elikpoor and its dependencies. Ala-oo-deen returned in triumph through Candeish into Malwa, but his ambition, stimulated by the success of his late unjust proceedings, prompted the seizure of the throne of India. For this end, he scrupled not at the commission of a crime, heinous in itself to the highest degree, and aggravated, if possible, by the circumstances under which it was perpetrated.

The counsellors of the aged monarch had emphatically warned him of the crafty and unscrupulous character of his nephew, but could not shake his faith in one whom he had reared from infancy. He therefore crossed the Ganges with very few attendants to meet and welcome the conqueror, whom he was fondly embracing at the moment when the heartless ingrate, by a preconcerted signal, summoned the assassins posted for the purpose, who, coming forward, stabbed the king to the heart, and fastening his head upon a spear, carried it through the city. The two sons of the rajah he inveigled into his power, and caused to be put to death. He then strove, by lavish gifts and profusion in shows and festivals, to reconcile the people to his usurpation. Public granaries were constructed, prices fixed for all commodities, importation encouraged by loans to merchants, and exportation prohibited; the origin of these measures being a desire to reduce the pay of the troops and the consequent necessity of diminishing the expence of living. Although, during his prolonged administration, Ala-oo-deen showed himself ignorant and capricious, as well as cruel and arbitrary; though his arrogance and covetousness constantly increased, yet his twenty years' reign left the country in a far better condition than it had been under the sway of his kind but weak predecessor: so true it is that in despotic governments, one vigorous tyrant, whose will is the law of all, generally occasions less suffering than the feeble though gentle sovereign, who, incapable of swaying an undivided sceptre, shares his power with a crowd of petty despots, by whose harassing exactions the strength and wealth of the nation is gradually frittered away. Several Mogul invasions from Transoxiana (the last for many years) were repelled by Ala; the most serious occurred A.D. 1299, and was attended with great suffering to the people of Delhi. A fierce contest took place between armies of extraordinary magnitude, and was gained chiefly by the valour of the Moslem general, Zafar Khan, who, having become an object of jealousy to his treacherous master, was purposely left unsupported. Perceiving his situation, the flying foe turned back and cut him and his small detachment to pieces, after a resistance worthy of his character. The Mogul chiefs taken at this and other times were trampled to death by elephants, and the men butchered in cold blood, to the number of 9,000 in a single instance. Fearing, perhaps, the spirit of vengeance to which such ferocity might give rise, Ala suddenly discharged the whole of the Mogul converts

* A tribe of Tartar descent long settled among the Afghans, with whom their name is almost invariably found associated.

from his service, a violent and imprudent measure, for which, though habitually turbulent, they appear to have given no immediate cause. Driven to despair, some of them entered into a conspiracy to assassinate the king, who, detecting the plot, caused the whole, to the number of 15,000, to be massacred, and their families sold into slavery.

Very extensive conquests were made in the Deccan by the Moslems under the leadership of Cafur, a slave and eunuch, taken in the capture of Guzerat, but promoted by Ala to high command. Maharashta and Carnata were subjugated, the princes who still retained their dominions being compelled to pay tribute, while the successor of Ramdeo (the rajah of Deogiri, previously conquered) having refused to do so, was put to death. The spirit of the Hindoos was however yet far from being completely bowed under the Mussulman yoke. Guzerat revolted; Chittore (a celebrated hill-fort in Mewar) was recovered by Rana (prince) Hamir; and Harpal or Hari Pala (son-in-law to Ramdeo) raised an extensive insurrection in the Deccan, and expelled many of the foreign garrisons.

These ill-tidings coming one upon another, produced in the mind of Ala-oo-deen transports of rage, which a constitution weakened by habitual intemperance and unceasing anxiety could ill bear. Conspiracies and insurrections, real and imaginary, embittered every hour of his life; and the well-nigh successful attempt of his nephew prince Soliman, to seize the throne by a plot similar in its perfidy to his own, inspired constant suspicions of domestic treachery. The only being in whom he trusted, Cafur, his victorious general, proved to be a hypocrite, designing and ambitious as himself; who, after alienating from his master the chief nobility, induced him, by innumerable artifices, to imprison the unoffending queen and her children, and then hastened his decease by poison.

Under the alleged authority of a forged will, (by which Ala bequeathed the throne to an infant son, and appointed Cafur regent,) the traitor assumed the reins of government, caused the eyes of the captive princes to be put out, and sent assassins to dispatch a third named Mobarik. The plot failed; Cafur was himself murdered by the royal guard; and Mobarik succeeded to the throne, A.D. 1317, after blinding his infant brother, who was immured in a hill-fort for life. Under a government where the extirpation of possible rivals was deemed a matter of *expediency* (that lying word so often used in diplomacy to make wrong seem right, or at least disguise its full wickedness), even such barbarity as this might create little aversion, but to provide against any such feeling, while yet unsettled on the throne, Mobarik set free all prisoners, to the amount of 17,000, restored the lands confiscated by his father, removed his oppressive taxes, and abolished all restrictions on trade and property. He then marched to the Deccan and captured Harpal, who was inhumanly sentenced to be flayed alive. A converted Hindoo slave, styled Khosru Khan, was made vizier; by him Malabar was conquered, and this service so won upon Mobarik, that confiding the whole administration to his favourite, he commenced a course of the most odious and degrading debauchery. A continual succession of disturbances and rebellions followed, attended with all the pernicious excitement of cruel tortures and executions; but the king, like his wretched father, was doomed to receive his death-blow, not at the hands of his indignant and cruelly injured subjects, but from the serpent whom he had cherished in his bosom. Khosru occupied the palace with his creatures, filled the capital with Hindoo troops of his own caste, and then, the web being woven, murdered his infatuated victim and seized the vacant throne. After completely extirpating the house of Lodi, the usurper strove to gain over the *ameers* or nobles, and some of them consented to take office under him. Others refused, and joined Toghlak, governor of the Punjaub, who marched to Delhi, and after the defeat and death of Khosru, was proclaimed king, A.D. 1321.

House of Toghlak.—The new ruler (the son of a Turki slave by an Indian mother) proved a blessing to the people by whom he had been chosen. Order was restored to the internal administration, and the threatened invasion of the Moguls on the north-west checked by a line of defences formed along the Afghan frontier; Telingana was conquered, as also Dacca; Tirhoot (formerly Mithila) reduced, and the rajah taken prisoner by Toghlak, who, when returning victorious to his capital, A.D. 1325, was crushed to death, with five other persons, by the fall of a wooden pavilion, erected to receive him by his son and successor, to whom a treacherous design is attributed. Mohammed Toghlak, on whose reputation the stigma of parricide is thus affixed, was re-

markable for great talents, often wickedly, and sometimes so wildly used, as to render his sanity a doubtful question. In languages, logic, Greek philosophy, mathematics and medicine, his attainments were extraordinary; in war he was brave and active; in domestic life devout, abstinent and moral. Notwithstanding all this, he proved one of the worst kings under whose scourge India has ever bled and suffered. When released from the fear of invasion on the part of the Moguls, whose absence was obtained by an enormous bribe—he completed the reduction of the Deccan; and then gave the rein to his ambitious but ill-digested schemes, by assembling an army (comprising, according to Ferishta, 370,000 horse), intended for the conquest of Persia, but which, after it had consumed his treasures, broke up for want of pay, carrying pillage and disorganization in every quarter. Next followed an attempt upon China. For this 100,000 men were sent through the Himalaya Mountains, and having with loss and difficulty effected a passage, were met on the enemy's frontier by a powerful force, with whom fatigue and want of provisions rendered the invaders unable to cope. The approach of the wet season compelled a speedy retreat, which the pursuit of the Chinese, the difficulties of the route, famine and heavy rains, made so disastrous, that at the end of fifteen days, scarcely a man survived to tell the tale, and many of those left behind in garrisons during the advance of the ill-fated force, were put to death by the unreasoning rage of the disappointed king. An endeavour to fill the royal treasury, by substituting paper, for copper, tokens,* utterly failed in its object, from the known insolvency of the government, and it seriously injured trade and impoverished the people; who, no longer able to endure the increasing pressure of taxation, deserted the towns and fled to the woods, in some places maintaining themselves by rapine. The infuriated despot ordered out his army, as if for a great hunt, surrounded an extensive tract of country, as is usual in an Indian chase, and then commanded the circle to close and slaughter all within it (mostly inoffensive peasants), like wild beasts. More than once was this horrible performance repeated; and on a subsequent occasion, its atrocities were paralleled by a general massacre of the inhabitants of the great city of Canouj. Famine, induced by cruelty and misgovernment, brought to a climax the miseries of the nation, and various attempts were made to break the fetters of such unbearable oppression. Mohammed's own nephew took up arms in Malwa, but was defeated and flayed alive; the governor of the Punjaub next rebelled, and he also was subdued and slain.

Bengal, and soon afterwards the Carnatic, revolted under Moslem governors, and were never again subdued; Carnata and Telingana combined succesfully under native rajahs for the recovery of their independence; and lesser struggles took place in every quarter. The Ameer† Judeeda, or new nobles (the name given to the Mogul chiefs and their descendants, who, having invaded India, had embraced Islamism and the service of the kings of Delhi at the same time), became seditious in the Deccan; and in Malwa, seventy of them were treacherously massacred by the new governor, a man of low origin, desirous to show his zeal—upon which the officers of the same nation in Guzerat, prevailed on the rest of the troops to join them in insurrection. Mohammed in person advanced for its suppression, and ravaged his own province as if it had been that of an enemy, devoting the rich towns of Cambay and Surat to plunder. With equal vigour he proceeded to quell a general rebellion in the Deccan; but no sooner was seeming quiet restored in one place by a costly effusion of blood, than new disturbances broke out in another. The king, wearied out with marching and countermarching, fell a victim to a fever, caused, it is said, by a surfeit of fish, but more probably by political anxiety, added to the habitual tumult of his own ungovernable passions. He died at Tatta, whither he had proceeded in pursuit of some fugitives from Guzerat, who had taken refuge with the Rajpoot princes of Sinde. The only marvel is, that he should have been permitted to reign twenty-seven years, and yet escape the common fate of Asiatic tyrants—poison or the sword. Few could ever have provoked such an end more pertinaciously than Mohammed Toghlak, who, in spite of his

* With regard to coinage, it may be remarked that at the time of Cafur's invasion, there was, according to Ferishta, no silver coinage in the Carnatic; and colonel Briggs remarks that the same was true, to a certain extent, till very lately, the common coin being the *pagoda*; there was also another gold coin called a *fanam*, in value about equal to a sixpence.

† Ameer, Emir or Mir alike signify noble, commander, chief. Thus, Ameer-ool-omra, means head of the nobles, or commander-in-chief.

intellectual gifts and personal bravery, alternately excited emotions of horror and contempt in the breasts of his subjects, evincing alike in his extensive projects or less disastrous follies, the same utter recklessness with regard to their lives and properties. Thus—desiring to transfer the capital from the magnificent city of Delhi to Deogiri, as being a more central position, he proceeded to attempt the execution of this design, by ordering all the inhabitants of the former, to remove at once to the latter place, to which he gave the name of Doulatabad, and there built the massive fort still existing. After this the people were twice permitted to return to Delhi, and twice compelled, on pain of death, to leave it: these movements being all, more or less, attended with the horrors of famine, occasioning the death of thousands, and ruin and distress to many more. As an instance of his minor freaks, may be noticed that of having a stately mausoleum erected over a carious tooth, extracted during his campaign in the Carnatic, and this too at a time when his troops, ravaged by pestilence and decimated by civil war, found full employment in heaping a little earth over their fallen comrades. In the early part of this reign, the Mohammedan empire east of the Indus, was more extensive than at any other period; but the provinces lost during its continuance were not all regained till the time of Aurungzebe, and the royal authority received a shock which the iron grasp of the Mogul dynasty alone sufficed to counterbalance.

Feroze Toghlak succeeded to the throne, in the absence of direct heirs, chiefly by the influence of the Hindoo chiefs, and after some disturbances raised by the Mogul mercenaries. His reign stands out in pleasing contrast, not only to that of his predecessor, but to despotic rulers in general. Rejecting the pursuit of what is commonly called glory, he recognised the independence of Bengal and the Deccan, and without seeking to extend the empire by the sword, employed himself in its consolidation and improvement. The diminution of capital punishments, the abolition of torture and mutilation, the removal of numerous vexatious taxes, alterations in the collection of the revenue, the abrogation of fluctuating and precarious imposts—all spoke the earnest solicitude of the ruler for the welfare of the people. Reservoirs and canals for irrigation, mosques, colleges, caravanserais, hospitals, public baths, bridges, and many other edifices were erected, and the revenues of certain lands assigned for their maintenance. The chief of these works still remains a noble monument to the memory of its founder—viz., a canal extending from the point where the Jumna leaves the mountains by Kurnaul to Hansi and Hissar. It reaches to the river *Gagar*, and was formerly connected with the Sutlej. A portion, extending about 200 miles, has been restored by the British government, and will be described in the topographical section.

Feroze long retained his energies; but in his eighty-seventh year, increasing infirmities compelled him to abdicate in favour of his eldest son, Nasir-oo-deen, A.D. 1385. This prince was displaced in little more than a year by two of his cousins, who having secured the person of the old king, proclaimed his grandson, Gheias-oo-deen, sovereign; soon after which event, Feroze died, aged ninety. Gheias, in five months, was deposed and murdered by the kinsmen who had placed him on the throne. His successor, Abu-bekir, was displaced by the previously exiled monarch, Nasir-oo-deen, after a long and severe contest, during which Delhi repeatedly changed hands. The Hindoos took an active part in the struggle, and the household troops, who were all foreigners, having shown particular hostility to the conqueror, were banished the city, none being permitted to remain if incapable of pronouncing a certain letter peculiar to the languages of Hindoostan. The rule of Nasir was weak and inefficient, and that of his son, Mahmood, who acceded to power in 1394, while yet a minor, embarrassed yet more the public affairs. Mozuffer Khan, the governor of Guzerat began to act as an irresponsible ruler; while Malwa and the little province of Candeish permanently threw off the yoke, and remained independent principalities until the time of Akber. The vizier of Mahmood, with peculiar disloyalty, seized on the province of Juanpoor and founded a kingdom. The remaining territories were torn with the dissensions of jarring factions, and each party was occupied with its own quarrels, when the fierce onslaught of a foreign foe involved all in a common calamity.

Ameer Timur, better known as Timur Beg (chief or commander) or as Tamerlane, has been designated "the fire-brand of the universe," "the apostle of desolation," and by various other opprobrious epithets, all of which his own autobiography, if its authenticity may

be trusted, proves to have been fully merited.* He claimed a remote descent from the same stock as Jengis Khan, whom he in many points resembled; for, though born near Samarcand, in a comparatively civilized country, and a zealous Mussulman by profession, Timur was as barbarous in his warfare, and as short-sighted (though more treacherous and wily) in his policy as the ferocious Mogul. Both were unprincipled marauders, who overran countries and slaughtered unoffending myriads, for plunder; but the latter, while everywhere carrying anarchy, famine, and pestilence in his train, and sparing neither nation nor creed, invariably asserted zeal for Islam as the main spring of his actions, and by a strange mixture of superstition and egotism, seems to have succeeded in deceiving himself at least, as to the true character and consequences of his career. The Seyeds or legitimate descendants of "his holiness the prophet" (through Ali and Fatima), were the exclusive objects of his protection, and their exemption from a personal share in the horrors of war, he considered, or pretended to consider, a certain means of absolution for a life spent in unceasing aggression on the individual and collective rights of the rest of mankind. Having united the hordes of Tartary in the same manner, though not to the same extent as Jengis had done, Timur, after conquering Persia and Transoxiana, ravaged Tartary, Georgia, and Mesopotamia, with parts of Russia and Siberia. Candahar, Ghuznee, and Cabool, to the frontiers of Hindoostan, were also subjugated and placed under the government of Peir Mohammed, the grandson of Timur, who endeavoured to extend his dominions to the south-east by an attack on the Afghans in the Soliman mountains; which proving successful, the invader eventually proceeded to cross the Indus and occupy the city of Ouch, whence he marched to invest Moultan. The place was bravely defended, and Peir lay for six months before its walls. Meanwhile Timur, learning the doubtful state of affairs, renounced his intention of invading the more distant provinces of the Chinese empire, and conducted his forces to India, A.D. 1398, being, he alleged, stimulated thereto by accounts of the gross idolatry still suffered to extend its influence throughout the countries swayed by Moslem rulers. Following the usual route to Cabool, he marched by Haryub and Bunnoo to Dinkot, a place on the Indus to the south of the Salt range, whose exact position is not known. After crossing the river, by a bridge of rafts and reeds, he advanced to the Hydaspes, and marched down its banks, ravaging the country as he passed, as far as Toolumba, where a heavy contribution proved insufficient to save the city from pillage, or the people from massacre.

Moultan had by this time been taken by blockade, famine having conquered where external force had utterly failed; and Peir, leaving a garrison there, joined his grandfather on the Sutlej. At the head of a detachment of 11,000 chosen horse, Timur took possession of Adjudin, where the few remaining inhabitants threw themselves upon his mercy, and being chiefly Seyeds, were spared and shielded from the excesses of the soldiery—a very rare case, for although the promise of similar forbearance was often obtained from the fierce invader, it was almost invariably violated; whether from inability or disinclination to restrain his turbulent associates matters little, since it scarcely affects the degree of guilt involved in giving, or rather selling an immunity which, from one cause or another, he well knew, would not be preserved. His desolating career in Hindoostan may be briefly told; for the terrible details of pillage and slaughter recur again and again, until the mind, sickening with an unbroken chain of similar scenes, has the sense of their atrocity almost dulled by the monotonous repetition. At Bhutneer, the country people who had taken refuge under the walls were massacred; in spite of their capitulation, the inhabitants shared the same fate, and the town was burned. Thence Timur's detachment marched to join the main force, slaying the people of every place traversed, as far as Samana, where the towns being absolutely deserted, the swords of these murderers had some rest, but only sufficient to

* Vide *Mulfuzat Timuri* (printed at the cost of the Oriental Translation Fund). Originally written in Turki, a language as distinct from the modern Turkish as Saxon from English; translated into Persian by Abu Talib Hussyny, and thence into our tongue by Major Stewart. These memoirs afford strong internal evidence of having been actually dictated by Timur; to quote the words of an able critic, any doubt on the subject "would be removed by the unconscious simplicity with which he [Timur] relates his own intrigues and perfidy; taking credit for an excess of goodness and sincerity which the boldest flatterer would not have ventured to ascribe to him."—(Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii., p. 79.)

prepare them for renewed exertion, since, on reaching Delhi, all prisoners above fifteen years of age were put to death, from the fear of their taking part with their countrymen. The number was doubtless very great, even after making large deductions from the accounts of Mussulman writers, who state it at 100,000. Upon the defeat of the Indian army, the reigning prince of Delhi, Mahmood Toghlak, fled to Guzerat, and the city was surrendered under a solemn assurance of protection. Tamerlane was proclaimed emperor of India, and while engaged in celebrating a triumphal feast, his ferocious hordes, laughing to scorn the dearly-bought promise of their leader, commenced their usual course of rapine and plunder, upon which the Hindoos, driven to desperation by witnessing the disgrace of their wives and daughters, shut the gates, sacrificed the women and children, and rushed out to slay and be slain. The whole Mogul army poured into the town, and a general massacre followed, until several streets were rendered impassable by heaps of slain. At length the wretched inhabitants, stupified by the overpowering number and barbarity of the foe, flung down their arms, and "submitted themselves like sheep to slaughter; in some instances permitting one man to drive a hundred of them prisoners before him."

Delhi yielded an enormous booty in gold, silver, and jewels, especially rubies and diamonds; the historian* above quoted, declares that the amount stated by his authorities so far exceeds belief, that he refrains from the mention—neither does he give the number of men and women, of all ranks, dragged into slavery; but it must have been immense. Among them were many masons and other artificers, competent to the construction of a mosque, similar to the noble edifice of white marble built by Feroze, on the Jumna: in which the sanguinary Timur, on the eve of departure from the blasted city, had the audacity to offer up public thanks for the wrongs he had been permitted to inflict.

Merut next fell beneath the same terrible scourge: the walls were thrown down by mines, and every soul put to the sword. The invaders then crossed the Ganges, and proceeded up its banks to near Hurdwar, where the river leaves the mountains. Several minor contests took place with bodies of the Hindoos in the skirts of the hills, in which Timur, although suffering from illness, and burdened with the weight of more than seventy years, took his full share of danger and fatigue, never scrupling to hazard his own person† equally with that of the meanest individual of his force. From Jammu or Jummoo, north of Lahore, he turned south, and reverting to the route by which he had entered India, took his final departure, having occasioned, during the short space of five months, an almost incredible amount of ruin and bloodshed.

For many weeks Delhi remained ungoverned and nearly uninhabited. A chief named Ecbal at length obtained possession, but being slain on an expedition to Moultan, the authority reverted to Mahmood, who, having returned from Guzerat, had taken refuge at Canouj, then held by the king of Juanpoor. Mahmood died, A.D. 1412. His successor, Doulat Khan Lodi, at the expiration of fifteen months, was expelled by Khizer Khan, the governor of the Punjaub.

The Seyeds.—The new ruler, though born in India, was descended from Mohammed, and for this cause found favour with Timur, to whom he complained of having had the governorship of a portion of the Punjaub unjustly taken from him, and was thereupon appointed to the undivided rule of the whole. He affected to recognize his patron as emperor, and did not assume the title or style of royalty on taking possession of the government, which now comprised little beyond Delhi and the adjacent territory. The Punjaub was temporarily re-annexed by him, but the eastern portion, with the country about Sirhind, revolted and severed itself from Delhi, despite the opposition of Khizer, who made spirited efforts to maintain and extend his authority. Tribute was levied from the Rahtores in Rohilcund, and

* Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i., p. 494. For the career of Timur, *see* Elphinstone's able summary—*India*, vol. i., pp. 75 to 80; Price's *Mohammedan History*, vol. iii., pp. 233, 243; and Rennell's *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan*, pp. 116, 121.

† In Catrou's *Mogul Empire*, (a work published in 1709, and alleged to be founded on data collected by a Venetian named Manouchi, who acted as physician to Aurungzebe,) the troops of Timur are represented as commenting severely on the person of their leader, incited by a strong dread of Rana (the title signifying prince being mistaken for the name), whose dominions are described as "almost situate in the midst of Hindoostan," and whose Rajpoot soldiers had the reputation of being invincible. "Have we not," said they [the Tartars], one to another, "served this hair-brained cripple long enough, who, to the loss of a leg, has now, in this last battle, added the loss of an arm." They are, however, induced to persevere, and complete victory is the result. (p. 16.)

from other Hindoos near Gwalior, but the war with the king of Guzerat, though diligently prosecuted, had no important result, and that state retained its independence, as did also the permanent monarchies in the Deccan, together with Malwa, Bengal, Juanpoor (comprehending Oude and Canouj), and the governments of Samana, Biana, and Calpee (in Bundelcund). Khizer died in 1421—his three Seyed successors were engaged in struggles, first, with the Mogul ruler of Cabool (Shah Rokh, the son of Timur), who occasionally took part with the Gukkurs in ravaging the Punjaub; and afterwards with the kings of Juanpoor and Malwa. Under the sway of the last Seyed ruler, Ala-oo-deen, the territory appertaining to Delhi had become so reduced as in one direction to extend for only twelve miles from the capital, and in another scarcely a mile. Moultan, among other places, had become independent, but Badayoon beyond the Ganges being still possessed by Ala, he removed to that place, and having abdicated in favour of Behlol Khan Lodi, who forthwith assumed the title of king, A.D. 1450, he was suffered to remain unmolested in Badayoon for the remaining twenty-eight years of his life.

House of Lodi.—The grandfather of Behlol Lodi had been governor of Moultan under Feroze Toghlak, the great patron of the Afghans, and his father and uncles held commands under the Seyeds. Their wealth and power as military chieftains, together with the calumnies of a disaffected relation, at length excited the jealousy of the then sultan (Mohammed Seyed), by whom the Lodis were driven into the hills, where they successfully resisted his authority. Behlol found means to occupy, first Sirhind, then the whole of the Punjaub, and eventually (by a treacherous use of the influence of Hameed the vizier or prime minister of his predecessor Ala), gained possession of Delhi, to which the Punjaub became thus re-annexed, as also Juanpoor, after a contest carried on with little intermission for twenty-seven years. By this last acquisition, together with others of less importance, the dominions of Behlol were extended, until, at his death in 1488, they reached from the Jumna to the Himalaya mountains as far east as Benares, besides a tract on the west of the Jumna stretching to Bundelcund. The next king, Secander Lodi, regained Behar as far as the frontiers of Bengal, and increased his territories in the direction of Bundelcund. Secander was a just and merciful prince, a poet, and a munificent patron of letters. The single reproach on his character, one rarely brought forward against the Moslem sovereigns of India, is that of bigotry, evinced in the destruction of idolatrous temples in the towns and forts captured from the Hindoos, and in the prohibition of pilgrimages and ceremonial bathings on certain festivals at places situate on the sacred streams within his dominions. His conduct in this respect was at least in accordance with the teaching of the Koran, and greater tolerance would have been contrary to his views of duty. The zeal of Secander is once, and only once, alleged to have prompted an act of cruelty, namely, the execution of a Brahmin who had sedulously propagated the doctrine that "all religions, if sincerely practised, were equally acceptable to God." Ibrahim Lodi, the son and successor of Secander, early offended his family and clansmen, by declaring that a king should acknowledge no such relationship, but should place all the subjects of the state on the same footing. The Afghan chiefs whom his father and grandfather had suffered to sit in their presence, were henceforth commanded to stand in front of the throne with folded arms. The proud Lodi tribe enraged by the contumelious treatment they received, resolved to leave Ibrahim in possession of Delhi, and to raise his brother Julal Khan to the throne of Juanpoor. After a twelve-month's contest, Julal was taken prisoner and put to death by Ibrahim, who imprisoned the remainder of his brothers, and endeavoured by violence and treachery, to keep under the disaffected and rebellious spirit which his arrogance and distrust perpetually excited among his nobles. At length the whole of the eastern part of his dominions was formed into a separate state under Deria Khan Lohani, whose son afterwards took the title of king. Doulat Khan Lodi, the governor of the Punjaub, dreading the fate of other viceroys, revolted and invoked the aid of a neighbouring potentate who had already evinced his desire to take advantage of the distracted state of India by marauding incursions into the Punjaub.

The celebrated Baber—sixth in descent through his paternal ancestors from Timur the Tartar or rather Turk, and connected through his mother with Jengis Khan the Mogul—acceded, at twelve years of age, by the death of his father to the throne of Fer-

ghana,* (A.D. 1494), which, nothwithstanding his extreme youth, he struggled long and ably to retain, against his own relatives, and the Uzbeks,† who were then founding the dominion which they afterwards possessed in Transoxiana.

In the defence of his rightful inheritance Baber appears to have been at first successful, but the death of his uncle, the king of Samarcand, and the confusion which ensued, induced him to attempt the conquest of that city, and after more than one failure, this boy of fifteen became master of the famous capital of Timur. He had however bartered the substance of power for the shadow. The resources of Samarcand, already drained by war, afforded little assistance in the payment of the army, disaffection ensued, which spread to the troops left in Ferghana, and Baber prostrated for a time by dangerous sickness, arose stripped alike of the territory to which he had rightfully succeeded, and that acquired by the sword. After various attempts, both on Samarcand and Ferghana, Baber succeeded in regaining his native kingdom, but being again induced to leave it by the hope of securing the former place also, he finally lost both, and after several years of trial and vicissitude, was betrayed by some Uzbeks whom he had tempted to forsake their ally Tambol (his own rebel general), into the hands of this powerful enemy. Escaping from captivity, Baber, accompanied by his mother, bade a last farewell to Ferghana, with all the bitter feelings of an exile, aggravated by his own peculiar trials, and carrying with him fond recollections of that beautiful land which were never obliterated by the excitement of the brilliant career that awaited him beyond the range of the Hindoo Koosh.‡ The princely adventurer was well received in Bactria, and the Moguls flocked round his standard, until his small force of 200 or 300 men (many of them only armed with clubs) had become the nucleus of a regular and well-equipped army. At this time the descendants of Timur had been expelled from Cabool, which was occupied by the Mogul or Turki family of Arghoon, who had been for some time in possession of Candahar. Baber invaded Cabool, and found little difficulty in securing the sceptre, which he swayed for twenty-two years before his conquest of India, and then bequeathed to heirs of his own lineage, by whom it was enjoyed until the end of the seventeenth century. His long reign was spent in contests with internal and external foes. The rebellion of his brother, Jehangeer, and the attempts of two of his cousins to regain the sovereignty for this branch of the family of Timur, were with difficulty subdued. The victor freely forgave his brother, and spared the lives of his other relatives, thus evincing a clemency very unusual in an oriental despot, and the more to be admired since his power, and even existence, were repeatedly in jeopardy, and only rescued from destruction by the great skill and courage with which he never failed to govern and animate his troops. The conquest of Candahar and expeditions into the mountains of the Afghans and Hazarehs, occupied the first years of his sway in Cabool. In all these journeyings great perils and hardships were endured, and once he nearly perished in the snow during a winter march to Herat, undertaken to secure the co-operation of the members of the Timur house then ruling there, against the Uzbeks. With these old and determined enemies, Baber had many severe contests, until, happily for him, their leader Sheibani Khan, went to war with Shah Ismael Saffavi, king of Persia, and was defeated and slain in 1510. By this event the tide of Tartar conquest was turned, and Baber, aided by the Persian monarch, occupied Bactria and made important conquests in Transoxiana, but these were wrested back again by the Uzbeks, by whom his army was completely routed, A.D. 1514.

Baber now turned his attention to India, and after an invasion of the Punjaub, already alluded to, but attended with no important result, gladly accepted the invitation of its rebellious governor, Doulat Khan Lodi, to return under the pretext of claiming this part of the inheritance of Timur. Some of the Afghan chiefs remained loyal, drove out Doulat Khan, and opposed the assumption of the foreign usurper, but were totally overpowered, and Lahore itself reduced to ashes. Debalpoor was next stormed, and

* A small but rich and beautiful country situated on the upper course of the river Sirr or Jaxartes

† The Uzbeks (so called from one of their khans or sovereigns) were what the geologists would call "a conglomerate" of tribes of Turki, Mogul, and probably of Fennic origin, the former greatly preponderating. They had before been settled on the Jaik, and had possessed a large tract in Siberia.

‡ Vide *Memoirs of Baber*, written by himself in Turki, translated by Dr. Leyden and Mr. Erskine; see also Mr. Caldecott's *Life of Baber;* Price, and the *Ferishtas*' of both Briggs and Dow.

the garrison put to the sword. Baber pursued his conquering course to Sirhind, when a quarrel with Doulat Khan, who fled to the hills, obliged him to retrace his steps, leaving Debalpoor in charge of Ala-oo-deen, a brother of king Ibrahim, who, having escaped from captivity, had joined the invader. Doulat Khan was checked by one of Baber's generals, but Baber himself, fully occupied in defending Balkh (the capital of Bactria) against the Uzbeks, deputed to Ala-oo-deen the charge of advancing upon Delhi, which he did, and the insurgents being increased to 40,000 by the disaffection prevalent among the king's troops, defeated the latter in an engagement under the walls of the city. Towards the close of the year 1525, Baber, having settled Balkh, and finally subdued Doulat Khan who was compelled to surrender his hill fort and *library of valuable books*—rather a singular possession for an Afghan chief of the sixteenth century—proceeded from Ropur on the Sutlej, above Lodiana, and from thence nearly by the direct road to Delhi. At Paniput, he learned the advance of Ibrahim at the head of an army, which, by his own account, numbered 100,000 men, with 1,000 elephants. One quarter that amount, under an able and popular leader, might have sufficed to inspire the opposing force, of but 12,000 men, with despondency; but even if the numbers are correctly stated, the characters of the respective leaders render the result easy to be conjectured. Baber took up a position, linked his guns together with ropes of twisted leather, and lined them with infantry, strengthening his flanks by field-works of earth and fascines. Ibrahim, on first approaching the enemy, seemed inclined to stand on the defensive likewise; but, changing his mind, after a few days' skirmishing, led out his army to a general engagement. While attempting to storm the hostile front, the flanks and rear of the assailants were attacked by the right and left wings of Baber, whose advance, showering flights of arrows, was seconded by an occasional discharge of cannon. After a protracted struggle, Baber, perceiving the success of his counter-movement, ordered his centre forward, and completed the rout of the Indian army. Ibrahim was killed, and his force having been nearly surrounded in the contest, which lasted from sunrise till noon, suffered prodigious loss, 15,000 being left dead on the field, of whom a third part lay in one spot around their king, while their total loss in the battle and pursuit was reported at 40,000. Baber mentions especially that his guns were discharged *many times* with efficiency, these engines of destruction having at this period (1526) attained neither in Asia or Europe their present terrible pre-eminence among the weapons of war. Delhi surrendered, and Baber advanced to occupy Agra, the late royal residence, where his first act was to distribute the spoil among his adherents, in a manner which procured for him the nick-name of "the Calender," in allusion to a religious order whose rules forbade them to make provision for the morrow. To his son Humayun was given a diamond of inestimable value, and a shahrukri* to every man, woman, and child in the country of Cabool.

House of Timur.—The conqueror assumed the supreme authority in India, and became the founder of what is universally called the Mogul empire. Yet Baber, although connected through his mother with the royal race of the Moguls, never names that people in his writings but with undisguised aversion, and always makes mention of himself as a Turk,† and the representative of Timur, whose barbarous massacres he too frequently

* This coin is only about tenpence or elevenpence in value, yet the total sum must have been very great.

† The terms *Turk*, *Tartar*, and *Mogul* afford inexhaustible food for controversy to scholars versed in oriental learning; and to convey in few words anything like a clear idea of the different meanings severally attached to them, is utterly impracticable. For the sake of readers unversed in such discussions, it may however be useful to remark that Tartary is the general term now applied by Europeans to the extensive but little-known country whence, under the name of Scythia, barbarian hordes have from very early times issued forth to desolate the fairest portions of Asia and even Europe. Of these a passing mention has been made in noticing the events of the second century of our era (p. 49); the Tochari, named by Strabo as one of the four chief tribes by whom the Greek kingdom of Bactria was overthrown, being supposed to signify the Turks. Timur, in his *Memoirs* (p. 27,) and a Persian author quoted by Price in his *Mohammedan History*, ascribe the origin of the Khans or sovereigns of the widespread Tartar nations to Turk, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah. The great grandson of Turk, Alonjah Khan (during whose reign the people forsook the worship of the living God and became idolators), had twin sons named Tartar or Tatar, and Mogul or Mongol, and the quarrels of their immediate descendants gave rise to the inextinguishable animosities which have ever since prevailed among their respective tribes. Mogul is said to be derived from Mungawul, signifying abject or simple-hearted. Tartar, according to the traveller Carpini, A.D. 1246, was the term applied to the Su or Water Mongols, one of four chief tribes then inhabiting Central Tartary, from the name of a river which ran through

imitated wherever the slightest resistance was offered; probably desiring by this ferocity to inspire a degree of terror not warranted by his limited force. Yet Baber was in domestic life kind and affectionate; his *Memoirs* offer repeated evidence of feelings unchilled by ambition and grandeur, of sensibility to the beauties of nature and art retaining its freshness amid the declining years of pampered royalty, and of a temper whose sweetness remained to the last unmarred, even by the thorny pillow of an usurper, or the excesses into which his social temperament helped to draw him. "It is a relief," says Mr. Erskine, "in the midst of the pompous coldness of Asiatic history, to find a king who can weep for days, and tell us that he wept for the companion of his boyhood." And Mr. Elphinstone, when citing this remark, adds—"He [Baber] speaks with as much interest of his mother and female relations as if he had never quitted their fire-side, and his friends make almost as great a figure in the personal part of his narrative as he does himself. He repeats their sayings, records their accidents and illnesses, and sometimes jokes on their eccentricities." Yet this same individual, in many points so estimable, nevertheless deserved the degrading surname of Baber (*the Tiger*), which has superseded his more flattering designations,* for in his character of conqueror even he could seldom afford to be merciful and still more rarely to be just.

To return to the narrative—the occupation of Agra was far from carrying with it the conquest of the kingdom, and before that could be accomplished Baber had three distinct obstacles to overcome; namely, the opposition offered by the Moslem viceroys, who had revolted in the time of Ibrahim, as well as by Afghan and Fermuli chiefs, attached to the late government; secondly, the deep aversion of the Hindoos, evinced by the abandonment of the villages near the spot where the army was encamped, and the consequent difficulty of procuring grain or forage. In the third place, the troops themselves became disaffected, and the weather being unusually sultry and oppressive, so aggravated the sufferings necessarily experienced by natives of cold countries during an Indian summer, that at length all ranks united in demanding to be led back to Cabool. Baber declared his unalterable determination of remaining in India, but gave to all who chose permission to return. The majority decided to stay and share his fortunes, but a part persisting in their former desire, were dismissed with honour under the authority of Khaja Khilan, who was appointed to a government beyond the Indus. This arrangement produced a change of feeling throughout the kingdom, and dissipated the general idea that Baber would depart as Timur had done. Some governors voluntarily tendered submission, detachments were sent to reduce others, and in the course of four months, not only had the country held by Sultan Ibrahim been secured, but all the revolted provinces ever possessed by the house of Lodi, including the former kingdom of Juanpoor, were conquered by Prince Humayun. The supremacy of Baber being thus established over the Moslems, his arms were next directed against the Hindoos.

their territory (Hakluyt, vol. i., p. 30), while Gmelin (*Decouvertes Russes*, vol. iii., p. 209) gives the derivation of the word from *tatanoi*, to collect, used in a reproachful sense to denote robbery, and declares that the Moguls and Calmucks, who are doubtless closely allied, have not the shadow of a tradition which favours the idea of their having ever composed one nation with the Tartars (meaning Turks). De Guignes, on the contrary, recognizes only the Eastern and Western Tartars—the first the Manchoos, the second Turks and Moguls, whom he looked upon as one race, the latter descended from the former. His authority, though usually of much weight, is in this respect diminished by the mistakes committed in confounding distinct races, and likewise in the indistinct geography of Tartary—defects scarcely to be avoided even by writers of the present day on this dark and difficult subject. The tribes now inhabiting Tartary are very numerous and various: language is the chief, if not the only guide by which Europeans have been enabled to class them under the heads of—1st, *Manchoos*, who extend over the region called Mantchouria, stretching from the Eastern Ocean along the north of China, and whose influence is confined chiefly to that country, where at the present moment (1853) a severe struggle is taking place for their extirpation; 2nd, *Moguls*, who occupy the central portion (Mongolia) between the other two; 3rd, *Tartars or Turks*, (of Toorkistan,) whose boundary is the Muz Tagh (ice mountains), the Belut Tagh (dark or cloudy mountains), Hindoo Koosh, &c. The Turki is the language of the Tartars as distinguished from that of the Moguls, but whether these two differ essentially or only as very different dialects of the same tongue is perhaps yet to be decided (Erskine's *Baber*, p. xxi.) Whatever may be the barrier between the Turks and Moguls, it is certainly a great one and of ancient origin. In appearance the contrast is most striking between the short, square, and athletic though disproportioned body, bullet-shaped head, small angular eyes, scanty beard and eyebrows, high cheek-bones, flat nose, and large ears of a Mogul or Calmuck, and the comely form of a Turk, whose well-known Caucasian features and flowing beard in many points resemble those of a European, the exception being the contraction of the eyes.

* His original name was Zehir-oo-deen (protector of the faith) Mohammed (greatly praised).

Sanga, the Rajpoot prince of Mewar (sixth in succession from Hameer Sing, the recoverer of Cheetore or Chittoor in 1316), had immediately before the arrival of Baber been engaged in hostilities with Mahmood, king of Malwa, whom he had defeated and taken prisoner. The king of Delhi was likewise the enemy of Sanga, who opened a friendly communication with Baber while marching against Ibrahim, but on finding him established on the vacated throne, transferred his enmity to the new ruler, and proceeded to combine against him with the Lodi chiefs (previously defeated by Humayun) and Hasan Khan, rajah of Mewat, a hilly tract extending towards the river Chumbul, from within twenty-five miles of Delhi, and including the petty state now called Macheri or Alwa. The first movements of the Hindoos were successful; the garrison of Biana (within fifty miles of Agra) were driven with loss into their fort, and communication cut off between them and the capital. Baber marched forward with all his forces, and at Sikri, about twenty miles from Agra, found himself in the vicinity of the enemy, by whom his advanced guard was immediately attacked, and though supported by the main body, was defeated with heavy loss. The assailants, instead of following up the victory, withdrew to their encampments, and thus gave Baber time to fortify his position, and revive, by his own indomitable energy, the drooping spirits of the troops. This was no easy task; for the Indian auxiliaries began to desert or give way to hopeless despondency, and the feeling spread throughout all ranks, being deepened by the unlucky arrival of a celebrated astrologer from Cabool, who announced, from the aspect of Mars, the inevitable defeat of the Moslem army, which was drawn up in an opposite direction to that planet. Baber cared little for soothsaying, but fully recognised the perils of his position, and, by his own account, repented of his sins, forswore wine, gave away his gold and silver drinking-vessels to the poor, and remitted the stamp-tax on all Moslems (that is, the revenue collected by means of a stamp or mark affixed on all imported articles). Assembling all the officers, from the highest to the lowest, he addressed them in glowing terms—not, however, in the usual inflated style regarding the rewards, temporal and eternal, awaiting the champions of Islam, but appealing almost exclusively to their sense of honour, and setting the chance of military glory, in plain terms, against the risk of death. With one accord they swore on the Koran to conquer or to die, and Baber determined to bring matters to an immediate crisis, a step rendered the more expedient by the daily accounts of fresh disturbances in the provinces. A desperate battle ensued; rajah Sanga was defeated, and escaped with difficulty; Hasan Khan and many other chiefs were slain. The mistaken astrologer ventured to congratulate Baber upon his victory, but received in return a sharp lecture for perversity, conceit, and mischief-making, with a command to quit the royal dominions, accompanied, however, by a liberal present in acknowledgment of long service, faithful though not discreet.

Mewat was next reduced and settled. In the beginning of the following year (1528) Chanderi, on the borders of Bundelcund and Malwa, was attacked. It was held by Medni Rai, a Rajpoot chief, who had escaped from the late battle, and desperately but vainly defended by the Rajpoots, who, on perceiving the troops of Baber mounting their works, slew their women, rushed forth naked, drove the enemy before them, leaped from the ramparts, and continued to fight with unabated fury until all had found the death they sought: 200 or 300 had remained to defend Medni Rai's house, who for the most part slew one another sooner than fall into the hands of the enemy. An Afghan insurrection occurred simultaneously with this siege. The latter was no sooner ended than Baber marched to the Ganges, where the Afghans were drawn up, threw a bridge over the river under cover of artillery, and compelled the insurgents to disperse and take refuge in the dominions of the king of Bengal. It was probably on this occasion that he reduced South Behar, which was subsequently seized by the Lodi prince, Sultan Mahmood, who being once more forced to fly, all that country south of the Ganges reverted to Baber; but North Behar remained in the possession of the king of Bengal, with whom a treaty of peace was formed. The health of Baber now began to fail, and its decline was hastened by circumstances connected with the dangerous illness of Humayun. The physicians had declared the condition of that prince to be beyond the help of their art, upon which the fond father resolved to devote his own life to the preservation of his son's, in conformity with a superstition still prevalent in

the East. His friends, who do not seem to have in the least doubted the efficacy of the measure, entreated him to forbear for the sake of the millions whom he ruled, but without effect. After the customary formula of walking three times round the couch of the prince, Baber spent some moments in earnest prayer to God, and then, impressed with a conviction of the fulfilment of the desired sacrifice, exclaimed, "I have borne it away! I have borne it away!" All historians agree that Humayun began from that time to recover, and Baber to sink rapidly, which latter result may be readily believed. Calling together his sons and ministers, he enjoined concord among them all, and affection among his children, and soon afterwards expired at Agra, A.D. 1530, and was buried in Cabool, at a spot selected by himself, and still marked by a small mosque of marble, above which rises a hill, from whence a noble prospect is obtained. Though he did not attain to the age of fifty years, Baber had, in one sense, lived many lives, from the incessant activity of both mind and body.* On his last journey, when his constitution was evidently giving way, he rode in two days from Calpee to Agra (160 miles), without any particular motive for despatch, and swam twice across the Ganges, as he mentions having done every other river he traversed. Besides the necessary business of the kingdom, the intervals of peace were occupied by planning aqueducts, reservoirs, and other improvements, and in the introduction of new fruits and other productions of remote countries. Yet he found time to indite many elegant Persian poems, and compositions in Turki, which entitled him to distinction among the writers of his age and country. His contemporaries were, in England, Henry VII. and VIII.; in France, Charles VIII., Louis XII., and Francis I.; in Germany, Maximilian and Charles V.; in Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, and Charles. Thus the career of Baber formed part of a memorable epoch, of which the great events were—the discovery of America by Columbus; of the passage to India, *via* the Cape of Good Hope, by Vasco di Gama; the increase of the power of France by the annexation of the great fiefs to the crown, and of Spain by the union of its kingdoms under Charles; the destruction of the empire of Constantinople; the influence of the art of printing; and the rise and progress of the Protestant reformation. (Luther and Baber were born in the same year.)

Baber left three sons besides Humayun, but as he made no declaration in their favour he probably intended the empire to descend undivided to the child for whose life he had evinced such tender solicitude. Of the three younger brothers, one named Kamran was governor of Cabool and Candahar, and being firmly seated there, appeared disposed to maintain his position if necessary by a degree of force with which Humayun could ill cope, since to assemble an army for action in Cabool would necessitate the evacuation of the lately-acquired and disaffected provinces. Kamran was therefore recognized as the independent ruler of his previous government, to which was added the Punjaub and the country on the Indus. The other brothers, named Hindal and Askeri, were appointed to the sway of Sambal and Mewat. By the cession to Kamran, Humayun was deprived of the trusty and warlike retainers who had long been the hereditary subjects of his family, and left to govern new conquests, unsupported by the resources which had materially contributed to their acquisition. At first, by the aid of the veteran army of his father, he succeeded in putting down the Afghan insurrections, which were among the early disturbances of his reign, and came to terms with his future rival, Sheer Khan (an influential Afghan, claiming descent from the kings of Ghor), who submitted on condition of being suffered to retain the hill-fort of Chunar, near Benares. His next struggles were with Bahadur Shah, king of Guzerat, one of the most powerful of the states formed out of the fragments of the empire of Delhi, and which had been recently increased in size and influence by the annexation of Malwa, and the vassalship or fiefdom promised by the princes of Candeish, Berar, and Ahmednugger. Bahadur had taken under his protection Ala-oo-deen, the brother of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, who had

* Towards the close of his life, Baber observed that since his eleventh year he had never kept the annual fast of the Ramzan twice in any one place—a strong proof of the roving, warlike disposition which brought him to India. And it should be remembered that, in spite of many attractive qualities, Baber comes under the same condemnation, for lawless usurpation and bloodshed, as his ferocious ancestors, Jengis and Timur. Nor is his private character free from heavy reproach. Drinking he eventually renounced, but continued to use intoxicating confections; and this, with other practices yet more degrading, he refers to with as little regret as to the "erection of minarets of human heads," and other common incidents of war.

played so conspicuous a part during that monarch's disastrous reign, and he assisted him with troops and money to assemble a force for the attack of Agra, A.D. 1534. The attempt failed, for the army was as speedily dispersed as it had been collected, and Tatar Khan, the son of Ala, fell bravely fighting at the head of a division which had remained faithful amid the general desertion. Humayun proceeded against Bahadur, who was engaged in besieging Chittoor or Cheetore, then held by the Rana of Mewar, but was induced, (by the remonstrances of Bahadur against the impiety of molesting a Mussulman prince while engaged in war with infidels, or else by his own dilatory habits), to retard his march until the place was taken, and the besieger prepared to receive him in an intrenched camp at Mandesor, rendered formidable by artillery, commanded by a Constantinopolitan Turk, and partly served by Portuguese prisoners.* These advantages were however wholly neutralized by the enemy's success in cutting off the supplies, and thus making the position untenable, upon which Bahadur blew up his guns, and, leaving the army to disperse as they chose, fled by night almost unattended to the sea-port of Cambay, whither he was followed by Humayun, who reached that town on the evening of the day on which the fugitive had departed for a more secure place of refuge at Diu, in the remotest part of the peninsula of Guzerat. While the pursuers were encamped at Cambay, a night attack was made by the Coolis, a forest-tribe, still famous for similar exploits in this part of India, with such silence and wariness, that the royal tent itself was plundered, and the baggage and books carried off—among the latter was a copy of the *History of Timur*, illustrated with paintings. Humayun, in unjust retaliation for the conduct of these mountaineers, gave up the town to plunder, and then quitting the peninsula, proceeded to occupy the settled part of Guzerat. The hill fort of Champaneir, he surprised by a stratagem, having, with 300 chosen men, scaled the walls in the night by means of iron spikes, fixed in an almost perpendicular rock; the daring besiegers, including the king, ascending separately during an attack made on one of the gates by the army.†

Shortly after this success, and before sufficient time could elapse for the consolidation of his new conquests, Humayun was recalled to Agra by intelligence of the proceedings of Sheer Khan, who had made himself master of Behar, including the strong fortress of Rohtas,‡ and was successfully prosecuting the invasion of Bengal. The measures of this usurper had been laid with much skill and circumspection, his hope being, by the union of the Afghans, to

* In the *Memoirs of Humayun*, written by Jouher the ewer-bearer, (a faithful servant who attended that monarch during his adversity, and was eventually rewarded by a treasurership in Lahore) and translated by Major Stewart, it is asserted that Bahadur had entered into a treaty with the Portuguese, (established at Surat some time before), and had by their assistance raised a force of 6,000 Abyssinians or negroes. Price, on the authority of Abu Fazil, states, that Bahadur had sent a deputation to Diu to solicit the aid of the Portuguese viceroy, or captain-general of the possessions of that nation on the western side of India, requesting his assistance in waging war against the house of Timur. The Portuguese commander accordingly assembled at Diu a considerable body of troops, and a powerful naval armament, in readiness to meet Bahadur, on whose arrival, it is said, some cause of suspicion, not satisfactorily explained, induced the European chief, instead of coming to meet his ally, to remain on board ship on pretence of illness. Bahadur, with a degree of confidence which seems to indicate the whole affair to have originated, not in a misunderstanding, but in systematic treachery on the part of the Portuguese, put himself on board a galley to visit the alleged invalid; but had no sooner reached the admiral's vessel, than, perceiving the deceit practised upon him, he endeavoured to return to the shore. The Portuguese had however resolved on first obtaining from him the cession of certain ports at Guzerat, and endeavoured to detain him by fair words, entreating a moment's delay while they brought a present in token of profound respect; but Bahadur desired that the present might be sent after him and persisted in making for the ship's side. The Portuguese Cazi (probably the fiscal) now interposed and forbade his departure, upon which the Sultan in a paroxysm of indignation drew his scimitar, clove him in twain, and succeeded in gaining his own galley, which was speedily hemmed in by the enemy's fleet. An unequal conflict ensued, and Bahadur, perceiving the inevitable result, sprang into the sea, and is generally supposed to have been drowned. The date of this event, A.D. 1537, is preserved in the Persian characters comprised in the sentence, "Feringuian Bahadur Kosh,"—*Portuguese butchers of the hero.*—(Price, vol iii. p. 751).

† After its capture the stronghold was vainly searched for the treasure it was believed to contain; one officer alone knew the secret, which it was proposed to draw from him by torture, but to this Humayun refused to consent, and directed that wine and good cheer should be tried instead. The expedient proved successful, and the officer willingly revealed the existence of a large amount of gold and silver at the bottom of the reservoir, which was at once apparent on the water being drawn off.

‡ Rohtas was taken by treachery from a Hindoo rajah. Sheer Khan, having besought an asylum for his family, introduced two armed soldiers in each of the covered litters supposed to contain women, and then easily overcame the unsuspecting garrison.

panions.* The valour of Sheikh Ali Beg, one of Humayun's bravest and most faithful followers, appears to have warded off the immediate danger, and soon afterwards the Hindoo leader, bearing in his hand a white flag, approached the party, and having represented that they had wilfully done wrong in killing kine in a Hindoo country, and likewise in entering his father's territory without leave, supplied them with water for their immediate relief, and then permitted them to proceed without further molestation. Several weary marches, with intense suffering from thirst, further diminished the small but faithful band, before Humayun with seven mounted horsemen reached Amercot, where the Rana† (Pursaud) welcomed the dethroned monarch with most courteous and generous hospitality. The remainder of the fugitives found refuge within the walls of the fortress on the same day, and thankful indeed must Hameida have been to quit her horse, and find at length an interval of rest. Pursaud offered to assist Humayun in a fresh endeavour to establish himself in Sinde, placing at his service 2,000 horsemen of his own tribe (Rajpoots), and 5,000 cavalry belonging to his allies. These auxiliaries, or a portion of them, were gladly accepted, and Humayun, accompanied by the Rana, with about 100 Moguls, whom he had himself succeeded in assembling, marched towards Tatta. Hameida remained at Amercot, and on the following day gave birth to the celebrated Akber (A.D. 1542). The joyful intelligence was immediately forwarded to Humayun, who unable to practise the munificence customary in the East on these occasions, called for "a china plate," and breaking a pod of musk, distributed it among the chiefs who came to offer their congratulations, saying—"this is all the present I can afford to make you on the birth of my son, whose fame will I trust be one day expanded all over the world, as the perfume of the musk now fills this apartment." Joon or Jiun (a place not marked on the maps, but supposed to have been situated on a branch of the Indus, half-way between Tatta and Amercot, was captured after an action with the officer in charge, and though harassed by the troops of the Arghoons, Humayun's party held their ground, and were strengthened by the neighbouring princes until they amounted to about 15,000 horse. Hameida and the infant prince (by this time about six weeks old) joined the camp, and all seemed prospering, when Rana Pursaud received an affront from a Mogul, and was so dissatisfied by Humayun's conduct in the matter, that he indignantly quitted Joon, with all his followers and friends. Humayun, thus rendered too weak to contest with Hussyn Arghoon, proceeded to Candahar, but was compelled by his turbulent brothers to escape to Seestan with Hameida, and thence to seek refuge in Persia, the infant Akber falling into the hands of his uncle Mirza Askeri, who showed more kindness on the occasion than might have been expected.

Afghan tribe of Soor.—Sheer Shah‡ assumed, as has been shown, the title of king in 1540, and took possession of all Humayun's territories. After commencing the famous fort of Rohtas on the Hydaspes, on which he expended an enormous sum of money, and named after that in Behar, he returned to Agra, and there found employment in subduing the revolt of his own governor of Bengal. He conquered Malwa in the course of the year 1542, and soon afterwards reduced the fort of Raiseen, held by a Hindoo chief. The garrison surrendered on terms, but after they had left the fort, the capitulation was declared void on some quibbling legal pretext, and the Hindoos were attacked and cut to pieces after a brave resistance. Barbarous as the Mohammedans too often showed themselves in India, yet treachery such as this can hardly be paralleled, save in the career of Timur. In 1544, Sheer marched into Marwar, which was desperately defended by rajah Maldeo, who, though able to collect only 50,000 men wherewith to oppose his adversary's powerful army, estimated at 80,000, and probably well-provided with artillery, appears to have at first succeeded in overawing the invader, aided by the natural obstacles offered by the sterility of his

* In the desert of Kerbela, A.D. 680, Hussyn, the son of Ali and Fatima, with seventy-three persons of his family, including his infant child, were cruelly massacred. Several heroic youths, his sons and nephews, perished singly in defending the venerated person of the Imaum; who after a protracted defence at length sunk, mutilated of an arm and covered with wounds, of which thirty-six were counted on his dead body, before it was finally crushed by twenty horsemen, and then left to be devoured by wild beasts. The unfortunate females were thrown across the backs of camels and afterwards stripped and publicly exposed—all these atrocities being committed by Mohammedans. (Price, vol. i. p. 410.)

† The patronymic of the princes of Mewar.

‡ His name was changed from Fureed, to Sheer Khan, or *Lion-knight*, from his slaying a wild beast while hunting with the king of Berar.

territory and the want of water in many parts of it. At length Sheer Shah, always a cunning schemer, contrived to sow division in the hostile camp by the common expedient of letters written on purpose to be intercepted. The rajah's suspicions were raised against some of his chiefs, and he commenced a retreat. One of the suspected leaders, indignant at the imputation, determined, in the true Rajpoot spirit, to give incontestable proof of its injustice, and quitting the army at the head of his own tribe fell with such impetuousity on the enemy, that Sheer Shah with difficulty and severe loss succeeded in repelling the assailants. He was, however, eventually victor here, as also at Chittore; but at Calinjer, to which he laid siege, a striking retribution awaited him. The rajah, warned by the breach of faith committed at Raiseen, refused to enter into any terms with his perfidious foe, and Sheer, while superintending the batteries, was so scorched by the explosion of a magazine struck by the rebound of a shell, that he expired in a few hours, but continued to direct the operations of the siege during his mortal agonies, his last words being an exclamation of pleasure at learning that the place was taken.

This ambitious, cruel, and vindictive man, nevertheless evinced considerable ability in civil government, and, happily for the subjects of his usurped authority, seems to have recognised the promotion of their welfare as his best means of security. He caused a high road to be constructed, extending from Bengal to the western Rohtas, near the Indus, a distance of about 3,000 miles, with caravanserais at every stage, all furnished with provisions for the poor, and attendance of proper casts for Hindoos as well as Mussulmans. An Imaum (priest) and Muezzin (crier to call to prayers) were placed at the numerous mosques erected on the route; wells were dug at distances of a mile and-a-half, and the whole way planted with fruit-trees for refreshment and shade. Sheer Shah was buried in a stately mausoleum still standing at Sahseram, placed in the centre of an artificial piece of water, a mile in circumference, which is faced by walls of cut stone, with flights of steps descending to the water. Previous to his death, his eldest son had been the recognised heir to the throne, but being a prince of feeble character was supplanted by his brother, who reigned for nine years, under the title of Selim Shah. On his decease, A.D. 1553, his son, a boy of twelve years old, was murdered by his uncle, who seized the throne under the name of Mohammed Adili,* but was prevented from using the powers of a ruler by natural incapacity, increased by habits of the most odious debauchery. His extravagance speedily emptied the royal coffers, upon which he resumed the governments and jaghires† of the nobles and bestowed them on the lowest of his creatures. The proud Afghans, stung even more by the insulting bearing of their unworthy ruler than by the injuries they suffered at his hand, fled in numbers, and raised the standard of revolt at Chunar. Meanwhile, the person of the king was protected and his authority upheld by the exertions of Hemu, his chief minister, a Hindoo of mean appearance and low origin, who had formerly belonged to the very lowest class of small shopkeepers, as a retailer of salt, but who had been gradually raised to power by the late king, and now displayed a degree of zeal and ability, which would have honoured a better cause. From some weakness or physical defect Hemu was unable to sit on horseback, but he directed all military operations, and fought with unfailing intrepidity from his litter mounted on an elephant. Not the least extraordinary part of his history is the manner in which he succeeded in reconciling such of the haughty Afghans and unruly Moguls as still remained with Adili, to his authority; this he appears to have done chiefly by the munificence with which he distributed whatever treasure or revenue came into his hands—for his objects and motives, though scarcely indicated in the contemptuous and calumnious mention made of "this swarthy upstart" by Mussulman historians, unquestionably soared far above the mere accumulation of wealth. Delhi and Agra were seized on by Ibrahim Soor, a member of the reigning family, who attempted to assume the supreme authority under the name of Ibrahim III., but was opposed by Hemu, and also by Secander Soor, another relative of Adili's, who caused himself to be proclaimed king in the Punjaub. Ibrahim was defeated first by Secander and then by Hemu. The adventurous minister next marched towards Bengal, to

* This wretch, known before his usurpation as Moobariz Khan, is alleged to have dragged the prince from his mother's arms, that mother being his own sister and tried friend. (*Ferishta*, vol. ii. p. 142.)

† The revenues of certain lands granted by the king, sometimes in perpetuity but generally revocable at pleasure, and on military tenure.

oppose the governor, Mohammed Soor, who had assumed the rank of an independent ruler. Hemu was again victorious, this new adversary being defeated and slain; but struggles in other quarters still continued, and a more formidable foe than any yet dealt with, arose in the person of the dethroned Humayun, who had gradually re-established himself in the Punjaub, where Secander, who had occupied Agra and Delhi on the defeat of Ibrahim, now marched for his expulsion. Before narrating the success of Humayun and Akber, and the fate of Ibrahim and of Hemu and Adili, it is necessary to revert to previous events and sketch the chain of circumstances which ended in the restoration of the exiled monarch.

House of Timur restored.—Humayun entered Persia in much uncertainty regarding the reception he should receive from Shah Tahmasp, the son and successor of Shah Ismael, the first of the Saffavi or Sophi kings. Though both were zealous Mohammedans, they belonged to distinct sects, characterised by a degree of mutual animosity, for which the difference of opinion existing between them on doctrinal points far less than those which divide the churches of England and Rome, is quite insufficient to account.—(*See* note to p. 62). Shah Tahmasp was a strenuous advocate of the Sheiah doctrine, which had been widely disseminated through Persia by the instrumentality of his ancestors, dervises much famed for sanctity, while Humayun was a Sonnite, and this was doubtless one cause of the want of cordiality which marked the private intercourse of the two monarchs, whose connexion was really, on both sides, an interested one. At first Humayun seems to have been inclined to put in practice his cherished desire of ceasing, at least for a time, the weary struggle for power, in which he had been so long engaged, and proceeding on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but his faithful followers urgently dissuaded him from this project, pleading the disastrous results it would have on the fortunes of Akber. The reception met with in Persia successfully seconded their arguments—the governors of each province received him with regal honours, the people came out to bid him welcome, and palaces were prepared for his accommodation at Cazvin and elsewhere. But the splendour with which the Persian despot thought proper to gild the fallen majesty of his unfortunate compeer, was unaccompanied by a single ray of true sympathy; for many months Humayun was not suffered to appear before the Shah, and his brave-hearted envoy, Behram Beg, was harshly treated for refusing to wear the peculiar-shaped cap,* from which the Persians have acquired the title of Kuzilbash (*Red-heads*), in allusion to its colour, and which was expressly designed for a sectarian symbol. Behram urged that he was the servant of another prince, and not at liberty to act without orders. He persisted in declining to assume this badge, unawed by the displeasure of Tahmasp, who strove to intimidate the refractory ambassador, by the summary execution of some prisoners brought before him for the purpose. This incident was a sufficiently significant prelude to the long-delayed interview, during which Tahmasp affected to receive Humayun as his equal, but in reality took ungenerous advantage of his defenceless position, by compelling him, by means of threats affecting life itself, to assume the obnoxious cap. Nor even after this concession could Tahmasp resist taunting his guest with having, during his prosperity, when practising the favourite Arabian form of divination by arrows, to discover the destiny of reigning princes, placed the name of the king of Persia in a rank inferior to his own. Humayun frankly acknowledged that he had done so, and gently urged in justification his hereditary rank as Padshah† or Emperor of India, whereupon Tahmasp broke out into violent and unjust invective against the arrogance which had rendered him a fugitive, and thrown his female relatives and infant heir into the hands of his enemies.

Notwithstanding the humiliations suffered in private from what he justly termed "the meanness of this Persian monarch," Humayun continued to receive every outward mark of unbounded munificence in the festivals prepared in his honour, especially the military diversion of great circular hunts, so famous in the annals of Timur. All the expenses thus incurred are however said to

* The cap which Humayun so reluctantly assumed was that called *Taji Hyder*, in honour of Hyder, the father of Shah Ismael, by whom it was first adopted. It consisted of a tiara of crimson silk, richly ornamented with gold and jewels, of a high conical shape and divided into twelve segments, in honour of the twelve Imaums, from whom the reigning family claimed descent.

† This title was exclusively assumed by the dynasty of the Great Mogul.

have been repaid two-fold by the gift of a few rich gems, which the exiled monarch had brought with him from Hindoostan. One of these was a diamond, which the jewellers of Tahmasp declared to be above all price, it was perhaps that obtained at Agra, and there estimated in a somewhat indefinite manner as equal in value "to the purchase of a day's subsistence for one-half the inhabitants of the terrestrial globe." Behram Beg, the bearer of this costly offering, was dignified by the title of Khan, and another officer with that of Sultan, but it was not without far heavier sacrifices that the assistance, from the first promised to their sovereign, was at length afforded. He was compelled to sign a paper, the contents of which, though not precisely stated, involved a pledge, in the event of success in regaining the sceptre of Baber, to cede to Persia the province or kingdom of Candahar, and likewise to introduce among the Mussulmans of India the profession of the Sheiahs in opposition to that of the Sonnites. Orders were then given for the assemblage of 14,000 horse in Seestan, under the command of Murad Mirza, the son of Tahmasp, and after some more bickering the monarchs parted, and Humayun proceeded again to try his fortune in war, his private forces amounting only to about 700 men. At this period (1545) Sheer Shah was still alive, Kamran swayed Cabool, and his younger brothers, after the settlement of their private quarrels, received appointments under him; Hindal being governor of Ghuznee, and Askeri of Candahar, which latter place was attacked by Humayun and captured after a siege of five months. Askeri was taken and kept in close captivity for the next three years. The fort and treasures were made over to the Persians, on which the greater part of them returned home, leaving a garrison under Murad Mirza. According to Abul Fazil* the conduct of the Persians to the inhabitants was so cruelly oppressive as to justify Humayun, on the sudden death of Murad, in treacherously seizing the fortress; his troops obtaining entrance thereto on the plausible pretext of placing Askeri in charge of the Persian governor. Some of the garrison offered resistance on discovering what was really intended, but their opposition was soon silenced in death, and the remainder were suffered to return to Persia. From Candahar, Humayun marched to Cabool, of which he took possession without a struggle, for Kamran, finding himself deserted by Hindal and many other chiefs who had gone over to the now successful brother, had sought refuge in Sinde. With Cabool, Humayun recovered Akber, then between two and three years of age, but both the city and the young prince were subsequently re-captured by Kamran, who long held his ground against all attempts for his expulsion. Prisoners taken during this siege were slain in cold blood by the assailants, and treated with yet greater barbarity by Kamran, who threatened, if the firing were not discontinued, to expose Akber on the walls. Eventually, being unable to continue the contest, he escaped by night, and by the aid of the Uzbeks again made head against his brother for about eighteen months, but was, at the expiration of that time, compelled to surrender. Humayun behaved on this occasion very nobly, treated Kamran with great kindness, released Askeri, and, accompanied by Hindal, sat down with them at a feast. The four brothers having eaten salt† together, seemed for the time entirely reconciled, but during Humayun's subsequent absence in Transoxiana, the conquest of which he had resolved on attempting, Kamran once more rebelled, and after many vicissitudes, (during which Cabool and the young prince were again lost and won, and Hindal fell in the cause of Humayun,) was finally betrayed by the sultan of the Gukkurs, with whom he had taken refuge, into the hands of his much-injured brother. Some chiefs, whose wives and children had been savagely disgraced and murdered by order of Kamran during the siege of Cabool in 1547, now loudly urged that his life should pay the forfeit of his crimes. This Humayun steadfastly refused,

* Abul Fazil, the famous minister of Akber, recorded the leading events of the reigns of this sovereign and his father in an heroic poem comprising 110,000 couplets, from which Ferishta has borrowed largely. Although a man of extraordinary ability, he was, unfortunately for the students of history, an accomplished courtier and professed rhetorician, delighting in the cumbrous and inflated style still in vogue in India. His account of important events is therefore often unsatisfactory, and, unless carefully weighed, misleading; but, notwithstanding their defects, his works (the *Akber Namah* and *Ayeen Akbery*) afford information not to be obtained elsewhere.

† In the east it is regarded as peculiarly infamous for either the giver or receiver of the lowest description of hospitality, to practice hostility against one another. Thus, salt, which forms an ingredient of the most sumptuous or humble meal has become a type and pledge of good faith.

but consented to allow him to be blinded, the barbarous method commonly resorted to in the East, to crush ambitious pretenders to that uneasy seat—the throne of a despot. The cruel operation was usually performed by means of a searing instrument, called a fire-pencil, held against the visual nerve until it was annihilated, or by means of antimony; but in this case, perhaps from the fact of several state prisoners condemned in late reigns to a similar fate having escaped its completion—a lancet was employed, and after many wounds had been inflicted, without drawing a groan, lemon-juice and salt were at last squeezed into the sightless orbs of the wretched sufferer, who then exclaimed in uncontrollable agony—"O Lord my God! whatever sins I have committed have been amply punished in this world, have compassion on me in the next." Humayun shortly afterwards went to visit his unhappy brother, and wept long and bitterly while Kamran confessed the justice of his punishment, and asked leave to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca. This he was suffered to do, and died in that place in 1557. Askeri, who had likewise returned to the course of rebellion after having repeatedly abjured it, had been previously captured, but was only punished by imprisonment, from which he also was released, for the purpose of proceeding to Mecca, and died on his way thither. Thus delivered from the difficulties in which the turbulence and disunion of his brothers had involved him during so long a period, Humayun began to take advantage of the unsettled state in which the death of Selim Shah and the misgovernment of his successor had involved the territories conquered by Baber, which had gradually, as has been shown, been parted by various usurpations into five distinct states, whose rulers were at variance with one another. In January, 1555, he started from Cabool with 15,000 horse, obtained possession of Lahore, and subsequently engaged Secander, who being defeated fled to the mountains near the Himalaya, leaving Humayun to occupy Delhi and Agra. The portion of his original dominions thus at length regained, after sixteen years of strife and banishment, had been enjoyed by Humayun less than six months, when an accident occurred which produced fatal results. The monarch had ascended the terrace at the top of his library to enjoy the cool evening air, and give orders respecting the attendance of astronomers to note the rising of Venus, which was to be the signal for the announcement of a general promotion among the nobility and officers. While preparing to descend the steep and highly-polished stairs, protected only by an ornamental parapet a foot high, a muezzin or crier announced the hour of prayer from the minarets of the adjoining mosque, where the people being assembled had just offered the monarch the usual *kornesh* or salutation. Humayun, intending to repeat the customary formula, attempted to seat himself on the spot, but his foot becoming entangled in the folds of his robe, he fell headlong down the steps, receiving a contusion on the right temple, of which he died, aged somewhat less than forty-nine years.

Historians agree in according him high rank as a benevolent, forgiving, and munificent prince, intrepid in the hour of danger, patient in adversity, moderate in prosperity, and skilled in literature, mathematics, geography, astronomy, and the mechanical sciences. These varied gifts, united to a naturally easy temper, pleasing person, and courteous demeanour, rendered his society so delightful that Baber used often to declare Humayun to be without an equal as a companion. Procrastination and indecision were his characteristic failings; these may be easily traced to the frequent and intoxicating use of opium, a vice whose degrading influences were heightened by the peculiar defects of his religious creed. Perhaps no single character, when carefully weighed would afford an inquirer into the effects of Mohammedanism on individuals more striking evidence than that of Humayun. His conduct repeatedly affords evidence of the want of a steady principle of action, directing even the passing thoughts of the mind, and marking with a broad line the difference between right and wrong. Notwithstanding the false notions of expediency which led him to commit, or at least sanction, crimes from which a naturally gentle and easy disposition must have revolted, col. Dow has said that "had he been a worse man he would have been a greater monarch." The remark sounds strangely, but it is to be hoped that young students of history will not forget that all Christendom concurs in invoking the same just, merciful and omnipotent Ruler to give wisdom to senators and prosperity to nations—therefore any description of greatness, inconsistent with the goodness inculcated in the Gospel, ought simply to excite abhorrence

and reprobation. Most assuredly the man who, in an unrighteous cause, has made mothers childless, and widowed happy wives, desolated cultivated lands and spread famine and pestilence in his train, has attained in the sight of his Creator a pre-eminence in crime little in accordance with the idea commonly attached to the word greatness. Some ray of light, breaking through the dense clouds in which the teaching of the False Prophet had involved the purposes and results of war, beamed on the mind of Humayun, when not many days before his death he prayed, "Lord, ennoble me with the knowledge of thy truth;" and described himself as "sorely afflicted by the perplexities of a troubled mind." The faith of Islam and its innumerable observances had thus utterly failed to enlighten or sustain even a follower, so diligent in their observance, that a sentiment of deep reverence had all his life long preserved him from so much as uttering the name of his Creator with unwashen hands.*

A new epoch is formed by the reign of Akber, since by him India was consolidated into one formidable empire, by the absorption of the various small kingdoms which had sprung up during the reign of Mohammed Toghlak, as also by the annexation of numerous Hindoo principalities, which Akber obtained far less by force than by the favours and distinctions which he invariably bestowed on the native rulers so soon as they consented to recognize his supremacy, without regard to their religious opinions. Before proceeding further, the origin and condition of these states must be shown, as the reader may probably need this knowledge for subsequent reference.

The *Bahmani kingdom of the Deccan* was founded by Hussun, an Afghan, born in a low condition at Delhi, and servant to a Brahmin astrologer, named Gungoo, much favoured by Mohammed Toghlak. In consideration of his good conduct, Gungoo gave Hussun a pair of oxen, and permitted him to till a piece of land for his own sustenance. While ploughing, Hussun discovered a copper casket filled with ancient gold coins, which he carried to his master, who, in return, used his utmost influence at court, and succeeded in rewarding the honesty of Hussun by obtaining for him an appointment and jaghire in the Deccan, under the governor of Doulatabad. Some time afterwards, the officers of the Deccan, by refusing to surrender some fugitive chiefs from Guzerat, incurred the displeasure of Mohammed Toghlak, and fearing to fall into the hands of this cruel despot, broke into open rebellion. On the establishment of their independence Hussun was chosen as king, A.D. 1347, and the capital fixed at Culbarga, whence it was subsequently removed to Beder or Bidr. Hussun, on assuming the regal honours of the mosque and mint,† took the name of Ala-oo-deen, adding thereto Gungoo Bahmani (Brahmin), in honour of his early benefactor, whom he sent for and made treasurer; and the succeeding princes of the Deccan followed this example by generally committing to Brahmins the charge of the revenues. Notwithstanding the close connection between the first Bahmani king and his Hindoo patron, his son and successor, Mohammed I., proved a sanguinary foe to that people. "It is computed," says Ferishta, "that in his reign [of seventeen years] nearly 500,000 unbelievers fell by the swords of Islam, by which the population of the Carnatic was so reduced that it did not recover for several ages."‡ This destruction was accomplished by indiscriminate slaughter, without regard to sex or age, a proceeding at length stopped by the remonstrances of the Hindoo ambassadors, who urged that since the princes of the Deccan and of the Carnatic might long remain neighbours, it was advisable that a treaty should be made, binding both parties to refrain from taking the life of the helpless and unarmed. From this time, it is asserted, that the conquered were no longer slain in cold blood during the hostilities carried on by the Bahmanis against the neighbouring states, and especially the new monarchy of Beejanuggur, throughout the whole period of their existence, excepting the reign of Mahmood Shah I., who, for nearly twenty years (A.D. 1378 to 1397), by rectitude and discretion, preserved his subjects alike from foreign and domestic strife.§ Although in these conflicts many thousand Moham-

* Price, from *Abul Fazil*, vol. iii., p. 944.

† The *Khotbah* is the public prayer for the reigning king; *Sicca* the royal right of stamping coin.

‡ By the Carnatic is here meant the country where the Canarese language prevails, south of a line drawn between Colapoor and Beder. It must be remembered that this tract continued, up to the time of the Mohammedan writer to be devastated by almost incessant wars.

§ The proceedings of Mahmood Shah I. occupy but a few pages in Ferishta's history, far less than are often given to the details of a single campaign, but quite enough is said to make the reader solicitous to learn more respecting this truly great and gifted mo-

medans, in the fantastic and fanatical language of their historians, "tasted the sherbet of martyrdom," they were on the whole gainers. In 1421, Ahmed Shah took permanent possession of Warangol, and compelled the rajah of Telingana to relinquish his ancient capital. In 1471, Mohammed II. concluded a struggle of more than forty years' duration, in which much life and treasure had been wasted, by the partial conquest of the Concan,* and in 1477 completed the subjugation of Rajahmundry and Masulipatam. Notwithstanding these successes, Mohammed was rendered infamous, even in the eyes of his fellow-believers, by the slaughter of some Brahmins whom he found officiating in an idolatrous temple at Condapilli, and to this ungrateful outrage on the Order, by whom his ancestor had been first brought to notice, was popularly attributed the downfall of the Bahmani dynasty. Soon after this, the king, while flushed with wine, was induced, by a forged letter, to sanction the immediate execution of his faithful minister, Mahmood Gawan, then in the seventy-eighth year of his age. By so doing, he sealed the fate of his house, whose power was speedily absorbed in the whirlpool of strife raised by the two factions into which the troops had become divided. *The first* consisted of Mogul converts, to whom were gradually added Persians and Turks, Georgians, Circassians, Calmucks, and other Tartars, who were for the most part of the Sheiah sect; *the second*, or native troops, called Deccanies, were Sonnites, and were always joined by the Abyssinian mercenaries, who came in numbers by the seaports on the western coast.†

The late minister was a Sonnite, and although just and kind to both sects, this circumstance afforded a pretext to Nizam-ul-Moolk Behri, the son of a converted Hindoo, and the leader of the opposite party, for gratifying his ambition. Having succeeded in procuring the death of Gawan, he obtained also his much-coveted office, through the fears of the king, who, on learning the base plot by which he had been deceived, openly bewailed his rash credulity, but made no attempt to bring the conspirators to justice. A low fever, brought

narch. We are told that he was "naturally of a disposition wise, merciful, and just, and his judgment in all affairs of state was usually correct." * * * "During his reign no disturbances occurred in the kingdom, nor did any relaxation take place in the energy of the government." The praise is coldly given, but in the present day the character of a ruler in whom firmness and mildness were so admirably balanced will be regarded in a very different light to that in which it was likely to be viewed by a Mohammedan, who regarded the title of *Ghazi* (the holy warrior), bestowed on the blood-thirsty Mohammed, as the most desirable of distinctions. Indeed the virtues of Mahmood Shah I. savoured little of the morality of the Koran. He had but one wife, wore plain white robes, and was equally simple and unpretending in all his habits. As a youth he is said to have delighted in gaudy attire, but on acceding to the throne he declared that he looked upon kings as only trustees of the state, and thenceforth observed in his personal expenses remarkable moderation. A famine occurring during his reign, he employed 10,000 bullocks, at his private expense, in going to and from Malwa and Guzerat for grain, which was distributed to the people at a cheap rate. He established orphan schools at the cities of Culbarga, Beder, Candahar, Elikpoor, Doulatabad, and in several other great towns, with ample foundations for their support, apportioned stipends to the expounders of the Scriptures, and gave monthly charity to the blind throughout his dominions. The fame of his learning and munificence is said to have reached the ears of Hafiz, the poet of Shiraz, who resolved to visit the Deccan. An assurance of an honourable reception was sent by the king, accompanied by a present, which, according to Ferishta, the poet distributed among his relations and creditors, and then put himself on board one of the royal vessels which had arrived at Ormus, but the anchor was scarcely weighed before a heavy gale arose, and the ship was compelled to return to port. Hafiz had suffered so much during the storm that he insisted on being put ashore, sending to Mahmood Shah a copy of verses, in which he frankly confessed the reason of his change of mind—

> "The glare of gems confused my sight,
> The ocean's roar I ne'er had heard."

Unhappily, the line of Bahmani presents an instance of a monarch exactly opposite to Mahmood Shah I. Humayun the Cruel was one of those monsters who seem possessed by a demoniac desire to cause and witness suffering. His own brother he ordered to be devoured by a tiger, before his eyes; and the tortures inflicted by his command, and in his presence, were often too shocking to be narrated. On one occasion, after an unsuccessful rebellion, 7,000 persons, including unoffending females and servants, perished by such agonizing deaths as hewing to pieces with hatchets, and flaying in cauldrons of scalding oil or boiling water. After reigning three years this tyrant, during a fit of intoxication, was assassinated by his own servants.—Briggs' *Ferishta*.

* The sufferings of the Moslems in the Concan are very graphically told by Ferishta, who describes their "wandering through gloomy defiles, where the very grass was tough and sharp as the fangs of serpents, and the air fetid as the breath of dragons. Death dwelt in the waters, poison impregnated the breeze." On one occasion, having halted at night, in a spot so rugged as to prevent two tents being pitched side by side, no less than 7,000 of the invaders were surprised and put to death by the Hindoos, the fierce gusts of wind rushing through the trees, preventing the cries of the first sufferers being heard by their companions.—Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. ii., p. 430.

† The influx of Arabians appears to have been very small, but it is difficult to conjecture the reason.

on by grief and remorse, was aggravated by intoxication, and he expired in strong convulsions, crying out that Gawan was tearing him to pieces. The date of his death, A.D. 1482, is recorded in the Persian characters (applied numerically) which express "the ruin of the Deccan." Mahmood Shah II. next ascended the throne. Being but twelve years old and of limited ability, he naturally became a mere puppet in the hands of the grasping nobles, who, though for a time disposed to co-operate for their own advantage, soon broke out into new hostilities. Behri, for some years, maintained his ascendancy over the young king, and Yusuf Adil Shah, the leader of the foreign party, withdrew to his government of Beejapoor, which he formed into an independent state. Behri, when old and defenceless, was strangled at the instigation of the king, who then gave himself up to every species of excess, leaving the public affairs in the hands of the leaders of the foreign party. The Deccanies and Abyssinians conspired for his destruction, and having surprised the palace during one of the ordinary scenes of midnight revelry, would have succeeded in their object, but for the loyalty of some half-dozen of his body-guard, who, though unarmed, threw themselves between him and the assassins, and by the sacrifice of their own lives, enabled the king to escape to the terrace of the royal tower, where he was joined by the foreign troops. Mahmood, mounting his throne at sunrise on the following day, gave orders that the houses of the Deccanies should be broken open, the inhabitants slain without distinction, and their property seized by the triumphant Moguls,* who gladly gave vent to the savage fury which they had nursed for years; and all the horrors of a successful siege, heightened by the envenomed bitterness of intestine broils, raged for three days through the stately city of Beder. Strife and cruelty naturally brought licentiousness and disorder in their train. "The people, following the example of their prince, attended to nothing but dissipation: reverend sages pawned their very garments at the wine-cellars, and holy teachers, quitting their colleges, retired to taverns and presided over the wine-flask."† The governors of frontier provinces took advantage of this state of affairs, each one to claim as his own the territories entrusted to his charge. Ahmednuggur, Golconda and Berar became distinct principalities, until at length there remained to the nominal king of the Deccan no more than the province of Telingana and the districts adjacent to Beder. Even there he had no real sway, being wholly in the hands of Kasim Bareed, who had assumed the reins of government after the failure of the Deccani plot, and in revenge for Mahmood's attempts to get rid of him, as he had previously done of Behri, by the hand of an assassin, ruled him so tyrannically, as to forbid him "even to satisfy his thirst, without permission." On the death of Kasim, his son, Ameer Bareed, succeeded him in the office of Vakeel,‡ and after regaining the person of the king, who had in vain endeavoured to assert his rights, confined him closely, until his death, in 1518, terminated a nominal reign of thirty-seven years. The two years' equally nominal sway of Ahmed, the son and successor of Mahmood, being ended by his decease, Ameer Bareed raised to the throne a prince entitled Ala-oo-deen II., who, rejecting all allurements to the excesses by which the energies of his predecessors had been destroyed, attempted to out-manœuvre the wary minister, but having failed in an attempt to seize his person, was himself made prisoner and put to death. His successor, also a son of Mahmood Shah II., met with a similar fate; for Ameer Bareed having conceived a passion for his wife, caused him to be poisoned, married the queen, and bestowed the empty title of Shah on another Bahmani prince, who, having subsequently incurred his displeasure, by making a private and unsuccessful appeal to Baber, the new emperor of India, then fully engaged in hostilities with the kings of Malwa and Guzerat, was so harshly treated, that, escaping from his palace-prison, he took refuge at Ahmednuggur, and there resided till his death. Thus ended the Bahmani line. Bareed Shah ascended the throne of Beder, and founded a dynasty, which reigned over the fifth of the kingdoms (Beejapoor, Ahmednuggur, Golconda, and Berar), formed from that called the Deccan, but not with geographical accuracy, since Hindoo states, independent and even antagonistic, existed in

* This term must be here understood in the loose sense in which it was then used, as synonymous with the whole foreign or Sheiah party.

† Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. ii., p. 535.

‡ The Vakeel or Representative was then the first person in the kingdom, his business being to issue all orders from the royal closet to the vizier and other executive officers.—(Dow's *Hindoostan*, vol. i. p. 202.)

various parts of the territory commonly comprehended in that term. During the above period* of two centuries, relations of a domestic character had gradually arisen between the Moslems and Hindoos. Feroze Shah, who began to reign in 1397, made it an article of a peace with the rajah of Beejanuggur, that he should give him his daughter in marriage. This stipulation perhaps contributed to the blending of the two people, though it originated in the ungoverned passions of a king, who received into his harem 300 females in one day, being convinced, by the reasoning of the Sheiahs, that this proceeding was in perfect accordance with the spirit of the Koran, against whose doctrines his sole offences are said to have been an addiction to wine and music. These foibles would weigh lightly enough in the judgment of a Mussulman against a king who earned the coveted name of *Ghazi*, by the unbounded zeal for Islam evinced during "four and twenty glorious campaigns, by the success of which he greatly enlarged his dominions." In reality, the religious feelings of both Moslems and Hindoos had deteriorated, and the conscientious scruples of the former people became frequently little better than a superstitious regard to certain forms.

Thus the very men, who, for the sake of gain, entered the service of the rajah of Beejanuggur, to fight against their fellow-believers, cavilled at the idea of making the obeisance required as a pledge of fealty to an idolator, but gladly availed themselves of the miserable pretext of having a Koran placed before the throne and bending thereto, it being understood that the rajah would appropriate the homage as offered to his person, and in return, assign lands for the support of his new auxiliaries, and build a mosque at his capital for their encouragement.

The early Bahmani kings lived in great pomp. Mohammed Shah I. had 3,000 elephants, a favourite evidence of regal splendour.† He obtained from the rajah of Telingana a throne six cubits long by two broad, of ebony, covered with plates of pure gold and inlaid with gems, to which additions were made in successive reigns, until the whole attained the value of a crore of hoons (£4,000,000 sterling), when it was broken up by Mahmood Shah II., who took it to pieces to make vases and goblets. Some terrible famines are recorded at intervals, occasioned, according to Ferishta, by the absence of the periodical rains, but more likely by the slaughter and oppressive exactions of the Mohammedans. During one of these visitations, about A.D. 1474, no grain was sown in Telingana, Maharashtra, and throughout the Bahmani dominions for two years, and on the third, scarcely any farmers remained to cultivate the land, having for the most part perished or emigrated to Malwa and Guzerat.

Adil Shah dynasty at Beejapoor.—The first king of this line, Yusuf Adil Shah, reigned from A.D. 1489 to 1510. A romantic story is related of his royal descent. He is said to have been a son of the Ottoman emperor Amurath, at whose death he escaped destruction by the contrivance of his mother, who had him conveyed to Persia, from whence, at the age of sixteen, he was compelled to fly, by the suspicions entertained regarding his birth, was captured, and sold at the Bahmani court as a Georgian slave. He rose, according to the course of Mameluk adventurers, until he became the governor of Beejapoor, and then, by one of the acts of flagrant disloyalty so common at the period, took the first opportunity of declaring himself an irresponsible prince. From that time he was occupied in hostilities with Kasim Bareed of Beder, and other neighbouring chiefs, who were also endeavouring to form independent principalities; but his most formidable foe was the Hindoo rajah of Beejanuggur. With the new rulers of Ahmednuggur and Berar, Yusuf entered into a sort of partition treaty, by which he recognised them in their unlawful seizures, and they him in the possession of the country bounded by the Beema and Kishna rivers on the east, the Tumbuddra river on the south, the sea from near Goa to near Bombay on the west, and perhaps the Neera river on the north.

Ibrahim Adil Shah, the fourth king, A.D. 1535, formed an alliance with Bhoj Tirmul, (who had obtained the throne of Beejanuggur by the murder of its young occupant, his

* Ferishta makes some remarkable statements respecting the use of artillery in the Deccan. For instance, he asserts, that in 1368, (22 years after their alleged employment by Edward III. at Cressy) 300 gun carriages were among the spoil captured from the Rajah of Beejanuggur; and the Moslems, by the aid of Turks and Europeans, are said to have used artillery for the first time in the following campaign. There can be little doubt that guns were common in India before the arrival of the Portuguese in 1498.

† The king in return signed a treaty pledging his successors to forbear further encroachment on the territory of the Telingana rajahs, which, as might be expected, did not prevent its entire seizure.

own nephew), against Rama Rajah, the regent and brother-in-law of the late sovereign. Ibrahim sent an army to the assistance of Bhoj Tirmul, who, in return, paid down fifty lacks of hoons* (£2,000,000 sterling), and promised to acknowledge himself tributary. No sooner had the foreign troops quitted Beejapoor, than Rama Rajah, breaking, it is alleged, a promise of allegiance which had been extorted from him, surprised the city. Bhoj Tirmul, mad with rage and despair, shut himself up in the palace, blinded all the royal elephants and horses, collected together, in one glittering heap, the diamonds, rubies, emeralds, pearls, and other gems, amassed during many ages, and caused them to be crushed to powder between mill-stones; then, fixing a sword-blade into a pillar of his apartment, rushed upon it just as the palace-gates were opened to his enemies. Rama Rajah became the undisputed master of Beejanuggur, and Ibrahim, after having received from his predecessor so large a bribe to take the field against him, now stooped to the humiliation of soliciting, with a costly present, the aid of Rama against a brave chief, Seif Einool-Moolk, driven into rebellion by his own suspicious tyranny. The required assistance was sent under the guidance of Venkatadri, the Rajah's brother. Ibrahim died soon after, of a complication of disorders brought on by the most abandoned conduct, having first caused several physicians to be beheaded or trodden to death by elephants for failing to cure him, upon which the rest fled for their lives, leaving him to perish unheeded. His successor, Ali,† entered into a new alliance with Rama Rajah, and the two monarchs having, at the request of the former, united their forces, jointly invaded the territory of Nizam Shah, and, says Ferishta, "laid it waste so thoroughly, that from Purenda to Joonere, and from Ahmednuggur to Doulatabad, not a vestige of population was left." Ali at length became "scandalised by the behaviour of his Hindoo allies," and alarmed at the growing strength and haughtiness of Rama; therefore, after receiving the full benefit of his power, while continuing every outward mark of friendship, he made a secret league with his late enemy, Nizam Shah, and with the kings of Beder and Golconda, "to crush the common enemy of Islam." A decisive battle took place on the Kishna, near Talicot, the Hindoos commencing the attack by vast flights of rockets and rapid discharges of artillery. A general engagement followed, in which, after great numbers had been slain on both sides, the Moslems were victorious, aided by the treachery of two Mohammedan chiefs in the pay of the rajah. Rama, although seventy years of age, gave orders from his elephant throughout, but was at last captured, and brought into the presence of Nizam Shah, by whose orders his head was struck off and stuck upon a pole. It is no small proof, either of the barbarity of the conquerors or the dread which their victim must have inspired, that the head of the brave old man should have been annually exhibited at Ahmednuggur for more than two centuries and a half, covered with oil and red pigment, by the descendants of his executioners, while a sculptured representation of it was made to serve as the opening of one of the sewers of the citadel of Beejapoor.

Thus ended the monarchy of Beejanuggur, which at that time comprehended the greater part of the south of India. The city of that name was destroyed, and became uninhabited; the country fell into the hands of the tributary chiefs and officers, since so well known as zemindars or poligars; but the confederate kings were prevented by their mutual jealousies from gaining any great addition of territory, the balance of power being pretty evenly maintained among them, until all were overwhelmed by Akber. Venkatadri, the brother of the late rajah, removed his residence further east, and finally settled at Chandragiri, seventy miles north-west of Madras, at which last place his descendant first granted a settlement to the English, A.D. 1640. The wars between the Adil Shah dynasty and the Portuguese settlers are very slightly mentioned by the native historians; they state little more than that Goa was lost under Yusuf, retaken by that king, lost again under his son Ismael

* The *hoon* varies in value from 3½ to 4 rupees—eight shillings sterling may be taken as the average.

† This monarch (whose death by the hand of a eunuch shamefully insulted by him, has rendered his name infamous) greatly improved the capital by constructing the city wall and the aqueducts which still convey water through every street. Mention is made of his receiving tribute from several petty principalities, the government of which was hereditarily vested in females, who ruled with the title of *Ranies*, their husbands having no power in the state. Colonel Briggs remarks upon this statement of Ferishta, that "the gynecocracy of the Ranies of Malabar and Canara seems to have suffered no alteration from the period alluded to, to the present day."—*Note to Ferishta*, vol. iii. p. 140.

(alluding to the second capture by Albuquerque, in 1510), and attacked simultaneously with Choul, in 1570, by the kings of Beejapoor and Ahmednuggur, who were both repulsed.

The reigns of the early Beejapoor kings were marked by fierce sectarian strife, for Yusuf had imbibed in Persia a strong attachment to the Sheiah doctrines and ceremonial, which he endeavoured to introduce in his dominions, but was compelled to renounce the attempt by the displeasure of his subjects and the combination formed against him by all the other Mohammedan sovereigns. The same division prevailed among the troops as that previously described as existing under the Bahmani dynasty, and according to the opinion of the king or his chief ministers, the Deccanies (including Hindoos), or the foreigners, were uppermost. After the extinction of their native rulers, the Hindoos formed the chief part of the infantry of most of the Moslem governments, and appear to have been well paid* and entirely relied upon. Yusuf is said to have given a command of 12,000 infantry to a Mahratta chief,† and Ismael raised "a vast number" of Mahratta cavalry, under the name of Bergies, who, for an annual subsidy, engaged to appear fully equipped whenever their services were required. Ibrahim, the fourth king, caused the public accounts to be kept in the Mahratta language instead of the Persian, a very politic and almost necessary measure, since the village accountants and the revenue and finance officers were for the most part Hindoos. Ibrahim II., who acceded to the throne of Beejapoor, A.D. 1579, was cotemporary with Akber, and will be again mentioned.

Nizam Shah dynasty at Ahmednuggur.—Ahmed, the first of these kings, began to reign A.D. 1490, having, as before stated, on the assassination of his father, Nizam-ool-Moolk Behri, assumed the title of Shah, and made Ahmednuggur his capital. Not only tolerance, but great favour was shown to the Hindoos by this monarch and his successor, Boorhan, who appointed a Brahmin, named Kawar Sein, Peshwa or prime minister, and had every reason to rejoice in the selection. In fact, these kings appear to have been proud of their Brahminical descent, and frequent wars took place between them and the Berar sovereigns, for the possession of the village of Patree, situate just within the Berar territory, where the ancestors of the Nizam Shah family had held the office of *coolcurny* or hereditary village accountant. It was, however, by the orders of Hussun, the third king of this dynasty, that Rama Rajah was beheaded, in revenge for the humiliations previously suffered from his brave foe, to whom he had been compelled to sue for peace, by paying the Hindoo a visit, and receiving a pân (aromatic leaf) from his hand, which, thus given, implies the superiority of the donor, and is equivalent to the English custom of kissing hands; but, when presented in a silver or gold box, or on a salver, denotes equality.‡ Hussun died shortly after, from the consequences of unbounded dissipation. His successor, Murtezza, appears to have become insane, and growing suspicious of his son, Meeran Hussun, the heir apparent, endeavoured to destroy him, by setting fire to the couch on which he lay sleeping. Meeran escaped, successfully rebelled, and seized the person of his father, whom, although ill of a mortal disease, he confined in a bath-room, and suffocated with hot air. Ferishta, who was at the time on guard at the palace, relates this horrible tale, adding, as the reason of his own life being spared amid the general massacre of the few who remained faithful to the king, "the Prince fortunately knew me, and reflecting that we had been school-fellows, and brought up together, ordered my life to be spared."§ Meeran Hussun retained the throne less than a year, but during that period he inflicted great misery, frequently riding through the streets in fits of intoxication, accompanied by a party of abandoned courtiers, and putting to death persons guilty of no crime. Fifteen princes of the royal family were massacred in one day, in order to establish an authority obtained by parricide, at the instigation of the vizier, Mirza Khan, who, at length terrified by the menaces of the king during his drunken revels, deposed and slew him. A speedy retribution attended

* Briggs gives a table (vol. ii. p. 504) showing how much more liberally Indian troops were paid by Mohammedan sovereigns in 1470 than by the British in 1828 (the date at which he wrote).

† Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 84

‡ The chivalrous Rajpoot probably intended to waive the performance of this galling act, for when Hussun entered his tent, he rose and took him by the hand, but the insolent Mussulman called for a basin and ewer as if polluted by the touch of Rama, who exclaimed in his own language, "If he were not my guest, I would cut off his hands and hang them round his neck." After this interview the rajah and his troops are accused of treating their Mohammedan foes and even friends with great indignity.

§ Briggs' *Ferishta* vol. iii. p. 269.

this wretch, for in the struggle which ensued between the Deccanies and the Moguls, he was hewn to pieces by the former, and his limbs affixed on different public buildings. In the space of seven days, nearly 1,000 foreigners were slain, and their effects confiscated; some few escaped with their lives, through the protection of Deccani or Abyssinian officers, and these, among whom was Ferishta, for the most part, obtained service under the king of Beejapoor.

The remaining reigns of this line present no very striking features, excepting the gallant struggles made by Chand Beeby (*the Lady Chand*) as regent on behalf of her infant nephew, after the death of her brother, Ibrahim, slain in battle with the king of Beejapoor. An attempt was made to seize the throne in the name of a boy called Ahmed, under a shallow pretence of his being a son of the late king. Chand Beeby evinced equal valour and discretion during this trying period,* and her efforts were temporarily successful. Ahmed, the young pretender, was confessed to be not lineally descended from the royal family, and was provided with an estate by Ibrahim Adil Shah, at Beejapoor, while Bahadur was proclaimed king, his aunt continuing regent until the siege of Ahmednuggur by the son of Akber. Then, hopeless of offering a successful defence, in consequence of the factions which divided the troops, she called a council of war, and proposed to negotiate, on favourable terms, the evacuation of the fort. The ungrateful Deccanies, to whom her suggestion had been purposely misrepresented by an intriguing eunuch, rushed into her apartments and put her to death. The place was shortly after taken by storm, and little or no quarter given. The unfortunate king was sent to Akber, who confined him in the fortress of Gwalior, A.D. 1599, but was prevented from gaining possession of his dominions by the determination of an Abyssinian officer, Malek Amber, (who founded the city afterwards called Aurungabad,) to retain the sovereignty on behalf of his newly-elected nominal master, and the Adil Shah dynasty was not extinguished until the time of Jehangeer. At its greatest extent the kingdom of Ahmednuggur comprehended all that since called the Subah of Aurungabad, and the west of that of Berar, with a portion of the sea-coast of the Concan. It must have been a formidable power, for it appears that in one campaign upwards of 600 of its guns were seized by the rival state of Beejapoor, including the cannon still preserved at the latter place, and famous as one of the largest pieces of brass ordnance in the world.† Duelling (an infrequent crime in Asia) was introduced in the reign of Ahmed, who, being himself an expert swordsman, encouraged the assemblage of young men at the palace for the purpose of displaying their skill, till at length a day seldom passed without one or two persons being killed. The king then endeavoured to discourage the practice, but it spread far and wide among the Mohammedans of the Deccan. Even learned divines and philosophers shared the infatuation, and Ferishta records an instance which he witnessed in the streets of Beejapoor, of a dispute arising regarding some trifling matter, and terminating in a few minutes in the death or mortal injury of six persons of high standing, of whom five were grey-headed men. The spread of this destructive and contagious vice was, of course, fostered by the rancorous sectarian-spirit between the Sonnites and Sheiahs—the native and foreign factions.

The Kootb Shah dynasty at Golconda was founded, about A.D. 1512, by a Turcoman soldier, named Kooli Kootb, who came from Hamadan, in Persia, in quest of military service, entered the guards of the Bahmani king, was promoted, and, on the dissolution of the monarchy, held sway over Telingana, which he retained, making Golconda his capital. He was a zealous Sheiah, and introduced this profession into his dominions.

* On one occasion when closely besieged, after having succeeded in destroying two out of five mines carried under the bastions at Ahmednuggur, by herself labouring all night at the head of the garrison, a third was sprung at day-break, which killed many of the counter-miners, and threw down several yards of the wall. The principal officers concluding all now lost, prepared for flight, but Chand Beeby, clad in armour, with a veil on her face and a naked sword in her hand rushed to defend the breach, and while the Mogul storming-party waited the explosion of the other mines, found time to bring guns to bear upon it, so that on the enemy's advance they were received with repeated volleys, until, when compelled to renounce the attack by the darkness of night, "the ditch was nearly filled with dead carcases." During the succeeding hours Chand Beeby (on whom the name of Chand Sultana was now bestowed) superintended unceasingly the repairs of the breach, which by the morning's dawn was built up to the height of seven or eight feet. At length, reinforcements being on their way, the siege was raised.

† Weighs 40 tons, is 4 ft. 8 in. in diameter at the muzzle, and only 15 ft. long. Calibre, 2 ft. 4 in.

At the close of a long reign he left a territory extending from the Godavery river to beyond that of the Kishna, and from the sea (Bay of Bengal) to a line drawn west of Hyderabad, about 78° E. long. The chief part of his dominions were wrested from the Warangol family, and other Hindoo chiefs of Telingana, over whom, together with the Rajah of Orissa, he gained a great victory at Condapilli.

It has been stated in a previous page, on the authority of Ferishta, that the Bahmani line abided by the oath of Mohammed Shah I., not to slay prisoners or the unarmed in cold blood, but if this dynasty really redeemed its pledge, the rulers of the subsequent Deccani kingdoms reverted to the barbarities which their predecessors had abjured, and were far more treacherous and sanguinary. Thus Sultan Kooli Kootb Shah having repeatedly, but in vain, attempted to storm the strong hill-fort of Nulgonda, at length sent a flag of truce to the commandant, Rajah Hari Chandra, promising to withdraw the troops if he would consent to become tributary to Golconda, but threatening, in the event of refusal, to procure reinforcements, destroy the neighbouring towns, devastate the country, and thus reduce the place by cutting off its supplies, in which case he would not spare the life even of an infant in the garrison. The Rajah having consented, the king remarked that as Nulgonda was the only hill-fort which had successfully resisted him, he should like to see it, and therefore desired to be allowed to enter with a few attendants. The request being granted, Kooli, having instructed his body-guard, (whom, to disarm suspicion, he had left in the town below,) how to act ascended the hill with four chosen soldiers in complete armour. On entering the gate-way he drew his sword and cut down one sentinel, while his companions, attacking the others, held possession until their comrades came rushing to their assistance, and the whole army soon poured into the fortress. "Neither man, woman, or child was spared on this occasion. The Rajah, on being made prisoner, was confined in an iron cage, and eventually put to death." Such are the words in which the Mohammedan historian concludes the account of this abominable transaction.*

* See Briggs' *Appendix to History of Kings of Golconda*, translated from the Persian of a contemporary of Ferishta's, vol iii. p. 374. † *Idem*, p. 431. ‡ The Hindoos still call it Bhagnuggur.

The author of it was eventually the victim of domestic treachery, being assassinated in his ninetieth year, A.D. 1543, at the instigation of his son, Jamsheed, who, having put out the eyes of his elder brother, the heir apparent, ascended the throne. Wars were carried on with their Moslem rivals in a spirit less perfidious perhaps, but scarcely less ferocious. Thus it is recorded that Ibrahim Kootb Shah, when at war with Ali Adil Shah, detached a force of 4,000 horse and 10,000 foot to make nightly attacks on the enemy. "The Munewar infantry were eminently successful in all directions, and at all hours, bringing nightly between 300 and 400 noses and ears from the enemy's lines; and they received for each nose a hoon, and for each ear a purtab [star pagoda.] Meanwhile, the king, by whose orders these atrocities were being committed, "had ordered pavilions to be pitched on the bastions [of Golconda], and adorned them with rich brocades and silks from China, and with velvets of European manufacture, giving himself up to the gratification of listening to the enchanting vocal and instrumental music of heart-alluring damsels and fairy-faced virgins."† Truly it is as reasonable to expect the shrill cry of human suffering to pierce "the dull cold ear of death," as to touch a heart turned into stone by sensuality.

Mohammed Kooli, the fifth of the Kootb Shah kings, began to reign A.D. 1580. He removed the seat of government to a neighbouring site, where he built a magnificent city called Bhagnuggur,‡ in honour of Bhagmuttee, his favourite mistress, a public singer, for whom 1,000 cavalry were assigned as an escort. After her death the name was changed to Hyderabad. In this reign fierce struggles took place between the Deccanies and the Moguls, as the foreigners of whatever denomination came to be called. The disorderly conduct of some of the latter caused the issuing of a proclamation commanding all aliens, whether Patans, Persians, Arabs, Tartars or others, who had no fixed employment, to quit Hyderabad. The Deccanies construing this order into a permission to plunder their old foes at pleasure, deserted their occupations and hastened to rifle the warehouses of the wealthy merchants, of whom many were killed in defending their property. The riots grew to an alarming height, but the king was sleeping, and none of the servants dared disturb the royal slumbers, until one of the ministers had

the courage to break open the door, and having with great difficulty aroused the monarch, bade him observe from the palace-windows the state of the city. The measures adopted were in the true spirit of oriental despotism. The cutwal (chief magistrate) through whose representations the sentence of banishment had been procured, was directed to put an immediate stop to the disturbances, on peril of being trodden to death by elephants. Many of the rioters were executed, "and by way of satisfying the minds of the people, several minor police-officers, who had been most active, were beheaded or hanged, or flayed alive, while others were maimed by the loss of limbs, and exhibited through the city in this mutilated state as examples."*

The Imad Shah dynasty of Berar was founded about 1484, by the descendant of a Hindoo of Canara, captured when a child, and educated as a Mussulman, by the governor of Berar. This small kingdom extended from the Injadri hills to the Godavery, and bordered Ahmednuggur and Candeish on the west. Very little is known of its history, except from its wars with neighbouring states. Boorhan, the fourth and last of his line, ascended the throne while yet a child, about the year 1560. The regent, Tufal Khan, imprisoned the young king and seized the crown, relying upon the protection of Murtezza Nizam Shah of Ahmednuggur, who, false to both parties, having obtained possession of Boorhan and his rebellious minister, caused them to be put to death, and annexed Berar to his own dominions, A.D. 1572.

The Bareed Shah Dynasty at Beder, commenced in 1498. The territories of these kings were small and ill-defined, and the period of their extinction uncertain. Ameer II. was reigning in 1609, when Ferishta closed that part of his history. Having thus shown the fate of the five Mohammedan principalities formed from the ruins of the Bahmani kingdom, it becomes necessary to sketch the leading characteristics of the other states which succeeded in establishing their independence of Delhi during the feeble reign of Mahmood Toghlak, of which the chief were Guzerat, Malwa and Candeish.

The kings of Guzerat ruled the territory still called by this name; bounded on the north and north-east by a hilly tract connecting the Aravulli mountains with the Vindya chain, and on the south by the sea, which nearly surrounds a part of it, forming a peninsula then termed Surashtra, now Katiwar. The founder of the dynasty was Mozuffer, the son of a Rajpoot, who had embraced Islamism, and become conspicuous for his enmity to all who still held the creed which he had renounced. The king of Delhi having been informed that the existing governor of Guzerat was endeavouring to establish himself as an independent ruler by gaining the affections of the Hindoos, sent Mozuffer Khan to supersede him; which, after some opposition on the part of the Hindoos, he succeeded in doing, and by the permission of the Delhi monarch assumed the white umbrella or canopy, and the scarlet pavilion, considered as exclusive appurtenances of royalty. When he took the title of Shah does not appear, but his reign really commenced with his government, A.D. 1391. At first his sway extended over only a portion of the fertile plain, about sixty miles in depth, which stretches along the sea. On the north-west were the independent rajahs of Jhalor and Sirohi, from whom he occasionally levied tribute, as also from the Rajpoot prince of Idur, in the western part of the hills, while the rugged forest tracts were generally retained by the mountain tribes of Bheels and Coolies; among whom some Rajpoot chiefs, mostly connected with Mewar, had also founded petty principalities. The peninsula was in the hands of nine or ten Hindoo tribes, who probably paid tribute so long as a power existed capable of its enforcement. All these small states preserved their existence under the kings of Guzerat, the Mogul emperors, and during many years of British ascendancy. Of the plain which formed the Guzerat kingdom at the accession of Mozuffer, the eastern portion belonged to an independent rajah, who resided in the hill-fort of Champaneer, and their dominions stretched along the sea to the south-east, so as to include the city of Surat, and some further country in the same direction.

It would occupy space which could be ill-spared to narrate in detail the varying fortunes of this dynasty in their wars with Malwa, their Hindoo neighbours, and the Rajpoot kingdom of Mewar, from the accession of Mozuffer I. to that of the puppet set up by a faction under the title of Mozuffer III., in A.D. 1561, when the kingdom was partitioned among the conspirators. One striking characteristic in their incessant strife with the Hindoos, was the cruel bigotry which marked their conduct, far exceed-

* Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. iii., p. 478.

ing that displayed by the Delhi usurpers. It may be perhaps that the proceedings of the latter sovereigns are purposely placed in the least unfavourable light, but this scarcely accounts for the difference, since, in both cases, the annals are furnished solely by Mohammedan pens. Ferishta, although his history bears internal evidence of the honesty and ability of the writer, was yet compelled to depend in great measure on the compilations of his fellow-believers; and his ignorance of the language of the Hindoos would greatly hinder his obtaining information from whatever records they might possess, even if the inveterate prejudices of his creed had not taught him to shun with contempt and aversion the thought of gaining information from so defiled a source.

In 1402 the port of Diu was seized by Mozuffer I. from the Rajah of Idur, who had been driven from his capital, and forced to take refuge there. We are told that "it opened its gates without offering any resistance. The garrison was, however, nearly all cut to pieces, while the Ray, with the rest of the members of the court, were trod to death by elephants." The next king, Ahmed Shah, A.D. 1412, though a zealous Mussulman very diligent in destroying temples and building mosques, yet showed more favour to the natives than his predecessor had done, and Hindoo names appear among those of the government officers and nobility—an innovation which had long been opposed. Ahmed built the fortified town of Ahmednuggur, as a check on the Rajah of Idur (the successor of the prince slain by Mozuffer), and founded Ahmedabad, thenceforth his capital, and still one of the principal cities in India. This king introduced the practice of paying the soldiers one-half in money, and the other by a grant of land, with a view of inducing them to take an interest in the cultivation and protection of the province.* Mahmood Shah I. reigned for fifty-two years (1459 to 1511), and warred alike with Moslems and with the Indian and European idolaters, the latter term being used to designate the Portuguese. He obtained the surname of Begarra,† by the reduction of Girnar or Junaghar‡ and of Champaneer—two hill-forts, situated the one on the west, and the other on the east, of his dominions, and both until that time deemed impregnable.§ His maritime exploits were re-

* Bird's *Gujarát*, p. 191.

† Signifying, in the Guzerat language, two forts.

‡ According to Ferishta nearly 1,900 years had elapsed since this fortress had come into the possession of the rajah, who held it when Mahmood first marched against it in 1469; and whose title, *Mandulik*, here used by Ferishta for the first time, implies petty chieftain, a term originally applied to officers of some greater state, but often retained by rulers who had acquired or inherited an independent sway. A body of Rajpoots occupying an important defile were surprised by Mahmood. The troops then passed on unopposed, till on reaching the foot of the hill they were met by the rajah, who, being defeated and severely wounded, sooner than sustain a siege purchased a cessation of hostilities by the payment of a large amount in jewels and in specie. In the following year, "the king, who only wanted some excuse to invade Girnar a second time, urged as a complaint against the rajah, his habit of assuming the ensigns of royalty." On this plea, in itself a gross insult to the high-born Hindoo, forty thousand horse were sent to exact from him a heavy fine, which having obtained, Mahmood distributed in one night, amongst a set of female dancers; and at the latter end of the same year appeared in person before Girnar. "The rajah declared his willingness to pay any sum of money he could produce, to protect his subjects from the oppression and horrors of war." Mahmood would enter into no terms, but sat down before the place, starved the garrison into subjection, and succeeded in acquiring possession. The expelled rajah, it is said, from conviction, but more probably to save his life, embraced Islamism, a faith against which the covetousness and fraud practised towards him by its professors were sufficient to have inspired a deep-rooted prejudice.—(Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. iv. p. 55.)

§ Champaneer was not captured till 1483. The rajah, Beni Ray, sent ambassadors offering two elephant-loads of gold to procure the departure of Mahmood, who had arrived at the head of a powerful force; but, finding all endeavours at conciliation useless, he sallied forth, and after many attempts succeeded in compelling the invader to raise the siege, and then led his troops to attack him. In the sanguinary battle which followed, the flower of the Hindoo force was slain, but a compact body of 12,000 men retreated in order to the fort. Mahmood continued to construct trenches and mines, and caused a mosque to be built in the lines, in order to convince his troops of his determination not to be wearied out by the prolonged defence, but no decided advantage was gained until it was discovered that the Rajpoots left the place every morning through a sally-port to perform their ablutions. Watching their opportunity, a chosen band waited close to the walls at day-break, and succeeded in rushing into the place, while another party, under Malek Eiaz, (the famous admiral who engaged the Portuguese fleet, off Choul,) escaladed the western wall, where a breach had been newly made, and got possession of the main gate. The Rajpoots finding the king rejected all terms of surrender, burned their wives and children on a funeral pile, together with their costliest effects, and then, having bathed, perished on the swords of their cruel foes, who likewise suffered severely. Beni Ray and his prime minister, crippled by wounds, were captured, and brought into the presence of Mahmood, who, on asking the former why he had held out so long against an overwhelming force, was reminded of the

markable. He took the islands of Jegat and Beet, formerly the nests of pirates; despatched a sea and land force against Bombay; and sent a large fleet of vessels, mounting guns, under Eiaz, to co-operate with the twelve ships equipped by the Mameluk Sultan of Egypt, for the purpose of attacking the Portuguese squadron in the harbour of Choul, south of Bombay. In the first action the combined forces were successful, but were subsequently defeated near Diu, and the Mameluk portion annihilated. Fleets were, however, still despatched by the Mameluks to the Indian seas, and the Turks, after their conquest of Egypt, continued the practice, with a view to open the navigation of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, but apparently without entertaining any idea of forming settlements in India.

Mahmood Begarra attained an unenviable European celebrity by the marvellous accounts of travellers, who described his personal appearance as terrific; and declared his system to have been so impregnated with the mortal poisons, on which he habitually fed, that although he had by some means or other contrived to neutralize their effect on his own vital powers, he had only, after chewing betel, to breathe upon any courtier who had offended him, and death infallibly ensued. If a fly settled on him, it instantly dropped lifeless.*

Bahadur Shah, A. D. 1526, (before mentioned as the opponent of Humayun,) with the aid of Rana Rattan Sing, made war upon Mahmood, king of Malwa, who had intrigued against them both. Mahmood was captured and put to death, and Malwa annexed to Guzerat. Raiseen, a strong hill-fort, Bhilsa and other places in the west of Malwa together with Oojein, remained in the possession of Silhuddi; a Rajpoot who had risen under Mahmood to power, but whose son, Bopat Rai, was in the service of Bahadur, by whose invitation Silhuddi came to visit the royal camp. He was treacherously seized, and Oojein taken by surprise. Raiseen held out under his brother Lokmun, but was at length reduced, both Silhuddi and Lokmun being slain at its capture.†

In his dealings with the Portuguese, Bahadur was less fortunate. Having entered into negotiations with them for their aid, and among other things conceded in return permission for the erection of a factory at Surat, he found them surrounding the building with a wall and, in effect, rendering it a strong fortification. This seems to have first roused suspicions, and treachery is alleged to have been meditated by both parties. The result has been already stated, Bahadur perished in an affray which arose on his visiting the ship where Nuno de Cunha, the Portuguese viceroy, had allured him on the plea of sickness, A.D. 1537.‡

The fort of Surat is said by Ferishta to have been completed during the reign of Mahmood III. (1538 to 1553), but the Persian characters inserted over the old gate—"Against the bosom and lives, the ambition and rapacity of the Portuguese, be this fabric an effectual bulwark," when numerically viewed, give 1530 as the date of its erection.§ This king was assassinated by his chaplain, named Boorhan, whose revenge he had excited, by sentencing him, for some offence not re-

hereditary right by which the territory had been held, and the long line of noble ancestors through which his name with honour had descended. This fearless reply for the moment raised a feeling of admiration in the selfish victor, and he ordered Beni Ray and his faithful companion to be treated with respect and attention. On recovering from their wounds, they both persisted in refusing to abjure their religion, and were therefore confined separately, and treated harshly, which, as might have been foreseen, only served to confirm their previous determination. "At length the king, at the instigation of some holy men about his person, ordered them to be put to death."—(Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. iv., p. 70.)

* *Bartema and Barbosa* (Ramusio, vol. i., pp. 147—296.) Mahmood Begarra is the original of Butler's *Prince of Cambay*, whose—

"——— daily food
Is asp, and basilisk and toad."

† The king feared to storm the fort, knowing that in the seraglio were many Mohammedan females, who would, in the event of his success, be burnt alive with their Rajpoot companions, for whom, of course, as infidels, no compassion could possibly be entertained. Silhuddi consented to abjure his creed, and was sent to escort the females of his family from the fort, but on arriving there, his wife (the daughter of Rana Sanga) bitterly reproached him and his brother for their conduct, and, setting fire to a pile with which she had caused the apartments of the females to be surrounded, sprang into the flames, and all, to the number of 700, perished. Silhuddi and Lokmun, with a hundred of their blood-relations, rushed out, and met death on the Moslem swords.

‡ One account of this transaction has been given at p. 85. I have since read the Portuguese and Mussulman statements, collated by General Briggs (*Ferishta*, vol. iv., p. 132), in which each party endeavours to throw the blame upon the other, but there is little difference in the leading facts of the case, except that Bahadur, after jumping into the sea, is asserted to have been first stunned by a blow with an oar, and then dispatched with a halbert.

§ Price would place it six years earlier.—*Mahomedan History*, vol. iii., p. 726.

corded, to be built up in a mud wall with his head exposed, and left to starve. Life was nearly extinct when Mahmood passed the spot, and noticing the attempt of the wretched captive to bend his head in salutation, inspired with compassion, had him released and attended by the royal physician until he recovered. But soon after this Boorhan again fell into disgrace, and, fearing, perhaps, to be re-immured, or stimulated by ambition to attempt to seize the throne, persuaded his nephew, Dowlut, to take the opportunity afforded by his office of fumigating the long hair of the king, to assassinate him while he slept. This being done, Boorhan, by the aid of a corps called, from their qualification for enlistment, "the tiger-killers," succeeded in destroying several of the leading nobility by sending for them separately, but was at length, when intoxicated with success, slain by the vengeful swords of the survivors. A supposititious child* was next set up by a party under the name of Ahmed II., but assassinated A.D. 1561. The last and merely nominal king abdicated in favour of Akber, A.D. 1572.

Kings of Malwa.—This state became independent in 1401, under Dilawur Ghori, whose successor founded the capital, Mandu, on a rich table-land, thirty-seven miles in circumference. Wars with Mohammedan kingdoms, especially the neighbouring one of Guzerat, with the Hindoo rajahs of Chittore or Mewar, and several minor principalities, together with the usual instances of treachery and intrigue in the court and camp, and besotted sensuality in the harem, form the staple of the history of this dynasty. Mohammed Ghori, the third king, was poisoned at the instigation of his minister and brother-in-law, who ascended the throne in 1435, by the name of Sultan Mahmood Khilji. He reigned thirty-six years, of which scarcely one was suffered to pass without a campaign, "so that his tent became his home, and his resting-place the field of battle."† A famous fort in Kumulnere was taken by storm after a severe struggle, and its defenders compelled to chew the calcined parts of a large marble idol,‡ representing, according to Ferishta, a ram (? a bull), as they were in the habit of doing chunam or lime between betel leaves, that they might be said to have eaten their gods. Many Rajpoots were slain, probably in consequence of their refusal to obey this command of their imperious conqueror. Some years after, Mahmood received a signal defeat from Koombho Sing, the rajah of Chittore, who erected, in commemoration of his victory, a superb column, still in existence, which Tod states to have cost nearly a million sterling.§ Mahmood unsuccessfully besieged Delhi and Beder. His internal administration would seem to have been more gentle than could have been expected, for we are told that his subjects, Hindoos as well as Moslems, "were happy, and maintained a friendly intercourse with one another." He took vigorous measures for the suppression of robbery, and further promoted the safety of travellers, and indeed of the people generally, by obliging the governors of the different districts to send out parties for the destruction of wild beasts, proclaiming that if after a period of two years a human being should be seized by them, he would hold the governor responsible. For many years after his death wild beasts were scarce throughout the kingdom. Now the vicinity of the once famous city of Mandu, overgrown by forest trees, has again become the favourite haunt of tigers, who, in some instances, within the memory of the present generation, have been known to carry off troopers riding in the ranks of their regiments. The next king, Gheias-oo-deen Khilji, A.D. 1482, was only remarkable for the extent of his seraglio, which contained 15,000 women, including 500 Turki females who stood clad in men's clothes, with bows and arrows, on his right hand; while 500 Abyssinian females kept guard with fire-arms on his left. He reigned thirty-three years, and became at last idiotic; his two sons meanwhile quarrelled about the succession, until the elder gaining the ascendancy slew the younger with all his family, and having, it is alleged, accelerated his father's death by poison, mounted the vacant throne A.D. 1500. This wretch died of a fever brought on by his own excesses, having first driven his sons into rebellion by suspicious and tyrannical conduct. One of these, Mahmood Khilji II., established himself on the throne, A.D. 1512, mainly through the assistance

* Mahmood left no lineal heir; fearing to risk the chance of rebellious children, of which frequent instances occur in Mohammedan history, he avoided the commission of infanticide by the perpetration of a yet more heinous crime.

† *Ferishta*, vol. iv., p. 234.

‡ The temple was filled with wood, and being set on fire, cold water was thrown on the images, causing them to break.

§ *Annals of Rajast'han*, vol. ii., p. 762.

of Medni Ray, a Rajpoot chief, who joined him at the commencement of the struggle with a considerable body of his tribe, and whose zealous and able services rendered him so popular with the king, as to excite the hatred and jealousy of the Mussulmans. Conspiracies were formed, and after repeated failures Mahmood was at length inspired with sufficient distrust to consent to discharge all the Rajpoots holding offices at court, excepting only the obnoxious minister, and to declare that no Hindoo could be permitted to retain Mohammedan females in his seraglio. Medni Ray pleaded earnestly the tried services of his countrymen, but the weak and ungrateful king, though soothed for the time, was subsequently induced to sanction an attempt on the part of his Moslem body-guard of 200 men to waylay and murder Medni Ray, and a brave Rajpoot officer, called Salivahan, who had evinced much anger at the late unjust and humiliating proceedings. The latter was slain; the former, though covered with wounds, escaped to his own house, while a body of Rajpoots rushed to the palace, but being repulsed by the king in person, returned to the house of the minister, and entreated him to be their head. Medni Ray refused, persuaded them to disperse peaceably, and sent word to the king that if he thought his life necessary to the good of the state, he was ready to lose it, sooner than lead an army against his acknowledged sovereign. Mahmood was little affected by a degree of magnanimity quite beyond his comprehension, and fearing some treachery similar to that of which he had given the example, fled by night from the fort of Mandu, accompanied by his favourite mistress and the master of the horse, and did not draw rein till he reached the frontier of Guzerat. Though frequently at war with one another, the Moslem intruders were always ready to coalesce against a Hindoo foe; the king of Guzerat, therefore, supported Mahmood, and accompanied him at the head of a large army to Mandu, which was taken by assault after a close siege of several months, and 19,000 Rajpoots slain. Medni Ray was, however, not among them, having previously joined Rana Sanga at Chittore, from whence he retired to Chanderi, of which place he was probably hereditary chief. Mahmood proceeded thither, and found that Rana Sanga had previously marched with his whole force to the support of Medni Ray. In the conflict which ensued, Mahmood was defeated, and after evincing, in an extraordinary manner, the physical daring that invariably distinguished him in battle, contrasting strangely with his excessive moral cowardice in time of peace, was unhorsed and taken prisoner, weltering in his blood. Rana Sanga caused him to be brought to his own tent, dressed his wounds, attended on him personally, and, after his recovery, sent him back to Mandu with an escort of 1,000 horse.* This chivalrous proceeding was returned by the most glaring ingratitude, for its object did not scruple to take advantage of the confusion which ensued on the death of his benefactor, to attack his son, Rattan Sing, the new ruler of Chittore. Rattan Sing applied for aid to Bahadur Shah, of Guzerat, who had also had reason to complain of the selfish rapacity of the king of Malwa. Mahmood, unable to withstand their combination, was defeated in his capital and captured by Bahadur Shah, who caused him to be confined in the fortress of Champaneer, where he was put to death, with his seven sons, and Malwa annexed to Guzerat, A.D. 1531.

Khans of Candeish.—This small principality, separated by forests from Guzerat, comprised merely the lower part of the valley of the Taptee, the upper being included in Berar. Its first ruler, Malek Rajah,† claimed descent from the Caliph Omar, and died A.D. 1399. His son, Malek Naseer, received from the king of Guzerat the title of khan, and founded the city of Boorhanpoor, near the strong hill-fort of Aseer,‡ which he had obtained by treachery from its rightful occupant, a Hindoo, of peaceable disposition, from whom he had received many personal favours. He gained possession by the same artifice used in the capture of Rohtas, viz., by entreating the unsuspecting chief to receive and shelter the inmates of his harem during a war in which he pretended to be about engaging, and then introducing soldiers in the doolies

* General Briggs here takes occasion to note the contrast between the generosity usually evinced by the Hindoos to the Moslems, and "the sordid, cruel, and bigotted conduct of the latter. It seldom happened that a Hindoo prince, taken in battle, was not instantly beheaded; and life was never spared but with the sacrifice of a daughter delivered up to a sort of honourable prostitution, or by the payment of vast sums of money and jewels."—(Vol. iv., p. 264.)

† Why he was named Rajah does not appear.

‡ This hill-fort, like many others in India, seems to bear witness to the pastoral pursuits of its early possessor, Aseer being considered to be a corruption of Asa Aheer, or Asa the cow-herd.—(*Idem*, p. 286.)

or palanquins, who sprang out and murdered Asa, with his whole family.

Numerous stone embankments for irrigation and other works now in ruins and buried in woods, indicate that Candeish must have once attained a high state of prosperity, but many of these are probably referrible to the previous period of Hindoo independence. Aseer or Aseerghur was taken by Akber, and Candeish re-annexed to Delhi in 1599.

The Rajpoot States.—Of these a very cursory notice must suffice, because our present information concerning them, although voluminous,* is too fragmentary to afford materials for the condensed chronological summary which can be framed with comparative ease and satisfaction from the more precise statements of Mohammedan writers respecting their own kingdoms. At the time of the invasion of Mahmood of Ghuznee, the Rajpoots were in possession of all the governments of India, nor did they resign their power without long and fierce struggles; indeed some have never been entirely subjugated, but up to the present time hold the position of feudatory chiefs (see pp. 7, 8). The table-land in the centre of Hindoostan, and the sandy tract stretching west from it to the Indus, formed the nucleus of Rajpoot independence; and the more broken and inaccessible the country, the better was it suited for the partly feudal, partly clannish, mode of government and warfare, adopted by its sons, from whom, though subsidies might be exacted, and forts captured by the Delhi monarchy during strong and aggressive reigns, tribute would be refused and positions regained the first opportunity. Thus Rintumbor, Gwalior, and Calinjer, were constantly changing hands; while Ajmeer and Malwa were early captured and easily retained, from their situation on the open part of the table-land, terminating in a slope of broken ground towards the Jumna.

At the time of the accession of Akber the chief Rajpoot state was that of *Mewar*, held by the descendant of the brave Rana Sanga of Oudipoor, whose family and tribe are said to have been descended from Rama, and consequently to have derived their origin from Oude, whence they removed to Guzerat, and ultimately settled at Chittore, about the eighth century of our era. There they maintained themselves, notwithstanding the accessible nature of the country—a sure retreat being ever, in case of defeat, afforded by the Aravulli mountains and the hills and forests connected with them, which form the northern boundary of Guzerat. *Marwar*, the next state in importance, was possessed by that portion of the Rahtores, who at the taking of Canouj, A.D. 1194, had quitted the neigbourhood of the Ganges, and, under two grandsons of their last king, established themselves in the desert intermingled with fertile tracts, between the table-land and the Indus. They soon became paramount over the old inhabitants of the race of Jats, and over some small Rajpoot tribes who had preceded them as colonists; and formed an extensive and powerful principality. A younger branch of the Canouj family founded the separate state of *Bikaneer*, on another part of the same desert, A.D. 1459, while the western portion was occupied by the Bhattees, under the rajah of *Jessulmer*. The rajahs of *Amber* or *Jeypoor* were ancient feudatories of *Ajmeer*, and probably remained in submission to the Mohammedans after the conquest of that kingdom. The rajahs of the tribe of Hara, who give their name to *Harauti*, were, in some sort, feudatories of the ranas of Oudipoor, and shortly before the accession of Akber, captured the famous fort of Rintumbor from the governor, who had held it for the Afghan kings. There were besides several petty states, such as the Chouhans of *Parker*, the Sodras of *Amercot* and others, situated in the extreme west of the desert, beyond the reach of Mussulman invaders; and those of *Sirohi*, *Jhalor*, &c., which, lying in the fertile tract beneath the Aravulli mountains, and on one road from Ajmeer to Guzerat, were liable to constant exactions. On the eastern slope of the table-land, *Merut*, *Gwalior*, *Narwar*, *Panna*, *Oorcha*, *Chanderi*, and other places in Bundelcund, were mostly held by old Rajpoot families, tributary to Delhi at the time of the death of Humayun.

Bengal was separated from Delhi, A.D. 1338, by the exertions of a soldier, who, having risen from the ranks, at length slew his master (the governor appointed by Mohammed Toghlak), and proclaimed himself an independent sovereign, but was in less than three years displaced by another usurper as ambitious as himself, who, within two years more, was in turn assassinated. Frequent changes of dynasty, with few important events, occupy the remaining period to the accession of the last king, Daood

* *Vide* the late Colonel Tod's extensive and valuable work on *Rajast'han*.

(David), in 1573; among the most interesting is the forcible occupation of the throne by Rajah Kans, a Hindoo zemindar,* whose son and successor voluntarily embraced the Mohammedan faith, declaring, however, his willingness to withdraw his pretensions in favour of his brother, if the chiefs desired it. At one time Bengal seems to have comprehended North Behar. It included Sundergong (Dacca). Jugnuggur (Tipperah) was tributary; Assam occasionally plundered. Cuttack and the adjoining parts were captured just before the extinction of the state. Bengal was then, as now, remarkable for the luxury of its inhabitants, whose wealthy citizens vied with one another in their display of gold plate. Sheer Shah conquered Bengal in 1539: after his death it was seized by the Afghan successors of the governor appointed from Delhi.

Juanpoor stretched along the Ganges from Canouj, on the north-west, to the frontier between Bengal and South Behar on the south-east. Khaja Jehan, the vizier at the time of Mahmood Toghlak's accession, occupied this government during the king's minority, and proclaimed its independence, A.D. 1394, which he and his successors maintained until its re-annexation to Delhi, in 1476. It was again separated after the death of Sheer Shah, and eventually conquered by Akber early in his reign.

Sinde.—Little is known of the history of this principality beyond that which has been already incidentally mentioned (p. 58). The ruling Rajpoot family appear to have become converts to Islam about 1365. They were displaced by the Arghoons, who held it at the period at which we have now arrived.

Moultan revolted during the confusion which followed the invasion of Timur, and was ruled by an Afghan dynasty named Langa, until the early part of the sixteenth century, when the Arghoons of Sinde gained possession; but were, in their turn, expelled by Prince Kamran, and Moultan was thenceforth attached to Delhi. The other provinces which had become independent at the same time (with the exception of the Punjaub, to which Secander Soor maintained his claim), were all in the hands of adherents of the Afghan government. The petty states under the Himalaya Mountains, from Cashmere inclusive, to the Bay of Bengal, were independent under sovereigns of their own; there were besides many mountain and forest tribes throughout India whose almost inaccessible retreats had preserved them from subjugation to the Moslem yoke.†

Reign of Akber.—When the death of Humayun took place, Akber was absent in the Punjaub with Behram Khan, and the fear of attempts being made to seize the throne before the heir apparent could have time to repair to the metropolis, induced such of the ministers as were on the spot, to conceal the fatal event from the public, by causing one of the Mullahs, or religious attendants of the court, to impersonate the deceased monarch, and receive from that part of the palace which overlooked the river Jumna, the salutations of the populace. At length, however, the truth transpired, but the consternation which ensued was temporarily calmed by the exertions of the nobles, one of whom read the Khotbah in the name of Akber—a proceeding equivalent to proclaiming him king.

Akber was little more than thirteen years of age, and by his own desire, as well as in accordance with the wishes of his best advisers, Behram Khan continued to hold the same position to his now crowned pupil as that in which Humayun had previously placed him—being dignified with the appellation of Khan Baba (the king's father), and invested with irresponsible sway. It was a critical epoch for the House of Timur. Several eager competitors watched an opportunity to snatch the sceptre from the youthful descendant of the foreign usurper, but in vain, for the stern and skilful soldier who had helped the father to regain it remained to guard it for the son, and that son had repeatedly evinced a degree of discretion beyond his years, and was learning to curb his own daring spirit and passion for glory, and to take large and statesmanlike views of the duties of civil government, which made some amends for his rapacity as a conqueror, and enabled him to consolidate by policy what he won by the sword.

The first contest for supremacy was waged with Hemu, who headed an army in the name of Sultan Adili, for the double pur-

* This term was originally applied to the hereditary Hindoo chiefs who had become more or less subject to Moslem rule—it was sometimes extended by the proud invaders to independent princes, like those of Oudipoor and Joudpoor, whom they affected to treat as subordinate to their government; but it is only in comparatively modern times that it has been used to denote persons holding assignments of the government revenue, as well as district and village officers.

† Elphinstone, vol. ii. pp. 166—251; Price's *Mohammedan History*, vol. iii., p. 947.

pose of expelling the Moguls and reducing Secander Soor, who, though driven to take refuge in the vicinity of the northern mountains, still maintained his pretensions to be king of Delhi and the Punjaub, in which latter place Akber and Behram Khan remained after their late victory, occupied in arranging the new government. Meanwhile, Hemu, having captured both Delhi and Agra, prepared to march to Lahore, where the tidings of his successes and approach created so much alarm that the general opinion in the camp was in favour of a retreat to Cabool, but Behram Khan's determination prevailed over more timid counsels, and the rival forces met at Paniput, where, after a desperate battle, the Moguls triumphed. The elephants, on whose number Hemu placed great dependence, became ungovernable and threw their own ranks into confusion, but Hemu, from his howdah, at the head of 4,000 horse, continued the action, until an arrow pierced his eye, and he sank back for the moment in extreme agony. His troops believing the wound mortal, gave way, but raising himself again, and plucking out the barbed weapon, together with the eye itself, Hemu endeavoured to force a path through the enemy's ranks, but was captured through the treachery of his elephant-driver, and brought before Akber, who was desired by Behram Khan to slay the infidel and thus earn the title of Ghazi.* Akber so far complied as to touch with his sword the head of his brave and almost expiring foe, and then burst into tears, upon which Behram Khan, in whose stern breast no sentiment akin to Rajpoot chivalry ever found place, drew his own sabre and beheaded him with a stroke. With Hemu, Adili lost all hope of recovering his dominions, but he continued to reign some time longer until he was killed in a battle with a new pretender in Bengal. Akber took possession of Delhi and Agra; succeeded in effecting the pacification of the Punjaub; acquired Ajmeer without a battle; and early in the fourth year of his reign had driven the Afghans out of Lucknow and the country on the Ganges as far east as Juanpoor. Notwithstanding these triumphs, the happiness of the victor was embittered by the harsh and arbitrary conduct of the Khan Baba, who attempted to enforce in a luxurious and refined court the same rigid discipline by which he had maintained subordination in an army of adventurers. The nobles were offended by his haughty and distrustful conduct, and even Akber had grave reasons for considering himself treated in a manner, which his position as king, together with his deep and lively interest in all state affairs, rendered unwarrantable. Thus, Behram took advantage of Akber's absence on a hawking party, to put to death Tardi Beg, an old noble, who had been one of Baber's favourite companions, had accompanied Humayun in all his wanderings, and had first read the Khotbah in the name of his successor. The ostensible reason,† was the hasty evacuation of Delhi, where Tardi Beg was governor, before the troops of Hemu; an offence that in the eyes of the warlike and inflexible minister, would have fully justified the sentence, which he might have desired to spare his young sovereign the pain of pronouncing. However this may have been, Behram is accused‡ of having, on subsequent occasions, behaved very tyrannically to all who seemed inclined to seek power and influence, except through the channel of his favour. One nobleman of high standing, having incurred his dis-

* This epithet, variously translated as "Holy Warrior," "Champion of the Faith," or "Victorious in a Holy War," is one of those expressions which can scarcely be faithfully rendered in another tongue to readers imperfectly acquainted with the circumstances of its origin and use. From it arose the word *Gazette*—first employed to designate the official announcement in eastern Europe of victory, in what the combatants called religious warfare; but since applied to governmental publications of all kinds. With regard to translations of Persian, Sanscrit or other terms, and their orthography, I would again deprecate the criticism of oriental scholars, and plead the difficulty of presenting them, with any chance of correct pronunciation, without adopting a system of accentuation, which might possibly deter readers of the very class, whose sympathies I am most desirous of enlisting, the young and the unlearned. I have followed Tod, Dow, and others in avoiding the wearisome repetition of the long titles assumed by Mohammedan sovereigns, by occasionally giving, in the event of oft-recurring mention, only the first word, thus—Ala-oo-deen (glory of the faith) is sometimes adverted to as Ala only. An able and kindly critic, lieutenant-general Briggs, has pointed out the erroneous impression this practice may produce; and it therefore seems best to state at once the desire for brevity by which it was prompted.

† Jealousy of his influence was the supposed cause.

‡ The chief authority on this portion, and indeed regarding nearly the whole of Akber's reign, is Abul Fazil, whose evident unfairness and prejudice in all matters involving the character of his royal master, (to whose revision all his writings were subject), renders it difficult to form a satisfactory judgment of the circumstances which led to the rupture between Akber and Behram Khan, and the disgrace and death of the latter.

pleasure, was put to death on some slight charge, and Peir Mohammed Khan, the king's private tutor, to whom he was much attached, narrowly escaped the same fate. Akber, before he was eighteen, resolved to reign without control, and having concerted a plan with those about him, took occasion, when on a hunting party, to make an unexpected journey to Delhi, whence he issued a proclamation, forbidding obedience to any orders not sanctioned by his authority. Behram sent two envoys of distinction, with assurances of submission, but Akber refused to see them, and ordered their imprisonment. After this, the disgraced minister seems to have had some intention of attempting to establish an independent principality in Malwa, but subsequently set off for Guzerat with the professed object of embarking from thence for Mecca. As he lingered long, a formal notice of dismissal arrived from Agra, commanding him to proceed on his pilgrimage forthwith. Having resigned his standards, kettle-drums, and other ensigns of authority, Behram continued his route in a private character, until, irritated by some further proceedings of Akber, he changed his mind, and attempted an invasion of the Punjaub. There, as elsewhere, the people were disposed to rally round the young king; Behram was defeated, and eventually driven to a surrender. Akber received him with much kindness, seated him on his right hand, and offered him the alternatives of an important government, a high position at court, or an honourable dismissal to Mecca. This last proposition seems to indicate that the foregoing ones were merely complimentary, and Behram probably so understood them, since he chose the pilgrimage, for which he had previously evinced little inclination, and proceeded to Guzerat, where, while preparing for embarkation, he was assassinated (A.D. 1561), by an Afghan, whose father he had killed in battle during the reign of Humayun.

Akber, now left to his own resources, soon found that other officers were likely to prove less overbearing perhaps than his old governor, but more inclined to take advantage of his youth for their own advancement.* Always abundantly self-reliant, he checked such attempts with a firm hand. Adam Khan, an Uzbek officer, having defeated Baz Bahadur,† the Afghan ruler of Malwa, showed some disposition to retain the province for himself, upon which Akber marched immediately to the camp, and conferred the government on his old tutor, Peir Mohammed Khan, whose conduct in this position, went far to vindicate the previous harshness displayed towards him by Behram. After massacring the inhabitants of two cities, of which he had obtained possession, he was at length defeated and drowned. Baz Bahadur recovered Malwa, of which he was again deprived by the victorious Mogul, whose service he subsequently entered.

The successive steps of Akber's career can only be briefly sketched. The seven years following the disgrace of Behram were mainly employed in a severe struggle with the military aristocracy, and in repelling the pretensions advanced on behalf of the young prince Hakim, who, although an infant at the time of his father, Humayun's death, had been left in the nominal government of Cabool; but, being expelled thence by his relation, Mirza Soliman, of Badakshan, attempted to invade the Punjaub, but was driven out (1566), and subsequently returned to Cabool, of which country he

* Among these was Asuf Khan, an officer who obtained permission from Akber, A.D. 1565, to invade a small independent kingdom called Gurra Mundela, then under the government of a regent or queen-mother named Durgavati, equally celebrated for her beauty and good sense. On the approach of the Mohammedans she led her forces in person against them mounted on an elephant, but after a sharp contest being disabled by an arrow-wound in the eye, her troops disheartened, gave way, upon which, fearing to fall into the hands of the victors, she snatched a dagger from the girdle of the elephant-driver and stabbed herself. The chief place was then taken by storm, and the infant rajah trodden to death in the confusion. One thousand elephants, 100 jars of gold coins, numerous jewels, and images of gold and silver were seized by Asuf Khan, who sent to Akber only a very small portion of the spoil, and then went into rebellion, but was afterwards compelled to sue for pardon. The whole transaction was aggression, robbery, and murder from first to last, and the guilt rests as much on the head of Akber, who sanctioned the crime and shared the booty, as upon Asuf Khan, the actual perpetrator. (Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. ii. p. 128.)

† The Hindoo mistress of Baz Bahadur, celebrated equally for her beauty and poetic talent, fell into the hands of Adam Khan, and unable to strive against his importunity and threatened violence, appointed an hour to receive him, and then arrayed in costly robes, fragrant with the sweetest perfumes, lay down on a couch covered with a mantle. On the Khan's approach her attendants strove to rouse her, but she had taken poison and was already dead. (*Khafi Khan*, quoted by Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 263.) Her persecutor did not long survive her, for having quarrelled with the vizier of Akber he stabbed him while at prayers, and was, by order of the king, (who was sleeping in an inner room, and rushed in, awakened by the uproar) immediately thrown from a lofty terrace-parapet, where he had sought refuge.

long retained undisturbed possession. The Mirzas, (namely, the four sons and three nephews of Sultan Mirza, a prince of the house of Tamerlane, who had come to India with Baber, but rebelled against Humayun, who pardoned and gave him the government of Sambal) revolted, and were compelled to fly to Guzerat, where they endeavoured to take advantage of the disturbed state of affairs, but were strenuously opposed by Etimad Khan, the Hindoo minister, or rather master, of the pageant king, Mozuffer III. Sooner than suffer the sceptre to be seized by the Mirzas, Etimad prompted its formal surrender to Akber, A.D. 1572, who having personally received it, proceeded to besiege Surat, where these princes had taken refuge. Before the place could be invested they departed with a light detachment, intending to join their main body in the north of Guzerat. Akber ordered 1,000 men to follow him, and set out in pursuit with such rash haste, that he found himself in front of the enemy with a party which, after waiting to allow some stragglers to come up, numbered only 150 men. He nevertheless commenced the attack, but being repulsed, took shelter in a lane formed by strong hedges of cactus, where not more than three horsemen could advance abreast. Here he was hard pressed and separated from his men, but saved by the gallantry of Rajah Bhagwandas of Amber, and his nephew and adopted son, Rajah Maun Sing, both officers of high rank in the imperial army. Soorjun Ray, Rajah of Rintumbor, is also mentioned as having evinced great bravery; and the fact of the king's being immediately surrounded by Hindoo chiefs on such an occasion, sufficiently proves the degree to which he had conciliated, and the trust which he reposed in them. The Mirzas succeeded in effecting the junction which Akber had risked so much to prevent, but were afterwards dispersed, and met with various adventures, terminating in violent deaths by the hands of Delhi officers. Though eager to put down any infringement of his own real or assumed rights, Akber utterly disregarded those of others; the establishment of unquestioned supremacy over all India being the object which he proposed from the beginning. With this view he never scrupled to foment strife, watching craftily an opportunity of turning to his own advantage the dissensions which rendered weak and effete the various independent governments, both foreign and native. Under his banner, Hindoo fought against Hindoo—Moslem against Moslem; and each against the other. Over the fiery Rajpoots his personal influence became unbounded. Skilfully availing himself of their foibles, and studious needlessly to avoid clashing with their feudal observances and associations, he won from them voluntary concessions which force had long failed to extort. As early as 1651 he had sent a strong force against Maldeo, Rajah of Marwar, actuated perhaps by the recollection of the sufferings of his parents when refused protection shortly before his birth (p. 87), and captured the strong fortress of Meerta. Nagore was also taken; and both these strong-holds were conferred by Akber on the representative of the younger branch of the family, Ray Sing of Bikaneer. In 1569, Rao Maldeo succumbed to necessity; and, in conformity with the times, sent his second son with gifts to Akber, then at Ajmeer, which had become an integral part of the monarchy; but the disdainful bearing of "the desert king" so displeased Akber, that he presented Ray Sing with a *firmán* (imperial mandate) for the possession of Joudpoor itself, and the old Rao had to stand a siege in his capital, and after brave but fruitless resistance, was compelled to yield homage. His son and successor, well known as Moota (the fat) Rajah, gave a princess of his family in marriage to Akber (a great concession, not to say degradation, in the sight of a Rajpoot, even though the issue of this union would take equal rank with other princes of the imperial house) and, in return, received all the possessions previously wrested from Marwar, except Ajmeer, besides several rich districts in Malwa.* Rajah Bharmul, of Amber, likewise gave the king a daughter to wife,† and enrolled himself and his son, Bhagwandas, among the royal vassals, holding his country as a fief of the empire; and he also received honours and emoluments, in the shape most agreeable to a Rajpoot—increase of territory. In fact, every chief who submitted to Akber, found his personal possessions increased in consequence. One state, however, still maintained its independence, and could neither be flattered, bribed, or forced into alliance with the foreigner; it even dared to re-

* Tod says four provinces (Godwar, Oojein, Debalpoor, and Budnawar) yielding £200,000 of annual revenue were given for the hand of Jod Bae.

† Mother to Selim, Akber's successor.

nounce intermarriage with every house by which such disgrace had been sustained. Against Mewar, Akber therefore turned his arms, so soon as the disaffection of the Usbek nobles and other rebellions nearer Delhi had been put down. The Rana, Oodi Sing, unlike his brave father, Sanga, was a man of feeble character, quite unfit to head the gallant chiefs who rallied round him. On learning the approach of his formidable foe, he retreated from Chittore to the hilly and woody country north of Guzerat, leaving a strong garrison under Jei Mal, a chief of great courage and ability. The place, though previously twice taken, was still regarded by the Rajpoots of Mewar as a sort of sanctuary of their monarchy. The operations of the siege were conducted with great care, and seem to have closely resembled those adopted in modern Europe. Two mines were sunk, and fire set to the train; one of them exploded, and the storming party crowded up the breach, but while so doing, the second explosion occurred, and destroyed many of the assailants, upon which the rest fled in confusion. The previous labours were re-commenced; considerable advantage had been gained, and the northern defences destroyed, when Akber, one night, in visiting the trenches, perceived Jei Mal on the works, superintending some repairs by torch-light. Taking deliberate aim, he shot him through the head, and the garrison, appalled by the death of their able leader, abandoned the breaches, and withdrew to the interior of the fort. There they assumed the saffron-coloured robes, ate the last "beera" or pân together, and performed the other ceremonies incidental to their intended self-sacrifice. After witnessing the terrible rite of the *Johur*, in which the women, gathering round the body of Jei Mal, found refuge in the flames from pollution or captivity; the men, to the number of 8,000, ran to the ramparts, and were there slain by the Moslems who had mounted unopposed. "Akber entered Chittore, when," says Tod, "30,000 of its inhabitants became victims to the ambitious thirst of conquest of this *guardian of mankind.*" *

Notwithstanding the loss of his capital and many of his bravest warriors, the Rana remained independent in his fastnesses in the Aravulli; raised a small palace, around which edifices soon clustered, and formed the nucleus of the city of Oudipoor, which eventually became the capital of Mewar. He died shortly afterwards, A.D. 1572. His successor, Pertap, was in all respects his opposite. Brave, persevering, and devoted to the cause of Rajpoot independence, the recovery of Chittore was his watchword. Till this should be accomplished, he interdicted to himself and his successors every article of luxury—exchanged golden dishes for vessels made of leaves, and soft couches for straw pallets; and, in sign of mourning, commanded all his followers to leave their beards unshaven.† Such an adversary was not likely to be undervalued by the politic Akber, who succeeded in arraying against the patriot his kindred in faith as well as in blood, including even his own brother, Sagurji, who received, as the price of his treachery, the ancient capital of his race. The odds against Pertap were fearful: driven from his strongholds of Komulmeer and Gogunda, he nevertheless withstood, for more than a quarter of a century, the combined efforts of the empire, often flying from rock to rock, feeding his wife and family from the fruits of his native hills, and rearing, amid the haunts of savage beasts, his young son, Umra, the heir to his prowess and his struggles.‡ In 1576, a desperate battle occurred at the pass or

* Akber's conduct on this occasion has also left an indelible stain on his character as a patron of the arts, for the stately temples and palaces of Chittore were defaced and despoiled with the most ruthless barbarity. He showed, however, his sense of the bravery of his fallen foes by erecting at one of the chief gates of Delhi two great elephants of stone, (described by Bernier in 1663), each with their rider, one representing Jei Mal, the other Putta. The latter, the youthful head of the Jugawut clan, perished in the defence of the city, following the example of his widowed mother, who, arming her son's young bride with a lance, with her descended the rock and both fell fighting side by side. The *zinars*, (Brahmanical cords taken from the necks of the Rajpoots), are said to have amounted to seventy-four mân's and a-half; and still, in memory of this terrible destruction, the bankers of Rajast'han mark this *tilâc*, or accursed number on their seals, thereby invoking "the sin of the slaughter of Chittore" on any one who should dare to violate this mysterious but revered safeguard. (*Annals of Rajast'han*, vol. i. p. 327.

† The descendants of Pertap, though unfaithful to the spirit of this vow, still adhere to the letter, by placing leaves under their gold or silver plate, and straw beneath their couches, while their beards remain unshorn. (*Idem*, p. 333).

‡ Colonel Tod's narrative of the life of this noble Rajpoot is full of incidents of thrilling interest. So hot was the pursuit of the Mogul myrmidons that "five meals have been prepared and abandoned for want of the opportunity to eat them," and his family were repeatedly on the eve of capture. On one of these occasions they were saved by the faithful Bheels of Cavah, who carried them in baskets and concealed them in the tin mines of Jawura, where they

plain of Huldighat, where Pertap had taken up a strong position with 22,000 Rajpoots, while above, on the neighbouring cliffs and pinnacles, his trusty auxiliaries, the aboriginal Bheels, stood posted, armed with bows and arrows, and huge stones ready to roll upon the enemy. But all efforts proved vain against the overpowering Mogul force, headed by Selim, the heir of Akber, with its numerous field-artillery and a dromedary corps mounting swivels. Of the stalwart Rajpoots who rallied round the royal insignia,* ever seen in the hottest part of the action, 8,000 only survived it. Pertap himself, after receiving several severe wounds, was saved with difficulty, by a noble act of self-devotion. One of his chiefs (Marah), seizing the "golden sun," made his way to an intricate position, and thus drew upon himself and his vassals the brunt of the battle, while his prince, forced from the field, lived to renew the struggle, and to honour the memory of his brave deliverer by conferring on his descendants distinctions whose value a Rajpoot alone could fully appreciate.† Another generous sacrifice eventually enabled the Mewar prince, when almost driven into the abandonment of his native kingdom, to cope successfully with the Mogul force. Bhama Sah, his minister, whose ancestors had for ages held this office, placed at his disposal their accumulated resources; and thus furnished with the sinews of war, Pertap renewed the contest. The chivalrous clemency which habitually distinguishes the Rajpoot was, for once, merged in a sense of the desperate nature of his position. Komulmeer and thirty-two posts were taken by surprise, and the troops slain without mercy. To use the words of the native annalist, "Pertap made a desert of Mewar; he made an offering to the sword of whatever dwelt in the plains:"‡ and in one campaign, recovered his hereditary dominions, except Chittore, Ajmeer, and Mandelgurh.

Akber, occupied by new fields of conquest, suffered Pertap to retain his territory unmolested; but the mind of the Hindoo prince could know no rest while, from the summit of the pass to Oudipoor (where, in accordance with his vow, he inhabited a lowly hut) might be seen the stately battlements of Chittore, whose re-capture, he felt, was not for him. A spirit ill at ease, accelerated the decay of a frame scarred by repeated wounds, and worn out with hardships and fatigue. His sun went down at noon; but he died (A.D. 1597) as he had lived, an unflinching patriot, enjoining on Umra and his subjects to eschew luxury, and seek, first and last, the independence of Mewar.

The manner in which this dying command was fulfilled belongs to the succeeding reign. We now return to the proceedings of Akber, who, in 1575, headed an army for the subjugation of Bengal. The Afghan ruler, Daood Khan, a weak, dissipated prince, retired before the imperial forces from Behar to Bengal Proper, upon which Akber returned to Agra, leaving his lieutenants to pursue the conquest, which proved a more difficult task than was expected. The chief commanders were Rajah Todar Mal, the celebrated minister of finance, and Rajah Maun Sing, and their efforts were at length successful. Daood was defeated and slain; and the mutinous attempts of various Mogul officers to seize the jaghires of the conquered chiefs for their private benefit, were, after many struggles, put down. The last endeavour of any importance, on the part of the Afghans, to recover the province, terminated in defeat in 1592, and being followed up by concessions of territory to the leading chiefs, the final settlement of Bengal was concluded, after fifteen years of strife and misery. While his generals were thus engaged, Akber was himself occupied in renewed hostilities with Mirza Hakim, who, after having remained long undisturbed in Cabool, again invaded the Punjaub, and assaulted the governor, Maun Sing, in Lahore. The king having raised the siege, drove his brother to the mountains and occupied Cabool; but that government was restored on the submission of the prince, who retained it until his death in 1585. The vicinity of Abdullah, Khan of the Uzbeks, who had recently seized Badakshan from Mirza Soliman, probably induced Akber, on learning the demise of Hakim, to proceed immediately to the strong fort of Attock, which he had previously erected on the principal ferry of the Indus.

guarded and fed them. Bolts and bars are still preserved in the trees about Jawura to which the cradles of the royal children of Mewar were suspended.

* The *changi*, or chief insignia of royalty in Mewar, is a sun of gold in the centere of a disc of black ostrich feathers or felt, about three feet in diameter.

† Such as bearing the title of Raj (royal), the privilege of enjoying "the right hand of the Mewar princes," &c., to which territorial advantages were also added by the grateful Pertap.

‡ All his loyal subjects had previously followed him to the mountains, destroying whatever property they could neither conceal nor carry away. (*Annals of Rajast'han*, vol. i. p. 347.)

Although Badakshan had been the ancient possession of his family, Akber was far too politic to stir up a quarrel with so formidable a foe as its present occupant, while, in another quarter, opportunity invited the exercise of more profitable and less dangerous, though utterly unprovoked aggression. Near at hand, nestled in the very centre of the Himalaya, above the heated plains, below the snowy heights, lay the lovely valley of Cashmere, verdant with perpetual spring. From the age of fable till the beginning of the fourteenth century, this small kingdom had been ruled by a succession of Hindoo princes, interrupted, it would appear, by a Tartar dynasty.* It then fell into the hands of a Mohammedan adventurer, and was held by princes of that religion until 1586, when the distractions prevailing among the reigning family induced Akber to brave the difficult and dangerous passes by which alone this terrestrial paradise could be approached, and send an army, under Shah Rokh Mirza, son of Mirza Soliman (who had entered his service when driven out of Badakshan), and Bhagwandas, of Jeypoor, for its conquest. These chiefs, with difficulty, penetrated through the snow by an unguarded pass; but their supplies being exhausted, were glad to enter into a treaty with the king, Yusuf Shah, by which the supremacy of the emperor was acknowledged, but his practical interference with the province forbidden. Yusuf, relying on the good faith and generosity of Akber, accompanied the troops on their return to the court of that monarch, who, considering the pledge given on his behalf an inconvenient one, detained his guest, and dispatched a fresh force for the occupation of Cashmere. Yacub, the son of the captive, assembled the troops, and prepared to defend the pass; but the prevailing dissensions had extended so widely among the soldiery, that part went over to the invaders, and the prince deemed it best to fall back with the rest on Serinuggur, where strife and rebellion were also at work. Driven thence to the hills, he continued the struggle for two years, but was at last captured and sent to Delhi, where both he and his father were induced by Akber to enter his service, and accept large jaghires in Behar. From this time, Cashmere became the favourite summer retreat of the Mogul rulers.

The imperial arms were next directed against the Eusofzeis and other Afghan tribes inhabiting the hilly countries round the plain of Peshawur, among whom a powerful party had been established by Bayezeed, a false prophet, who founded a sect, self-styled Roushenia, or the enlightened, and declared his followers justified in seizing on the lands and property of all who refused to believe in his divine mission. The impostor was defeated and slain, but his sons bore about his bones in an ark, and the youngest, Jelala, became formidable from his energy and ambition, and succeeded in gaining repeated advantages over the Delhi troops, many of whom perished, including Rajah Beer Bal, one of Akber's favourite generals. In 1600, Jelala obtained possession of the city of Ghuznee, but was eventually expelled and slain. The religious war was continued by his successors during the two next reigns (those of Jehangeer and Shah Jehan); and when the errors of the Roushenias became exploded, the Eusofzeis, who had long renounced their doctrines, continued to maintain hostilities with the house of Timur, and afterwards with the kings of Persia and Cabool, preserving throughout their turbulent independence undiminished.

Sinde was captured in 1592, its ruler, on submission, being, according to the policy of Akber, enrolled among the nobles of the empire; and Candahar, which had been seized by Shah Tahmasp soon after the death of Humayun, was recovered without a blow, in 1594, owing to the disorders which marked the early part of the reign of his successor, Shah Abbas. By this last acquisition, Akber completed the possession of his hereditary kingdom beyond the Indus (the war with the Afghans being confined to the mountains) at nearly the same period at which he concluded the conquest of Hindoostan Proper. Excepting only Oudipoor and its gallant rana, with his immediate retainers, the other Rajpoot states of any im-

* Professor H. H. Wilson considers it to have existed either under the name of Caspapyrus or Abisarus as early as the days of Herodotus and Alexander.—*Essay on the Raj Taringi, or Hindoo History of Cashmere—Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 82. This work was executed by four different persons, the first of whom wrote in 1148, but frequent and precise references are made to earlier writers. The facts and dates become consistent as they approach A.D. 600, and from that period to the termination of the history, with the conquest of the kingdom by Akber, the chronology is accurate. Much interesting matter occurs incidentally, regarding Buddhism and Brahminism, (the former having been very early introduced into Cashmere), and also respecting the ancient worship of the Nagas or Snake Gods.

portance all acknowledged Mogul supremacy, and their chiefs had become changed from jealous tributaries to active auxiliaries.

The Deccan now became the theatre for Akber's aggression, to which its perturbed condition offered every facility. After two years spent there by his son Morad, and other generals, during which time Ahmednuggur being besieged was nobly defended by the Sultana Chand, Akber proceeded in person to the scene of action, where Berar had already been surrendered on behalf of the king of Ahmednuggur. The conquest of Candeish was completed by the reduction of the strong fortress of Aseerghur,* in 1599, and Prince Danial made viceroy of the new provinces, with Mirza Khan (the son of Behram, who had received the title of Khan Khanan, formerly bestowed by Humayun on his ill-fated father) as his confidential adviser. Prince Danial took to wife the daughter of Ibrahim II., of Beejapoor, who, like the neighbouring king of Golconda, had deprecated, by presents and embassies, the anger of the powerful Mogul for having sided against his generals in the contest with Ahmednuggur.† These endeavours would probably have proved fruitless, as many similar ones had done, but for the hurried and compulsory return of Akber to Hindoostan, owing to the misconduct of his eldest son and acknowledged heir. Selim was now above thirty years of age, and not deficient in natural ability; but his intellect had been impaired and his heart depraved by the excessive use of wine and opium. Taking possession of Allahabad, he made himself master of Oude and Behar, seized upon treasure amounting to thirty lacs of rupees (£300,000), and assumed the title of king. These pretensions were speedily withdrawn on the appearance of Akber, who behaved with extreme moderation; but his ungrateful son, while expressing submission and fidelity, took an opportunity of revenging his own supposed injuries, and inflicting a severe blow on the feelings of his father, by instigating the assassination of Abul Fazil, whom he both feared and hated. An ambuscade was laid near Gwalior by Nursing Deo Rajah of Oorcha, and Abul Fazil, after a brave defence, was slain with most of his attendants, A.D. 1602. Akber was greatly distressed by the loss of his friend and counsellor. He spent two days without food or sleep, and sent a force against Nursing Deo, with orders to seize his innocent family, ravage his country, and exercise other unwarrantable severities; but the intended victim succeeded in eluding pursuit, and was subsequently raised to high honour on the accession of Selim to the throne.

Akber would not publicly recognise his son's share in the crime;‡ but, on the contrary, conferred on him the privilege of using the royal ornaments, and other marks of the highest distinction. But all in vain. Selim became daily more brutal and debauched, until at last, the public quarrels between him and his son, Khosru (himself a violent-tempered youth) grew to such a height, that Khosru's mother (the sister of Maun Sing), in a moment of grief and despair, swallowed poison; after which, her husband became so cruel and irascible, that Akber thought it necessary to place him under temporary restraint. He was no sooner released than his jealousy of his son (who he believed, and probably not without reason, desired to supplant him in the succession to the throne) occasioned new scenes of disorder. Meanwhile Khosru himself was, beyond measure, envious of his younger brother, Khoorum (Shah Jehan), who was equally a favourite with both his father and grandfather. While affairs at home were in this unsatisfactory state intelligence arrived of the decease of prince Danial. Morad had died some years before; now this other son, Selim's only remaining brother, was taken from Akber, under circumstances calculated to embitter the bereavement. Intemperance had laid fast hold on its victim, and though so surrounded by the faithful servants of his father as to be unable openly to gratify its solicitations, he found means to have liquor secretly conveyed to him in the barrel of a fowling-piece, and by unrestrained indulgence soon terminated his existence at the age of thirty (April 1605.)

* With this fortress, ten years' provisions and countless treasures fell into the hands of the conqueror, who was supposed to have employed magical arts.

† The chief of Sinde is said to have employed Portuguese officers in his defence against Akber, and to have had 200 natives dressed as Europeans, who were consequently the earliest *sepoys*. He had also a fort defended by an Arab garrison, "the first instance," says Mr. Elphinstone, "in which I have observed any mention of that description of mercenaries afterwards so much esteemed." Vol. ii. p. 297.)

‡ Selim, in his *Memoirs*, openly acknowledges the crime and vindicates it on the plea of Abul Fazil's having induced his father to disbelieve in the Koran. For this reason, he says, "I employed the man who killed Abul Fazil and brought his head to me; and for this it was that I incurred my father's deep displeasure."—Price's *Memoirs of Jahangueir*, p. 33.

Alas for Akber! he was now about sixty-three, and had probably anticipated that an old age of peace and honour might crown a youth of vicissitude and daring adventure, and a manhood of brilliant success. His foes were either silent in the grave, or had been won by politic liberality to a cheerful acknowledgment of his supremacy; and the able system of civil government framed by the aid of the gifted brothers, Abul Fazil and Feizi,* and founded on a careful consideration of the customs and opinions of the Hindoos, had won from the mass of the people a degree of cordial and grateful support which none of the "Great Moguls" before or after Akber ever acquired or even strove for. A total disbeliever in revealed religion,† he had found no difficulty in sanctioning the free exercise of all creeds, and in humouring national vanity, or courting sectarian prejudice whenever it suited his object, and it was always his object to be popular. To the Brahmin, the Buddhist, the Parsee,‡ the Jew and the Roman catholic,§ the emperor listened with courteous deference; and his legislative ability, personal daring, and suavity of manner, won golden opinions from multitudes who cared not to

* Their father, a learned man, named Mobarik, was expelled from his situation as college-tutor at Agra for latitudinarian if not atheistical opinions, which his sons, though professing Moslems, evidently shared. Feizi diligently applied himself to the study of Sanscrit, as did several of the most distinguished men of Akber's court, through which a taste for literature was widely diffused. Feizi was presented to Akber in the twelfth year of his reign, and introduced Abul Fazil six years later, and they jointly became the intimate friends and confidants of their sovereign, who survived them both. An account of the death of Feizi has been recorded by a personal friend but a zealous Mussulman (Abdul Kader), and therefore it may be highly coloured, but, according to him, this celebrated scholar died blaspheming, with distorted features and blackened lips, but of what malady does not appear.—(Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 320.)

† "The religion of Akber," says Mr. Elphinstone, (who, by the aid of a manuscript translation of the *Akbernameh*, has obtained information otherwise accessible only to oriental scholars,) "was pure deism. * * * His fundamental doctrine was, that there were no prophets; his appeal on all occasions was to human reason."—(Vol. ii., p. 322.) This free-thinking did not however interfere with his alleged right as "head of the church, [? what church] to decide all disputes among its members," nor prevent him from introducing a new confession of faith, declaring that "there was no God but God, and *Akber was his caliph*."—(p. 324.) The practices of spiritual instructors of different denominations he did not scruple to adopt, and Abul Fazil, who wrote under his immediate supervision, makes repeated mention of the supernatural endowments which he habitually and publicly exercised, and of the "numerous miracles which he performed." Among the many superstitious modes used in seeking "success in business, restoration of health, birth of a son," &c., a favourite method adopted "by men of all nations and ranks," was to "invocate his majesty," to whom, on the obtainment of their wishes, they brought the offerings which they had vowed. "Not a day passes," says Abul Fazil, "but people bring cups of water to the palace, beseeching him to breathe upon them. He who is privy to the secrets of heaven reads the decrees of fate, and if tidings of hope are received, takes the water from the supplicant, places it in the sun's rays, and then having bestowed upon it his auspicious breath, returns it. Also many, whose diseases are deemed incurable, intreat him to breathe upon them, and are thereby restored to health."—(*Ayeen Akbery*, vol. i., p. 665.)

Had Akber lived in the middle of the nineteenth century he would have taken a peculiar interest in mesmerism, spirit-rapping, and table-turning.

‡ To the customs of this sect Akber practically inclined more than to any other, his stated times of worship being day-break, noon, and midnight. "His majesty," Abul Fazil adds, "has also a great veneration for fire in general, and for lamps, since they are to be accounted rays of the greater light."—Gladwin's *Ayeen Akbery*, vol. i., p. 160.)

§ Akber appears to have played upon the credulity of the priests sent from Goa in a manner which they have described with much *naïveté*, though no Protestant can read their account without pain and indignation at the thought of the pure and life-giving faith of the meek and lowly Redeemer being presented to the imperial sceptic, under a form so little likely to win respectful attention. He had expressed a wish to see their chapel, which they dressed up for the occasion with every kind of ornament they could borrow from the Hindoos or any other quarter, and Akber declared himself dazzled with the result, and exclaimed that "no other religion could produce such brilliant proofs of its divinity;" a speech which, considering the enormous wealth in gold and gems he must have heard of, if not witnessed, in the idolatrous temples of Hindoostan, would seem little better than a cutting sarcasm. He had on a previous occasion prostrated himself before a representation of the crucifixion, "but his chief emotion was excited on viewing a finely-painted and ornamented image of the Virgin. He gazed on it long in admiration, and declared that she appeared indeed the Queen of Heaven seated on her throne." The friars began to entertain great hopes of his conversion, but soon found that he persisted in "holding himself forth as an object of worship; and though exceedingly tolerant as to other modes of faith, never would admit of any encroachments on his own divinity." One of his courtiers suffered it to transpire that the sole aim of the monarch in listening to the missionaries was "curiosity and amusement," and this was confirmed soon afterwards by Akber's gravely proposing to them, as a means of deciding between their assertions and those of the Mohammedans, that a famous Mullah should leap into a furnace with the Koran in his hand, followed by one of the friars bearing a Bible. He promised that the Mullah should leap in first, hinting that he would not at all regret to see him fall a sacrifice to his presumption; but the friars refused the ordeal, and not feeling "much at ease in the Mogul court, soon solicited and obtained permission to return to Goa."—(Murray's *Account of Discoveries*, vol. ii., p. 92.)

search out the selfishness which was the hidden main-spring of every project, whether ostensibly for the promotion of external aggression or internal prosperity. But now the season for rest had arrived, and he might hope to enjoy the wide-spread dominion and almost incalculable wealth, which a clever head and a sharp sword had combined to win. His strongly-built and handsome frame* had escaped almost unscathed from the dangers and fatigues of the battle-field, the toilsome march, the onslaught of wild beasts, and the weapon of the assassin. All had failed to dispirit or unnerve him, and the conduct of an intricate campaign, or the pressure of civil government (a far more difficult undertaking for one who had to make laws as well as superintend their execution), never absorbed the time and energy necessary to the active part which he loved to bear in mental or bodily exercises of all descriptions, from philosophical discussions to elephant and tiger hunts, animal fights, feats of jugglers, and other strangely varied diversions. Though in youth given to indulgence in the luxuries of the table, in later life he became sober and abstemious, refraining from animal food on particular days, amounting altogether to nearly a quarter of the year. There is, however, reason to believe that, like his father and grandfather, he was addicted to the inordinate use of opium,† an insidious vice which would partially account for the criminal excesses in another respect attributed to him by Hindoo authorities,‡ and which, however notorious, would unquestionably have been passed over in silence by so fulsome a panegyrist and determined a partisan as Abul Fazil. Regarding the cause of his death, Hindoo records likewise cast a dark cloud,§ to which Mr. Elphinstone makes no allusion, but simply notes the total loss of appetite and prostration of strength which were the chief symptoms of the fatal disease. In truth, the disgraceful nature of his recent domestic afflictions, and the cabals and struggles respecting the succession, (which raged so fiercely that his only son was with difficulty induced to attend his dying bed,) were alone sufficient to bring a proud and sensitive spirit with sorrow to the grave.

Akber expired in October, 1605, having been for nearly the whole forty-nine years of his reign a cotemporary ruler with Elizabeth of England, whose enterprise had prepared an embassy (sent by her successor) to solicit from him the promotion of the peaceful pursuits of commerce between their subjects. How little could these mighty ones of the earth have foreseen that the sceptre of Akber would eventually fall from the feeble grasp of his weak and vicious descendants, into the hands of the struggling community of traders, for whose protection an imperial firman was at first so humbly solicited. These marvellous changes teach great lessons. May we but profit by them.

* "My father," says Jehangeer, "was tall in stature, of a ruddy, or wheaten, or nut-brown complexion; his eyes and eyebrows dark, the latter running across into each other. Handsome in his exterior he had the strength of a lion, which was indicated by the extraordinary breadth of his chest and the length of his arms." A black mole on his nose was pronounced by physiognomists a sure prognostication of extraordinary good fortune.—(Price's *Memoirs of Jahangueir*, p. 45.)

† Ferishta mentions that Akber was taken dangerously ill about 1582, "and as his majesty had adopted the habit of eating opium as Humayun his father had done before him, people became apprehensive on his account."—(Vol. ii., p. 253.)

‡ Abul Fazil states that to the Noroza, or ninth day of each month, Akber gave the name of Khusroz, or day of diversion, and caused a female market or sort of royal fair, to be held and frequented by the ladies of the harem and others of distinction, going himself in disguise to learn the value of different kinds of merchandize, and what was thought of the government and its executive officers.—(*Ayeen Akbery*, vol. i., p. 228.) Tod attributes the presence of Akber to a different and most disgraceful motive, and says, that however incredible it may seem, that so keen-sighted a statesman should have risked his power and popularity by introducing an immoral festival of Scythic origin, peculiarly opposed to the sensitive honour of the Rajpoots, "yet there is nevertheless not a shadow of doubt that many of the noblest of the race were dishonoured on the Noroza," and one of the highest in the court (Pirthi Raj) was only preserved from being of the number by the courage and virtue of his wife, a princess of Mewar, who, having become separated from her companions, found herself alone with Akber, in return to whose solicitations she "drew a poinard from her corset, and held it to his breast, dictating and making him repeat, an oath of renunciation of such infamy to all her race." The wife of Ray Sing is said to have been less fortunate or less virtuous.—(*Annals of Rajast'han*, vol. i., p. 345.)

§ "The Boondi records," says Tod, "are well worthy of belief, as diaries of events were kept by her princes, who were of the first importance in this and the succeeding reigns." They expressly state that a desire to be rid of the great Rajah Maun Sing of Jeypoor, to whom he was so much indebted, and whom he did not dare openly attack, induced Akber to prepare a *maajún* (intoxicating confection), part of which he poisoned—but presenting by mistake the innocuous portion to the Rajah, he took the other himself, and thus perished in his own snare. Maun Sing had excited the displeasure of both Akber and Selim, by seconding the pretensions of his nephew Khosru to the throne. Old European writers attribute the death of Akber to a similar cause.

At the period of Akber's death the empire was divided into fifteen subahs or provinces, namely, Allahabad, Agra, Oude, Ajmeer, Guzerat, Behar, Bengal, Delhi, Cabool, Lahore, Moultan, Malwa, Berar, Candeish, and Ahmednuggur. Each had its own viceroy (*sepah sillar*),* who exercised complete control, civil and military, subject to the instructions of the king. Under him were the revenue functionaries, and also the *foujdars*, or military commanders, whose authority extended alike over the regular troops and local soldiery or militia within their districts. Justice was administered by a court composed of an officer named *meer adel* (lord justice) and a *cazi*. The police of considerable towns was under an officer called the *cutwal;* in smaller places, under the revenue officer; and in villages, under the internal authorities.†

The revenue system, by which Akber gained so much celebrity, had, in fact, been partially introduced during the brief reign of Sheer Shah. Its objects were—*First*, to obtain a correct measurement of the land, by the establishment of a uniform standard, to supersede the differing measures formerly employed even by public officers; and by the appointment of fit persons, provided with improved instruments of mensuration, to furnish accounts of all cultivable lands within the empire *Second*, the land was divided into three classes, according to its fertility; the amount of each sort of produce that a begah‡ would yield was ascertained, the average of the three was assumed as the produce of a begah, and one-third of that produce formed the government demand. But any cultivator who thought the amount claimed too high might insist on an actual measurement and division of the crop. *Third*, the produce was to be converted into a money payment, taken on an average of the preceding nineteen years; but, as in the previous case, every husbandman was allowed to pay in kind if he thought the rate in specie fixed too high. All particulars respecting the classification and revenue of the land were annually recorded in the village registers; and as at the period of the introduction of this system Akber abolished a vast number of vexatious taxes and fees to officers, the pressure on individuals is said to have been lightened, though the profit to the state was increased. It should, however, be remembered that Akber claimed one-third of the produce, and Sheer Shah had professed to take but one-fourth.§ The farming of any branch of the revenue was not allowed, and the collectors were instructed to deal directly with individual cultivators, and not rely implicitly on the headman and accountant of the village.

The chief agent in these reforms was Rajah Todar Mul, whose zealous observance of the fasts and other requirements of the Brahminical religion, doubtless augmented his influence among his own nation. Thus, whether in military proceedings or civil government, Akber always gladly availed himself of the abilities of the Hindoos, of whose character he unquestionably formed a very high estimate,‖ and whose good will (notwithstanding the aggression on which his interference was grounded) he greatly conciliated by three important edicts, which involved concessions to human rights, of a description rarely made by oriental despots, to whose notions of government by the sword all freedom is essentially opposed. In 1561,

* This title was subsequently changed to *subahdar*, and an additional financial officer introduced, named the *dewan*, who was subordinate to the subahdar, but appointed by the king.

† The general tone of the instructions given to these functionaries appears as just and benevolent as could well be expected under a despotism; the question is, how far they were carried out in the right spirit. There are, however, some enactments which reflect little credit on the law-giver, such as the following: "Let him (the cutwal) see that butchers, those who wash dead bodies, and others who perform unclean offices, have their dwelling separate from other men, who should avoid the society of such stony-hearted, dark-minded wretches. Whosoever drinketh out of the same cup with an executioner, let one of his hands be cut off; or if he eateth out of his kettle, deprive him of one of his fingers."—Gladwin's *Ayeen Akbery*.

‡ An Indian measure, much above half-an-acre.

§ The ancient rulers of Hindoostan, Abul Fazil admits, claimed but one-sixth.—Vol. i., p. 278.

‖ Abul Fazil, who may be taken as a fair exponent of the feelings of his royal master (in the fortieth year of whose reign he wrote), thus expresses himself on this point:—"Summarily the Hindoos are religious, affable, courteous to strangers, cheerful, enamoured of knowledge, fond of inflicting austerities upon themselves, lovers of justice, given to retirement, able in business, grateful, admirers of truth, and of unbounded fidelity in all their dealings. Their character shines brightest in adversity." He adds his conviction, from frequent discourses with learned Brahmins, that they "one and all believe in the unity of the Godhead; and although they hold images in high veneration, yet they are by no means idolaters," which latter assertion may be doubted as applied to the lower and less-informed professors of any religion which inculcates or suffers the "high veneration" of images. Lastly, he says, "they have no slaves among them," a remark to which we may have occasion to revert in a subsequent section.—*Ayeen Akbery*, vol. ii., pp. 294-'5

a prohibition was issued against the making slaves of persons captured in war; an infamous practice, which had gained such a height that not only the innocent wives and children of garrisons taken by storm were sold into slavery, but even the peaceable inhabitants of a hostile country were seized for the same purpose. In 1563, the jezia or capitation-tax on infidels was abolished; and about the same time all taxes on pilgrims were removed, because, "although the tax fell on a vain superstition, yet, as all modes of worship were designed for one Great Being, it was wrong to throw an obstacle in the way of the devout, and to cut them off from their mode of intercourse with their Maker." (*Akber Namah, MS. translation.*)

The condition of the royal slaves* was ameliorated by Akber; but it does not appear that he made any attempt to restore liberty even to those from whom it had been ravished by the glaring injustice above described. Nor would any effort of a purely just and benevolent tendency have been consistent with the character of one whose ambition filled the mountain fortresses of Hindoostan with captives,† and who scrupled not to form minarets of human heads,‡ or give orders for the complete extermination of a flying foe.§

In the regulation of the army great alterations were made: the troops, wherever it was practicable, were paid in cash from the treasury, instead of by jaghires and assignments on the revenue; and the tricks played at the musters by means of servants and camp-followers, mounted for the day on borrowed horses, prevented, by written descriptions of every man's person, and the marking of each horse. But the organization of the army was never very complete. The king named the *munsubdars*‖ or officers, as he thought fit, commanders of from 10 to 10,000 men; but these numbers, in all but the lowest classes, were merely nominal, and only served to fix the rank and pay of the holders, whose actual force, often not a tenth of their figure on paper, when mustered, was paid from the treasury. Each munsubdar was obliged to keep half as many infantry as horsemen; and of the infantry, one-fourth were required to be matchlockmen, the rest might be archers. There were also a distinct body of horsemen, called *ahdis* (single men), whose pay depended upon their merits, but was always much higher than that of the ordinary cavalry. Into every branch of the imperial arrangements, domestic as well as public, the most careful method was introduced—the mint, treasury, and armoury—the harem, with its 5,000¶ inhabitants—the kitchens,** baths, perfume offices, fruiteries, and flower-gardens, alike manifested the order-loving mind of their ruler. The department which he appears to have superintended with especial pleasure, was that comprising the various descriptions of animals, whether belonging to the class peculiarly adapted for the use and benefit of man, or to that of the savage beasts who played a leading part in the barbarous fights and shows which formed the chief popular

* The king (says Abul Fazil) disliking the word slave, desired that of *chelah* (signifying one who relies upon another) to be applied in its place. "Of these unfortunate men there are several kinds: 1st. Those who are considered as common slaves, being infidels taken in battle; and they are bought and sold. 2nd. Those who of themselves submit to bondage. 3rd. The children born of slaves. 4th. A thief who becomes the slave of the owner of the stolen goods. 5th. He who is sold for the price of blood. The daily pay of a chelah is from one dam to one rupee; they are formed into divisions, and committed to the care of skilful persons, to be instructed in various arts and occupations."—Gladwin's *Ayeen Akbery*, vol. i., p. 209.

† Among the prisoners who perished by violence in the fort of Gwalior, was the only son of the unhappy Kamran. The reason does not appear; but the execution is stated by Price, on the authority of Abul Fazil, as commanded by Akber some time after the death of Kamran; and Ferishta (also apparently quoting the *Akbernameh*) says that Behram Khan was accused of intending to intrigue with the unfortunate prince; a very unlikely supposition, considering the enmity which he had ever displayed towards his father.—Dow's *Hindoostan*, vol. ii., p. 324.

‡ Bird's *Gujarat*, p. 338.

§ "What with the examples made during the reign of my father," writes Jehangeer, "and subsequently during my own, there is scarcely a province in the empire in which, either in battle, or by the sword of the executioner, 500,000 or 600,000 human beings have not fallen victims to [what he terms] their fatal disposition to discontent and turbulence."—(p. 128.) Allowing the narrator to have had, as was doubtless the case, the larger share in this wholesale destruction, and supposing the numbers to be overstated, there yet remains ample evidence to indicate a terrible waste of human life on the part of both monarchs.

‖ None but the king's sons were munsubdars of more than 5,000; and this latter class, according to the *Ayeen Akbery*, comprised only thirty persons.

¶ Each of whom had an apartment and a monthly stipend, "equal to her merit," of from two to 1,610 rupees, that is, from four shillings to £161.

** The emperor took but one meal a-day, for which there being no fixed time, the cooks were ordered to keep 100 dishes always in readiness to set on table at an hour's notice. "What is required for the harem," adds Abul Fazil with sly sarcasm, "is going forward from morning till night."

diversions of the age. The elephants,* dromedaries, and camels; horses and mules; oxen, buffaloes, rhinoceroses, and tame deer; lions, tigers, and panthers; hunting-leopards, hounds, and hawks;—received as much attention as if their royal master had been a veterinary surgeon: while, in the matter of tame partridges and pigeons, no schoolboy could have been a greater adept than the mighty monarch, Akber Padshah.†

The town of Futtehpoor Sikri, near Agra, built and fortified by Akber, although now but small, gives ample evidence of having been a place, both in magnificence and architectural beauty, adapted for the abode of one of the wealthiest sovereigns the world ever knew. Respecting the amount of the treasures seized from Moslem and Hindoo palaces and temples, we have no reliable information.‡ Jehangeer asserts, that of the paraphernalia and requisites for grandeur, accumulated by Akber, "whether in treasure or splendid furniture of any description, the invincible Timur, who subdued the world, and from whom my father was eighth in descent, did not possess one-tenth." He adds, that Akber, desirous to ascertain the contents of the treasury at Agra, had 400 pairs of scales kept at work, day and night, weighing gold and jewels only. At the expiration of *five months* the work was still far from being concluded; the emperor, from some cause or other, not choosing to have it continued, had the treasures safely secured, and was content to be the master of "untold gold." In this astounding statement there would seem to be either some great mistake on the part of the copyist,§ or gross exaggeration on that of the royal autobiographer. The latter is probably in fault; for although he frequently criminates himself by confessing the commission of crimes which other writers would scarcely have ventured to attribute to him (the murder of Abul Fazil, for instance), yet his credulity and tendency to "high colouring," render much sifting necessary before receiving his assertions, and greatly enhance the value of corroborative evidence. European travellers go far to establish the probability of otherwise incredible statements regarding the enormous wealth of the Great Moguls, by their descriptions of the magnificence of the court, and also of the steady influx of gold and silver then annually received in return for silk, cotton, spices, and various products, for which coin or bullion was the chief exchange, other commodities or manufactures being taken only in comparatively small quantities.

Reign of Jehangeer.—The bier of Akber was carried through the palace-gates of Agra by Selim and his three sons, Khosru, Khoorum, and Parvaez, and borne thence to its stately mausoleum‖ at Secundra (three miles distant), by the princes and chief

* According to Abul Fazil, Akber had between 5,000 and 6,000 elephants, of whom 101 were kept for his own riding. He delighted in the exercise; and, even when in their most excited state, would place his foot on the tusk of one of these enormous creatures, and mount in an instant; or spring upon its back, from a wall, as it rushed furiously past. A fine elephant cost a lac of rupees (£10,000), had five men and a boy allotted for its service, and a stated daily allowance of rice, sugar, milk, ghee, &c., besides 300 sugar-canes per diem, during the season. Every ten elephants were superintended by an officer, whose duty it was to report daily to the emperor their exact condition—whether they ate less food than usual, or were in any way indisposed.

† On a journey or march, the court was never accompanied by less than 20,000 pigeons, with *bearers* carrying their houses. Of the quality of these birds, Abul Fazil remarks, his majesty had discovered "infallible criterions," such as twisting their feet, slitting their eyelids, or opening their nostrils.

‡ In Mandelsloe's travels (Harris's *Voyages*, vol. iii., p. 762), an inventory is given of the treasure in jewels, bullion, coin, and other property belonging to Akber at the time of his death, which that traveller states to have been furnished him by "very knowing and worthy persons," in the reign of Shah Jehan, whom he describes as possessing "eight large vaults filled with gold, silver, and precious stones, the value of which is inestimable." The items are interesting—in certain sorts of money coined by the express order of Akber, in another description, called Akber rupees, and in "payses [pice], sixty whereof make a crown,"—total value = 199,173,333 crowns, or about £50,000,000 sterling. In jewels, 30,026,026 crowns; "statues of gold, of divers creatures," 9,503,370 c.; gold plate, dishes, cups, and household-stuff, 5,866,895 c.; porcelain and other earthen vessels, 1,255,873 c.; brocades—gold and silver stuffs, silks and muslins, 7,654,989 c.; tents, hangings, and tapestries, 4,962,772 c.; twenty-four thousand manuscripts, richly bound, 3,231,865 c.; artillery and ammunition, 4,287,985 c; small arms, swords, bucklers, pikes, bows, arrows, &c., 3,777,752 c.; saddles, bridles, and other gold and silver accoutrements, 1,232,824 c.; coverings for elephants and horses, embroidered with gold, silver, and pearls, 2,500,000 c.; woollen cloths, 251,626 c.; brass and copper utensils, 25,612 c.; making a total (coin included) of 274,113,793 c., or £68,528,448 sterling.

§ The Persian copy of Jehangeer's *Memoirs*, translated by Major Price, was unfortunately imperfect; that from which Mr. Gladwin has borrowed largely, is considered less defective.

‖ This superb structure, begun by Akber, was finished by his successor, who declared the total cost to have been about £1,800,000. The amiable mother of Akber, Hameida, afterwards termed Miriam Mekani, had been buried only two years before in Humayun's tomb at Delhi.

nobles. Owing to the exertions made by the late sovereign on his death-bed to prevent the threatened outbreak of domestic rivalry, and to the successful negotiations entered into with Rajah Maun Sing, and other leading persons, Selim was proclaimed emperor unopposed. With undisguised delight he mounted the jewelled throne, on which such enormous sums had been lavished, and placed on his brows the twelve-pointed crown.* The chief ameers were summoned from the different provinces to attend the gorgeous and prolonged ceremonial; for forty days and nights the *nukara*, or great state-drum, sounded triumphantly; odoriferous gums were kept burning in censers of rare workmanship, and immense candles of camphorated wax, in branches of gold and silver, illumined the hours of darkness.

Considering "universal conquest the peculiar vocation of sovereign princes," the new emperor, in the coinage struck upon his accession, assumed the title of Jehangeer (conqueror of the world), and expressed a hope so to acquit himself as to justify the assumption of this high-sounding epithet. His early measures† were of a more pacific and benevolent tendency than might have been expected either from this commencement, or his general character. He confirmed most of his father's old servants in their offices; issued orders remitting some vexatious duties which existed, notwithstanding the recent reformatory measures; and desiring to give access to all classes of people who might choose to appeal to him personally, caused a gold chain to be hung between a stone pillar near the Jumna and the walls of the citadel of Agra, communicating with a string of little bells suspended in his private apartments; so that the suitor, by following the chain, would be enabled to announce his presence to the emperor without any intermediary. For this invention, Jehangeer takes great credit, and also for the interdict placed by him on the use of wine, and the regulations for that of opium; but as his own habits of nightly intoxication were notorious,‡ the severe punishment with which he visited all other offenders against the laws of strict temperance, gives little evidence of the rigid justice so repeatedly put forward in his autobiography,§ as his leading principle of action. Among his first proceedings, was the release of all prisoners throughout the empire. "From the fortress of Gwalior alone," he says, "there were set at liberty no less than 7,000 individuals, some of whom had been in confinement for forty years. Of the number discharged altogether on this occasion, some conception may be formed, when it is mentioned, that within the limits of Hindoostan there are not less than 2,400 fortresses, of name and strength, exclusive of those in the kingdom of Bengal, which surpass all reckoning."—(*Memoirs*, p. 10.)

* The crown and throne, those favourite symbols of power, with which eastern kings have ever delighted to dazzle the eyes of their subjects, were of extraordinary magnificence and beauty. The former—made by the order of Akber, in the fashion of that worn by the Persian kings—had twelve points, each surmounted by a diamond of the purest water, while the central point terminated in a single pearl of extraordinary size; the whole (including many valuable rubies) being estimated at a cost equivalent to £2,070,000 sterling. The throne, so constructed as to be easily taken to pieces and put together again, was ascended by silver steps, on the top of which four silver lions supported a canopy of pure gold, the whole adorned with jewels, to an amount, which Price translates, as equal to £30,000,000 sterling.

† One of these, most creditable to Jehangeer, involves a terrible revelation of existing evils. He ordered the governor of Bengal to take decided measures for abolishing the infamous practice, long used in Silhet and other dependencies of Bengal, of compelling the people to sell their children, or else emasculate and deliver them up to the governors of those provinces in satisfaction for their rents,—by which means some thousand eunuchs had been made yearly.—Gladwin's *Jehangeer*, p. 104.

‡ Sir Thomas Roe was occasionally admitted to the evening entertainments, when the Great Mogul, seated on a low throne, threw off all restraint, and, together with most of his companions, drank himself into a state of maudlin intoxication. A courtier once indiscreetly alluded, in public, to a debauch of the previous night, upon which Jehangeer affected surprise, inquired what other persons had shared in this breach of the law, and ordered those named to be so severely bastinadoed that one of them died. In his *Memoirs*, he makes no secret of his habitual excesses, but says his usual allowance once reached twenty cups of spirits a-day, and that if he was a single hour without his beverage, his hands began to shake, and he was unable to sit at rest. After coming to the throne, he took for some time but five cups (little more than a quart), diluted with wine, and only after night-fall. Of opium, his daily dose, at forty-six years of age, was eight ruttees, or sixty-four grains.

§ This Autobiography resembles that of Timur in the manner in which the royal narrator boldly alleges good motives for his worst deeds, and after describing the torments and cruel deaths inflicted by him on thousands of unhappy beings, dwells, almost in the same page, on his own compassionate and loving nature, giving, as examples, the letting free of birds, deluded by the skilful murmuring of the Cashmerians into captivity; his regret for the death, by drowning, of a little boy who used to guide his elephant, and similar circumstances. In spite of its defects, the book is both valuable and interesting, as throwing much light on the customs and

Jehangeer was not long permitted to enjoy in peace his vast inheritance.* The partial reconciliation between him and Prince Khosru was little more than a temporary cessation of hostilities, marked by distrust and tyranny on the one side—sullenness and disaffection on the other. At length, some four months after his accession, the emperor was aroused at midnight with the tidings that his son had fled to Delhi, with a few attendants. A detachment was immediately sent in pursuit, and Jehangeer followed in the morning with all the force he could collect; but notwithstanding these prompt measures, Khosru succeeded in assembling upwards of 10,000 men (who subsisted by plunder), and obtained possession of Lahore. He was, however, defeated in a contest with a detachment of the royal troops; taken prisoner in a boat, which ran aground in the Hydaspes; and in less than a month, the whole rebellion was completely quashed. When brought in chains of gold into the presence of his father, Khosru, in reply to the reproaches and questions addressed to him, refused to criminate his advisers or abettors, entreating that his life might be deemed a sufficient penalty for the offences he had instigated. Jehangeer, always ready to take advantage of any plausible pretext for the exercise of his barbarous and cruel disposition, spared his son's life,† but wreaked an ample vengeance, by compelling him to witness the agonies of his friends and adherents. Some were sewn up in raw hides and exposed to a burning sun, to die in lingering tortures of several days' duration; others flayed alive; while no less than 700 were impaled in a line leading from the gate of Lahore, and so long as any of these unfortunates continued to breathe, the prince was brought daily to the spot, in mock state, mounted on an elephant and preceded by a mace-bearer, who called out to him to receive the salutations of his servants. Khosru passed three days and nights without tasting food, and long remained a prey to the deepest melancholy. At the expiration of a year, Jehangeer seemed disposed to lighten his captivity by suffering his chains to be struck off, but a conspiracy for his release being subsequently detected (or invented by the partisans of Prince Khoorum), he was confined as closely as before.

In 1607, an army was despatched, under Mohabet Khan (son of Sagurji, the recreant brother of Pertap), against Umra, Rana of Oudipoor, and another under the Khan Khanan, into the Deccan; but both were unsuccessful, and the latter especially received repeated defeats from Malek Amber, who retook Ahmednuggur; and uniting to his talents for war no less ability for civil government, introduced a new revenue system into the Deccan, and obtained there equal celebrity to that acquired by Rajah Todar Mul in Hindoostan.

During these proceedings, Jehangeer was privately occupied in the criminal intrigues which resulted in his marriage with the celebrated Nour Jehan. This clever, but unprincipled woman, was the daughter of a Persian adventurer,‡ who having succeeded in gaining admittance to the service of Akber, rose to a position of trust and honour. His wife frequently visited the royal harem with her young daughter, whose attractions speedily captivated the heir-apparent. Akber being made aware of what was passing, had Nour Jehan bestowed in marriage on Sheer Afghan, a young

opinions of the age, and on the demonology, alchemy, and various superstitions in which Jehangeer was as firm a believer as his royal compeer, James I., of England, whom he resembled in another point, namely, strong dislike to tobacco (then newly introduced by the Portuguese), against which he also issued a "counterblast," in the shape of a decree, forbidding its use in Hindoostan, as Shah Abbas had previously done throughout Persia.

* Besides the treasure accumulated by his father, he received the property (amounting, in jewels alone, to £4,500,000,) which Danial had contrived to amass in the Deccan, in great measure by open violence, or, as Jehangeer mildly phrases it, by compelling people to sell to him elephants and other property, and sometimes omitting to pay for them. The 300 ladies of the prince's harem were likewise sent to the emperor; who, being somewhat puzzled how to dispose of so large an addition to his family, gave them to understand that they were, one and all, free to bestow themselves and their dowries on any of the nobles who might desire them in marriage.

† There is a passage in the *Memoirs* which indicates pretty clearly that Jehangeer would have felt little scruple in following "the distinguished example" given by "the house of Othman, who, for the stability of their royal authority, of all their sons, preserve but one, considering it expedient to destroy all the rest."—(p. 66.)

‡ Gheias was a man well born, but reduced to poverty, and driven to seek subsistence by emigrating with his wife and children to India. Directly after reaching Candahar, Nour Jehan was born; and, being worn down with fatigue and want, the miserable parents exposed the infant on a spot by which the caravan was to pass. The expedient succeeded: a rich merchant saw and took compassion on the child, relieved the distress of its parents, and, perceiving the father and eldest son to be persons of education and ability, procured for them suitable employment.

Persian, distinguished for his bravery, to whom he gave a jaghire in Bengal, whither he proceeded, accompanied by his young bride. But the matter did not end here; for Jehangeer, about a year after his accession, took occasion to intimate to Kootb-oo-deen, the viceroy of Bengal (his foster-brother), his desire to obtain possession of the object of his unhallowed passion. Endeavours were made to sound Sheer Afghan on the subject; but the high-spirited chief, at the first intimation of the designs entertained against his honour, threw up his command, and left off wearing arms, as a sign that he was no longer in the king's service. After this, repeated attempts were made to assassinate him, until at length, at a compulsory interview with Kootb-oo-deen, perceiving himself entrapped, he resolved to sell his life dearly—slew the viceroy and several other officers, and at last fell himself, covered with wounds. Nour Jehan was seized and sent to court, but, either from some temporary aversion on her part to the murderer of her husband, or (for the tale is differently told) from some equally short-lived compunction on his, she was allowed to remain in the seraglio unnoticed for above four years. The passion of the emperor at length reviving, he made her his wife; bestowed on her, by an imperial edict, the title of empress; and styled her first, Nour Mahal (*the light of the harem*), and afterwards Nour Jehan (*the light of the world.*) Her influence became unbounded: beginning by a feminine desire for splendid jewels,* she soon manifested her capacity for coveting and exercising arbitrary dominion, and evinced as much energy and ambition, and as little principle as could be paralleled in many (so called) "great men." Honours never before enjoyed by the consort of any Indian potentate were lavished upon her, even to the conjunction of her name on the coin with that of Jehangeer; her father, Mirza Gheias, was made prime minister; her brother, Asuf Khan, placed in a high station; and, on every affair in which she took an interest, her will was law.

The legislative ability of Mirza Gheias produced beneficial effects in public affairs; and his modest, yet manly bearing, conciliated the nobility, who soon learned to appreciate the value of the control which he exercised over the ill-regulated mind of the emperor. Nour Jehan found employment in superintending the construction of public edifices and gardens; and by skilful management, increased the magnificence of the court and lessened the expenditure. The mode of preparing the famous otto of roses is generally attributed, in India, either to her or to her mother.

Soon after this marriage, the disturbances in Bengal, which had prevailed throughout the previous years of Jehangeer's reign, were brought to a close A.D. 1612. Malek Amber's Mahratta-like mode of warfare proved increasingly successful in the Deccan, and the imperial forces were decidedly worsted; but in Mewar, Prince Khoorum, at the head of 20,000 men, obtained the submission of Rana Umra Sing, who, after sustaining seventeen pitched battles, was at length compelled to bow to the Moguls "the crimson banner" which, for more than 800 years, had waved in proud independence over the heads of the Gehlotes. Prince Khoorum (the son of a Rajpootni) evinced affectionate respect towards his brave foe;†

* Jehangeer states that he assigned for her dowry an amount equal to £7,200,000 sterling, "which sum she requested as indispensable for the purchase of jewels, and I granted it without a murmur."—(p. 271.) He also gave her a pearl necklace, comprising forty beads, each one of great worth. These statements must, of course, be taken *quantum valeat*, and are only cited to enable the reader to form some idea of the numerous and costly jewels worn at the period; the accumulation of which had been for ages the favourite employment of the Hindoo princes, from whom they had been plundered. In evidence of the excessive desire for splendid jewels, may be noticed the testimony of Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain—that one of the courtiers purchased from a merchant a large pear-shaped pearl, which he had brought with him from England, for the sum of £1,200.

† The Rajpoots have been fortunate in having had Tod for a chronicler; but they still need a Walter Scott to popularize their deeds of love and war in the eyes of those who care not to look on truth unmixed with fiction. Yet Rajpoot annals, even in the sober page of the historian, are fraught with romance and chivalry. Take one instance. During the war with Jehangeer, an opportunity occurred to recover some frontier lands in the plains, and Umra, with all his chiefs, assembled for the purpose. Two rival clans (whose feuds largely contributed to the ruin of Mewar) disputed the privilege of forming the *herole* or vanguard, and the sword would have decided the question but for the tact of the prince, who exclaimed, "The herole to the clan that first enters Ontala." Ontala was a frontier fortress, about eighteen miles east of Oudipoor, situated on rising ground, with a stream flowing beneath its massy walls, round towers at intervals, and but one gate. Some hours before day-break the clans moved off to the attack; the Suktawuts arrived first, and made directly for the gateway; the Chondawuts, less skilled in topography, traversed a swamp, which retarded them; but they brought ladders, and, on arriving, their chief at once commenced the escalade. A ball struck him back lifeless among his vassals. Meanwhile, the Suktawuts were also checked; for the elephant on which

and Jehangeer himself, delighted at having obtained, by means of the valour of his favourite son, the homage of a prince whose ancestors, intrenched in their mountain strongholds, "had never beheld a king of Hindoostan, or made submission to any one," sent to the rana a friendly firman, with the "impress of his five fingers," and desired Khoorum, "by any means by which it could be brought about, to treat this illustrious one according to his own heart's wishes."* The personal attendance of Umra at the Mogul court was excused, and a similar exemption extended to the future reigning sovereigns of Mewar, the heir-apparent being received as their representative. Prince Kurrun, the son and successor of Umra, was most honourably welcomed by Jehangeer, who placed him on his right hand, above every other noble, and declared that "his countenance carried the impression of his illustrious extraction."† Nour Jehan likewise loaded him with gifts and dignities; but the prince, feeling his newly-forged chains none the lighter for the flowers with which they were wreathed, still remained sad and humiliated, though courteous in his bearing. Umra was yet further from being reconciled to become a fief-holder of the empire. To receive the imperial firman outside his capital was the only concession demanded from him, in return for which Khoorum offered to withdraw every Moslem from Mewar. But he could not be brought to submit to the humiliation; therefore, assembling the chiefs, he made the *teeka* (the ancient symbol of sovereignty) on his son's forehead, and forthwith quitted the capital, and secluded himself in a neighbouring palace, on the borders of a lake. The stately form of Umra, "the tallest and strongest of the princes of Mewar," never again crossed the threshold until it was borne, as dust and ashes, to be deposited in the sepulchre of his fathers; but Prince Khoorum visited him, as a friend, in his retirement, and, in after years, had abundant reason to rejoice in the sympathy which he had manifested towards the Rajpoot princes of Oudipoor.

In 1615, Sir Thomas Roe arrived at court, then held at Ajmeer, as ambassador from James I. His journey from Surat, by Boorhanpoor and Chittore, lay through the Deccan, where war was raging; and the rana's country, where it had just ceased; yet he met with no obstruction or cause for alarm, except from mountaineers, who took advantage of the disturbed state of the times to molest travellers. The emperor received him favourably, notwithstanding the opposition and intrigues of the Portuguese Jesuits, and the contrast afforded by the unpretending character of his presents‡ and retinue to the magnificent ceremonial which he daily witnessed, and in which he was permitted to take part without performing the humiliating prostration which Jehangeer, like Akber, demanded from those who approached him, despite the belief of all zealous Mohammedans, that such homage could be fitly offered to the Deity alone.

The greatest displays took place on the

their leader rode, and on whose strength he depended to force the gate, was deterred from approaching by its projecting spikes. His men were falling thick about him, when a shout from the rival clan inspired a desperate resolve. Springing to the ground, he covered the spikes with his own body, and bade the driver, on pain of instant death, propel the elephant against him. The gates gave way, and over the dead body of their chief the clan rushed on to the combat, and, fighting with resistless energy, slaughtered the Moguls, and planted on the castle the standard of Mewar. But the herole was not for them; for the next in rank and kin, and heir to the Chondawut leader, had caught the lifeless body as it fell, and, true to his title (the mad chief of Deogurh), wrapped it in his scarf, slung it on his back, and, scaling the wall, cleared the way with his lance, until he was able to fling his burden over the parapet, shouting—"the herole to the Chondawuts! we are first in!"

* Colonel Tod mentions having seen the identical firman in the rana of Oudipoor's archives. The hand being immersed in a compost of sandal-wood, is applied to the paper, to which the impression of the palm and five fingers is thus clearly, and even lastingly affixed.—*Rajast'han*, vol. i., p. 362.

† *Rajast'han*, vol. i., p. 364. Tod had probably a more perfect copy of *Jehangeer's Memoirs* than that translated by Price, as he cites passages not to be found in the English version.

‡ The most acceptable of these seems to have been a coach, a mode of conveyance then newly used in England. Jehangeer had it taken to pieces by native workmen, who, having built another with more costly materials, reconstructed the pattern-one, substituting double-gilt silver nails for the originals of brass, and a lining of silver brocade instead of Chinese velvet. Some pictures, likewise, proved suitable gifts; and one of them was so accurately copied by native artists, that Roe being shown the original and five copies by candle-light, could not, without some difficulty, distinguish that which he had brought from England. Once, being much pressed for some offering wherewith to gratify Jehangeer's insatiable covetousness, he presented to him a book of maps (*Mercator's Cosmography*), with which the emperor was at first excessively delighted; but, on examination, finding the independent kingdoms there delineated somewhat too numerous to accord with his grandiloquent title, he returned the volume, saying that he should not like to deprive the ambassador of so great a treasure.—*A Voyage to East India*, by Sir Thomas Roe's Chaplain. London, 1665.

emperor's birth-day, when there was a general fair and many processions and ceremonies, among which the most striking was the weighing of the royal person twelve times, in golden scales, against gold, silver, perfumes, and other substances, which were afterwards distributed among the spectators. The festivities lasted several days, during which time the king's usual place was in a sumptuous tent, shaded by rich awnings, while the ground, for the space of at least two acres, was spread with silken carpets and hangings, embroidered with gold, pearl, and precious stones. The nobility had similar pavilions, where they received visits from each other, and sometimes from the sovereign. But beneath the veil of splendour and outward decorum, all was hollow and unsound. The administration of the country was rapidly declining; the governments were farmed, and the governors exacting and tyrannical; though, occasionally, an appeal from some injured person brought upon the oppressor the vengeance of the emperor, from which neither ability nor station could purchase immunity. The highest officials were open to corruption; and Roe, finding the treaty he was sent to negotiate remained unaccomplished after two years' tarry, deemed it expedient to bribe Asuf Khan with a valuable pearl, after which he soon succeeded in procuring for the English a partial liberty of trade; and then joyfully took his leave. The military spirit of the Moslems had already evaporated in an atmosphere of sloth and sensuality; and the Rajpoots, Patans, and Beloochees were spoken of by cotemporary writers (Terry, Hawkins, Roe) as the only brave soldiers to be found. The language of the court was Persian, but all classes spoke Hindoostani. In the royal family, the succession was a matter of jealous discussion: Khosru was considered to have forfeited his prior claim by rebellion; and Parvaez, the next in age, being far inferior in ability to his younger brother, Khoorum, would, it was expected, be set aside to make way for the latter prince, who had married a niece of Nour Jehan, and was supported in his pretensions by her all-powerful influence.

In 1616, a great expedition was sent to the Deccan, of which the command was given to Khoorum, together with the title by which he was thenceforth known, of Shah Jehan (king of the world).* He succeeded in regaining Ahmednuggur and other places, captured by Malek Amber, who was compelled to make submission on the part of his nominal sovereign, Nizam Shah; but, in 1621, renewed the war. Shah Jehan was again dispatched to the Deccan; but, from some rising distrust, refused to march unless his unhappy brother, Prince Khosru (who, by the earnest mediation of Parvaez, had had his chains struck off, and some measure of liberty allowed him) were entrusted to his custody. This desire was complied with, and Khoorum proceeded to attack Malek Amber, whom he at length brought to risk a general action. The result was very favourable to the Moguls, who granted peace on condition of a further cession of land and a considerable sum of money. Soon after this success, Jehangeer was prostrated by a dangerous attack of asthma. At this critical juncture, Prince Khosru died suddenly, and his rival brother, to whose charge he had been entrusted, was accused of having incited his assassination. However caused, it is remarkable that this event, which seemed especially calculated to strengthen the pretensions of Shah Jehan to the succession, proved to be only the commencement of a long series of dangers and disasters. The emperor partially recovered, and ever after manifested distrust and aversion to his previously favourite child. He evidently shared the suspicions generally entertained regarding

* Jehangeer established himself at Ajmeer, in 1613, in readiness to support his son in his operations against the Rana of Oudipoor, and had held his court there ever since. He now proceeded to take up his residence at Mandu, in Malwa, for the similar reason of being nearer to the seat of war. Sir Thomas Roe was permitted to follow in the suite of the court. He describes the royal progress as resembling a triumphal procession on a scale of extreme magnificence. Jehangeer himself, before entering *his coach*, showed himself to the people, literally laden with jewels—from his rich turban, with its plume of heron feathers, whence "on one side hung a rubie unset, as bigge as a walnut, on the other side a diamond as great, in the middle an emerald like a heart, much bigger," down to his "embroidered buskins with pearle, the toes sharpe and turning up." Immediately after the king rode Nour Jehan, also in an English carriage. The Leskar, or imperial camp, was admirably arranged, and occupied a circumference of at least twenty miles; looking down from it from a height, it resembled a beautiful city of many-coloured tents; that of the emperor in the centre, with its gilded globes and pinnacles, forming a sort of castle, from whence diverged numerous streets, laid out without the least disorder, since every one, whether noble or shop-keeper, knew the precise spot on which he must place himself by its distance from, and situation with regard to, the royal pavilion.—(Murray's *Discoveries*, vol. ii. p. 153.)

Khosru's fate; besides which, the empress having recently affianced her daughter* by Sheer Afghan, to Prince Shehriar (Jehangeer's youngest son), attached herself to his interests, foreseeing that, in the event of his accession to the throne, she might continue to exercise a degree of power, which, under the sway of his more able and determined brother, was not to be expected.

With a view of removing Shah Jehan from the scene of his power and triumphs, he was directed to attempt the recovery of Candahar from the Persians, by whom it had been recently seized. The prince, perceiving the object of this command, delayed compliance on one pretext or another, until discussions arose, which issued in his breaking out into open rebellion, A.D. 1623. The crisis was fraught with danger to all parties. The father of Nour Jehan, on whom both she and the emperor had implicitly relied, was dead; Asuf Khan, though he seemed to move like a puppet according to her will, naturally leant towards his son-in-law; Parvaez, though a brave soldier, needed as a general an able counsellor by his side; nor does Shehriar seem to have been calculated to take the lead in this fierce and prolonged feud.† At length Nour Jehan cast her eyes on Mohabet Khan, the most rising general of the time, but, heretofore, the especial opponent of her brother, Asuf Khan. To him, jointly with Parvaez, was entrusted the conduct of hostilities against Shah Jehan, who retreated to Boorhanpoor, but was driven from thence to Bengal, of which province, together with Behar, he gained possession, but was expelled, and obliged to seek refuge in the Deccan, where he was welcomed and supported by his former foe, Malek Amber. At the expiration of two years he proffered his submission, and surrendered to Jehangeer the forts of Rohtas in Behar, and Aseerghur in the Deccan, together with his two sons (Dara and Aurungzebe), but he himself took refuge with the Rajpoots of Mewar.‡

Scarcely was this storm allayed, before a still more alarming one burst over the head of the emperor, provoked by his violent temper, and also by the domineering and suspicious conduct of Nour Jehan. The growing popularity of Mohabet Khan had, it would appear, excited jealousy, and he was summoned to answer, in person, various charges of oppression and embezzlement adduced against him during the time of his occupation of Bengal. He set out for court, attended by a body of 5,000 Rajpoots, whom he had contrived to attach to his service. Before his arrival, Jehangeer, learning that he had ventured to betroth his daughter without the customary form of asking the royal sanction, sent for the bridegroom, a young nobleman named Berkhordar, caused him to be stripped naked, and beaten with thorns in his own presence; seized on the dowry he had received from Mohabet, and sequestrated all his other property. On approaching the camp, Mohabet was informed of what occurred, and also that the emperor would not see him; upon which he resolved, while the means remained at his command, to make a bold stroke for life and liberty Jehangeer was at this time preparing to cross the Hydaspes, by a bridge of boats, on his way to Cabool; the troops had passed, and he intended to follow at leisure, when Mohabet, by a sudden attack, just before day-break, gained possession of the bridge, and surprised the royal tent, where the emperor, scarcely recovered from the effects of the last night's debauch, was awakened by the rush of armed men. Mohabet pretended to have been driven to this extremity by the enemies who had poisoned the mind of his master against him, and Jehangeer, after the first burst of rage, thought it best to conciliate his captor by affecting to believe this statement, and agreed to accompany him, in public, under the guardianship of a body of Rajpoots. Nour Jehan, on learning that the emperor had been carried to the tents of Mohabet Khan, put on a disguise, and succeeded in reaching the royal camp on the opposite side of the river, where she set on foot immediate preparations for a forcible rescue. Jehangeer, afraid of what might happen to himself in the confusion, sent a messenger with his signet, to desire that no attack might be made; but she treated the message as a trick of Mohabet Khan's, and, at the head of the army, began to ford the river, the bridge having been, in the interim, burned by the Rajpoots. Rockets, balls,

* Della Valle states, that Nour Jehan had previously desired to marry her daughter to Khosru, offering, on that condition, to obtain his release; but he steadily refused, from strong affection to the wife he had already married, and who, after vainly urging him to comply with the proffered terms, continued as heretofore the patient companion of his long and sad captivity.—(*London translation of* 1665, p. 30.)

† According to Gladwin, this war "so deluged the empire with blood, that there was hardly a family but shared in the calamity."—*Hindoostan*, vol. i. p. 45.

‡ Shah Jehan was warmly befriended in Oudi-

and arrows were discharged upon the troops, as they strove to make good their passage over a dangerous shoal, full of pools, with deep water on either side; and, on setting foot on the beach, they were fiercely opposed by the Rajpoots, who drove them back into the water, sword in hand. The ford became choked with horses and elephants, and a frightful sacrifice of life ensued. The empress* was among those who succeeded in effecting a landing, and at once became the special object of attack. The elephant on which she rode was speedily surrounded, the guards cut to pieces, and, among the balls and arrows which fell thick round her howdah, one wounded the infant daughter of Shehriar, who was seated in her lap, and another killed her driver. The elephant having received a severe cut on the proboscis, dashed into the river, and was carried along by the current; but, after several plunges, swam out, and safely reached the shore, where Nour Jehan was quickly surrounded by her attendants, who found her engaged in extracting the arrow, and binding up the wound of the terrified infant. The repulse was complete; for, although a portion of the royalists, under an officer named Fedai Khan, had, during the confusion of the battle, entered the enemy's camp at an unsuspected point, and penetrated so far that their balls and arrows fell within the tent where Jehangeer was seated, they were compelled to retire by the general defeat, and Fedai Khan, having lost most of his men, and being himself wounded, immediately took refuge in the neighbouring fort of Rohtas, of which he was governor.

Nour Jehan, perceiving the hopelessness of attempting the forcible rescue of her husband, determined to join him in his captivity; and her brother, with other leaders, were eventually obliged to surrender themselves to Mohabet Khan, who appeared to be completely triumphant, but whose position, nevertheless, demanded great circumspection. He had from the first affected to treat Jehangeer with much ceremonious deference; and the captive monarch, tutored by Nour Jehan, pretended to be completely reconciled to his position, and glad to be relieved from the thraldom of Asuf Khan. He even carried his duplicity so far as to warn Mohabet of the ambition and discontent of the empress, and acted his part so cleverly, as completely to deceive his gaoler. Meanwhile the army advanced to Cabool, and the Afghans in the neighbourhood showed every disposition to take part with the emperor, while the dissensions among the troops gave full employment to their general. Nour Jehan was too able an intriguante not to take advantage of such favourable circumstances. She employed agents to enlist fit men in scattered points at a distance, whence some were to straggle into the camp, as if in quest of service; while others were to remain at their positions, and await further orders. Jehangeer next suggested a muster of the troops of all the jaghiredars, of whom the empress formed an important member, holding large estates, and having been made a munsubdar of 30,000; commanders of that rank being, it will be remembered, only expected or even suffered to maintain a much smaller number. When summoned to produce her contingent, she expressed indignation at being placed on the level of an ordinary subject; but, on pretence of desiring to produce a respectable muster, increased her previous force, by gradually receiving the recruits from the country. Mohabet Khan began to suspect some plot, but suffered himself to be persuaded by Jehangeer to avoid personal risk, by forbearing to accompany him to the muster of Nour Jehan's contingent. The emperor advanced alone to the review, and had no sooner got to the centre of the line, than the troops closed in on him, cut off the Rajpoot horse, by whom he was guarded, and, being speedily joined by their confederates, placed his person beyond the reach of recapture. Mohabet Khan, perceiving himself completely duped, withdrew to a distance with his troops, and, after some attempts at negotiation, came to an open rupture, and entered into alliance with Shah Jehan. This prince had endeavoured to take advantage of his father's captivity to renew hostilities, by marching from the Deccan to Ajmeer at the head of little more than 1,000 men; but the death of his chief adherent, Rajah Kishen Sing, deprived him of at least half his followers, and he was compelled to fly across the desert to

poor, where a sumptuous edifice was raised for his use, adorned with a lofty dome crowned with a crescent; the interior richly decorated with mosaic in onyx, cornelian, jasper and agates, rich Turkey carpets, &c.; and that nothing of state might be wanting to the royal refugee, a throne was sculptured from a single block of serpentine, supported by quadriform female caryatidæ: in the court a little chapel was erected to the Moslem-Saint, Madar.

* Nour Jehan was a true Amazon: Jehangeer records with much pride her having, on a hunting party, killed four tigers with a matchlock from her elephant.

Sinde. Thence he purposed proceeding to Persia, but, being delayed by sickness, remained there until affairs took a more promising turn. Parvaez died at Boorhanpoor, according to the general account, of epilepsy, brought on by excessive drinking, though Tod asserts him to have been slain at the instigation of Shah Jehan, who proceeded to the Deccan, where he was joined by Mohabet Khan.

Jehangeer, shortly after his restoration to liberty, quitted Cabool for his residence at Lahore, and from thence set off on his annual visit to "the blooming saffron meads" of Cashmere. But the autumn was unusually cold, and the clear pure air of the lovely valley proved too keen for the broken constitution of the emperor. A severe attack of asthma came on, and an attempt was made to carry him back to the warmer climate of Lahore. The motion and passage of the mountains increased the complaint, and before a third of the journey was accomplished he expired, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

His character was full of contradictions. Though cruel and rapacious, he yet, in many ways, evinced a sort of paternal interest in the welfare of his subjects, and a desire for the impartial administration of justice between rich and poor—Moslem and Hindoo. He occasionally quitted the palace, and went abroad on nocturnal expeditions, mingling freely with the lower classes, without any fear of assassination, although his person, from his daily appearance in public, must have been well known. His easy and familiar manners rendered him popular, notwithstanding the frightful torments inflicted on real or alleged criminals by his express orders. Many of his proceedings favour the idea that he had inherited from his mother a taint of madness, which his excesses in wine and opium sometimes brought into action. He was probably as complete a deist as his father, but superstition had laid much heavier chains on his weak and wayward mind; and some of the tales gravely recorded by him might find a fit place in the *Arabian Nights*. Unfortunately, his autobiography ceases about the middle of his reign. Long before its conclusion, the whole tone and spirit changes; and instead of exulting over his immense possessions, the royal writer dwells bitterly on the unceasing anxiety attendant on sovereign power, declaring that the jewels formerly coveted had become worthless in his sight, and that satiety had utterly extinguished the delight he had once taken in contemplating the graces of youth and beauty. Like a far wiser monarch—even Solomon—he had discovered that all was vanity and vexation of spirit, but knew not, or cared not to search out the antidote.

With Jehangeer all the schemes of Nour Jehan perished. On her attempting to assert the claims of the absent Shehriar, her own brother, probably weary of the tyranny to which he had been so long subjected, placed her under restraint; but, on being released, she was treated with respect, and allowed a yearly stipend of a quarter of a million sterling. Throughout her widowhood she lived very quietly; abstained from all entertainments; wore no colour but white; and at her death, in 1646, was buried in a tomb she had herself erected, close to that of the emperor, at Lahore.

Reign of Shah Jehan.—On the death of Jehangeer, Asuf Khan immediately sent a messenger to fetch his son-in-law, whose cause he had resolved to support, although (according to Dow), by the will of the late emperor, the throne had been expressly bequeathed to Shehriar. Pending the arrival of Shah Jehan, the vizier, desirous to sanction his own proceedings by the semblance of legal authority, released Prince Dawir, the son of Khosru, from prison, and proclaimed him king. Shehriar, who had been at Lahore some weeks, on learning his father's death, seized the royal treasure, took command of the troops—whose favour he gained by extravagant largesses—and set free the two sons of Prince Danial from the species of honourable captivity in which they had been detained by Jehangeer ever since their father's death, in accordance with the cruel policy of oriental despotism. The confederate princes were defeated and captured by Asuf Khan. Meanwhile, the Rajpoot allies of Shah Jehan, delighted at the prospect of his rising fortunes, sent an escort to Surat to accompany him thence to Oudipoor, and there, within the hospitable walls which had sheltered him in exile, the now triumphant prince was first formally hailed Emperor of Hindoostan. Rana Kurrun did not live to witness the joyful return of the wanderer; he had died shortly before Jehangeer: his brother, Rajah Bheem, with many noble chiefs, had fallen in the cause; but their representative, Juggut Sing, received from the new emperor, on his departure, a ruby of inestimable value, the

restoration of five alienated provinces, and a most welcome permission to reconstruct the fortifications of Chittore. Other emotions besides those of gratitude were, however, at work within the breast of Shah Jehan. Resolved, by any means, to grasp the imperial sceptre, he sent to Asuf Khan a mandate for the execution of the puppet he had placed upon the throne, also of his brother Shehriar, the two sons of Danial, and another prince, the son of Khosru. The tyrannical command was obeyed.* Shah Jehan was proclaimed king at Agra, January, 1628, and not a male of the house of Timur remained to cause him present or future anxiety, save only his four sons, whose strife and rebellion were destined, by retributive justice, to scourge his crimes, to snatch the sceptre from his feeble hands, and immure him for long years the captive of a son, who, like himself, scrupled not to wade to a throne through the blood of near kindred.

But this is anticipating events; for Shah Jehan's reign lasted thirty years before its miserable termination. His first acts were evidently designed to obliterate from the public mind, and probably from his own, the means by which he had endeavoured to consolidate his authority. Following, to a limited extent, the example of his father, he opened the doors of the fortress of Gwalior to all state-prisoners, some of whom had been in confinement during the whole of the preceding reign—a measure which did more to procure him popularity than the magnificence of his festivals or the costly structures which he delighted in erecting. From these pursuits he was soon diverted by local disturbances. The Uzbeks invaded Cabool, but were driven out by Mohabet Khan. The Mogul arms were next directed against Narsing Deo, of Bundelcund (the destroyer of Abul Fazil), and the rajah, after long resistance, was eventually brought to submission.

As Shah Jehan considered it the bounden duty of every great prince to leave to his posterity a larger territorial sway than that which he had himself inherited,† it is not surprising that abundant reason was soon found for invading the Deccan. At this period, the three remaining governments held by Moslems—Ahmednuggur, Beejapoor, and Golconda, had nearly recovered their ancient limits. Khan Jehan Lodi, an Afghan officer of rank, being left with undivided authority over the Moguls after the death of Prince Parvaez, had deemed it necessary or expedient, during the troubled state of affairs occasioned by the disputes regarding the succession, and the proceedings of Mohabet Khan, to surrender the remaining portion of Shah Jehan's conquests in the Deccan to the son of Malek Amber, who had succeeded his father in the Nizam Shahi government: but the fort of Ahmednuggur was still held by a Mogul garrison, who refused to obey Khan Jehan Lodi's command. When Shah Jehan set out to ascend the throne, Khan Jehan refused to join him. On learning the defeat and death of Shehriar and Dawir, he proffered allegiance, and was confirmed in his government by the new emperor, but soon removed thence to Malwa, Mohabet Khan taking his place in the Deccan. Having cooperated in the reduction of Narsing Deo, Khan Jehan was invited to court, whither he proceeded with his two sons, relying for safety both on the assurances given to him individually, and on the edict of indemnity proclaimed to all who had opposed the accession of the reigning sovereign. The usher of the court evinced a marked disrespect towards him—or so at least the proud Afghan considered—but the ceremonies of presentation were passed without any positive disturbance. His son, Azmut, a lad of sixteen, with all his father's high spirit and less discretion, was next introduced; and he, considering that he had been kept too long prostrate, sprang up before the signal was given. The usher struck him on the head with his rod; the youth aimed a blow in return; upon which a general confusion ensued, and Khan Jehan, with his sons, rushed from the palace

* According to Dow, all the five princes were murdered; but Elphinstone (on the authority of Olearius, *Ambassadors Travels*, p. 190) states that Dawir found means to escape to Persia, where he was seen by the Holstein ambassadors, in 1688. The conduct of Shah Jehan on this occasion strongly favours the general belief of his having instigated the assassination of his brother, Khosru, (see p. 124.) Mr. Elphinstone partially defends him, by remarking, "that we ought not readily to believe that a life not sullied by any other crime could be stained by one of so deep a dye" (vol. ii. p. 368.) But, in a subsequent page, he expressly states, that Shehriar "was afterwards put to death with the sons of Danial, by order of Shah Jehan" (vol. ii. p. 388.) He does not adopt Dow's statement of the bequeathing of the throne by Jehangeer to Shehriar; and, consequently, regards that prince and his nephews as having forfeited their lives by rebellion against the lawful authority of Shah Jehan, the eldest surviving son. By Mohammedan law, the children of Danial were cut off from the succession by the death of their father, before their grandfather.

† Dow's *History of Hindoostan*, vol. iii. p. 167.

to their own house, and there shut themselves up within the strong stone walls, with about 300 dependents. The emperor, not caring to order a siege so near his own abode, endeavoured to entice the refractory noble by fair words; but, not venturing to put faith in them, Khan Jehan assembled his troops by night, and marched out of Agra, with his kettle-drums beating.* Within two hours a strong detachment was sent in pursuit, and came up with the fugitives at the river Chumbul. A desperate encounter took place, especially between the Afghans and a body of Rajpoots, who dismounted and charged with lances, according to their national custom. Azmut was slain, after first killing with an arrow the Mogul usher, who had struck him at court; and Khan Jehan, being wounded in an encounter with Rajah Pirthi Sing, plunged into the stream, and succeeded in gaining the opposite bank, from whence, though hotly pursued by a much superior force, he made his way through Bundelcund into the wild and woody country of Gondwana, where he opened a friendly communication with the king of Ahmednuggur.

Towards the close of 1629, Shah Jehan marched to Boorhanpoor, at the head of a powerful armament, and sent on three detachments (estimated by Khafi Khan at 50,000 men each), to march into Ahmednuggur. Khan Jehan and his friends could make no head against this overwhelming force. The kings of Golconda and Beejapoor, as long as possible, kept aloof from the conflict, and Mortezza Nizam Shah, of Ahmednuggur, was himself obliged to seek protection in his forts. Khan Jehan was at length driven from the Deccan, and hunted from place to place. Being overtaken in Bundelcund, he made a desperate stand, and when defeated endeavoured to force his way into the hill-fort of Calinjer, but was repulsed with the loss of his last remaining son, and finally overtaken at a pool, where he had stopped from exhaustion. The few brave adherents who still followed him, he entreated to seek safety in flight, but they (to the number of about thirty) refused to forsake their brave leader, and were, with him, cut to pieces after a desperate struggle with the Rajpoots. The head of the unhappy chief was fixed on a pike, and carried in triumph, as a most acceptable gift, to Shah Jehan, A.D. 1630.

The hostilities against Ahmednuggur did not end with the life of the person whose conduct had formed the pretext for them, but were prosecuted in the ferocious spirit befitting an invader, who declared war to be an evil which compassion contributed to render permanent.† Time passed on; fire and the sword were freely used to ravage the country and dishearten its defenders; drought, famine, and pestilence, to a frightful extent, lent their aid, but still, in 1635, repeated murderous campaigns were found to have left the Deccan as far as ever from being subdued to the imperial yoke.‡

At one time, indeed, affairs had seemed more promising, owing to the internal feuds which wasted the strength of Ahmednuggur. Mortezza Nizam Shah (the king set up by Malek Amber) being, on the death of the vizier, inclined to act for himself, threw the eldest son of his patron, Futteh Khan, into prison; but, being pressed by foes without, and faction within, was soon glad to release him and place him in his father's position. Mohammed Adil Shah of Beejapoor, who had looked on from neutral ground, and left the neighbouring kingdom to maintain single-handed the contest with the Moguls, became alarmed at the probable consequence of the ruin of a monarchy, which, though at all times a rival, and often an inimical state, had nevertheless long formed a valuable bulwark against invasion from Hindoostan. He now, therefore, declared war

* The account given by Elphinstone and Dow, on the authority of native writers, differs greatly. According to the former, Khan Jehan was accompanied in his flight by his women on elephants, and by twelve of his sons. Dow alleges a fearful tragedy to have been previously enacted. Thinking it hopeless to attempt carrying away the inmates of his harem, and dishonourable to abandon them to the lust of his foes, Khan Jehan knew not what to do; when the women, learning his perplexity, took the desperate resolve of destroying themselves, and thus removing all impediments to his escape. They did so, and their shrieks and groans reached the ears of Khan Jehan, who, after hastily performing the rites of sepulture, assembled his followers in the court-yard, threw open the gates and rushed out, maddened by rage and despair.—(Vol. iii., p. 133.)

† Dow's *History of Hindoostan*, vol. iii., p. 168.

‡ Azuf Khan "trod down the scanty harvest in the Deccan, and ravaged with fire and sword the kingdom of Beejapoor."—(Dow, vol. iii., p. 151.) The Hindoos, in despair, abandoned all attempts at cultivation, and prostrated themselves in crowds before the shrine of their gods, upon which, Shah Jehan issued an edict for breaking down their idols, and demolishing the temples. Many Brahmins were massacred; but the resistance offered was so determined, that the emperor was compelled to relinquish this species of persecution, and to adopt more gentle means of inducing them to till the ground.

against Shah Jehan; but the effect of the diversion intended to be created by this step, in favour of Mortezza Nizam Shah, failed in its effect, through the machinations of Futteh Khan, who, treacherously employing the power newly entrusted to him, to the ruin, instead of the protection of his royal master, caused him to be put to death, with his chief adherents. He then took the government into his own hands, and sent a large contribution, or rather bribe, to the Moguls, with offers of submission, and an open profession that the infant he had placed on the throne would hold his dignity in subordination to the emperor. Shah Jehan doubtless considered it as necessary, in the contingencies of war, to overlook perfidy and uphold its perpetrators, as to set aside the pleadings of compassion; and this is not to be wondered at; for justice and mercy, rightly understood—

"Are twin-born sisters; and so mix their eyes,
As if you sever one, the other dies."

Futteh Khan's proposals were immediately accepted; but having no intention of fulfilling his promise to any further extent than that which his own narrow views of expediency might dictate, he no sooner saw the whole Mogul force directed against Beejapoor, than he violated his engagements, and being consequently attacked by the Moguls, once more made common cause with the king of Beejapoor.

Shah Jehan returned to Agra in 1632, after having ineffectually besieged Mohammed Adil Shah in his capital, leaving Mohabet Khan in command. The operations under that general led to Futteh Khan's being shut up in the fort of Doulatabad, where he was besieged, and at length forced or induced to surrender. Notwithstanding all his treachery, he was received into the Mogul army,* while the unhappy child, whom he had styled king, was sent to languish in the lately emptied fort of Gwalior. Ahmednuggur was, however, not yet conquered. Shahjee Bhonslay, an officer who had played a conspicuous part in the recent war, and whose family were afterwards the founders of the Mahratta power, asserted the rights of a new claimant to the throne, and gradually conquered all the districts of that kingdom, from the sea to the capital.

The king of Beejapoor, after the capture of Doulatabad, made overtures of negotiation, but these being unfavourably received, continued to defend himself bravely, until Mohabet Khan, having vainly invested Purinda, was compelled to fall back upon Boorhanpoor, and to desist from aggressive operations. On learning the ill success of his deputies, Shah Jehan resolved to take the field in person, and dividing his troops as before, sent them first into Ahmednuggur to attack Sahjee: having driven him from the open country, they proceeded to assault Beejapoor. Adil Shah was, however, a bold and determined prince; he laid waste the country for twenty miles around, destroyed every particle of food or forage, choked the wells, drained the reservoirs, and rendered it impossible for any army to invest the city. Peace was at length granted, the king of Beejapoor agreeing to pay £200,000 a-year to Shah Jehan, who conferred upon him, in return, a share of the Nizam Shahi dominions. Shahjee held out for some time longer, but at length submitted, gave up the person of the pretended king, and entered into the service of Adil Shah, by the permission of the emperor. The king of Golconda had not ventured to contest Shah Jehan's claim to supremacy and tribute, which he had recognised at the commencement of this expedition, and the emperor returned in triumph, the kingdom of Ahmednuggur being now extinguished.

While these prolonged hostilities were carried on in the Deccan, contests of less magnitude were taking place in Little Thibet, Hooghly, Cutch Behar, and elsewhere.† During his rebellion, Shah Jehan had applied to the Portuguese at Hooghly for aid, and had received a refusal (couched, it is alleged, in terms of reproach for his undutiful conduct), which he only waited a convenient opportunity to revenge. His late wife,‡ Mumtaz Mahal, daughter to Asuf Khan, had also conceived an especial dislike to "the European idolaters," on account of the images before which they worshipped.

* He afterwards became mad, and died from the effects of an old wound in the head.

† In 1634 and 1636, a portion of the troops on the eastern frontier completed the settlement of Little Thibet; another detachment was defeated, and almost destroyed, in an attempt to conquer Srinagar in 1634; and a third, after subduing the petty state of Cutch Behar from Bengal, in 1637, was compelled to retire by the unhealthiness of the climate.—(Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 401.)

‡ This lady died in 1631. She had been married twenty years, and had borne nearly as many children. Shah Jehan erected to her memory a structure of extraordinary beauty and magnificence (called, by a corruption of her name, Taj Mahal), which forms one of the most interesting monuments of Agra.

These circumstances lent weight to a representation which arrived from the governor of Bengal, complaining of the insolent and aggressive conduct of the Portuguese,* and he received from the emperor the laconic command—"expel these idolaters from my dominions." Hooghly was carried by storm, after a siege of three months and a-half, involving a terrible destruction of life on the side of the Portuguese, whose fleet (including sixty-four large vessels) was almost entirely destroyed. The principal ship, in which about 2,000 men, women, and children had taken refuge, with all their treasure, was blown up by its captain, sooner than yield to the Moguls; and the example was followed in many other vessels. From the prisoners, 500 young persons, of both sexes, were selected, with some of the priests, and sent to Agra; the girls were distributed among the harems of the emperor and chief nobles, and the boys circumcised. The Jesuits and other friars were vainly threatened with severe punishment if they persisted in rejecting the Koran; but, after some months' confinement, were liberated and sent to Goa. The pictures and images, which had excited the displeasure of the queen, were all destroyed, and Hooghly became the royal port of Bengal, A.D. 1632.

In 1637, the Persian governor of Candahar, incited by the tyranny of his sovereign, surrendered this important frontier post to Shah Jehan, who appointed him to various high positions (including, at different times, the governments of Cashmere and Cabool), and made him leader of several important expeditions, the first of which was the invasion of Balkh and Badakshan, in 1644. The pretext for hostilities was Shah Jehan's desire to assert the dormant rights of his family; the inducement, the revolt of the son of the reigning Uzbek sovereign, Nazir Mohammed, and the consequent unfitness of the state to resist foreign invasion. After a large expenditure of blood and treasure, and the display of extraordinary valour on the part of a body of 14,000 Rajpoots, commanded by Rajah Juggut Sing,† who encountered the hardships of the rigorous climate as unshrinkingly as the fierce onsets of the Uzbeks, Balkh was at length captured. In this war the princes Morad and Aurungzebe were both employed; and Shah Jehan twice repaired to Cabool, to support their efforts. But all endeavours to restore order into the conquered territory were rendered ineffectual by the marauding incursions of Uzbeks from the other side of the Oxus, headed by Abdool Aziz, the prince whose turbulence had stimulated the Mogul invasion. Shah Jehan, despairing of being able to keep what it had cost so much to gain, re-instated Nazir Mohammed on his throne, on condition of receiving a small annual tribute; and after restoring the places of which he had got possession, left him to maintain the contest against his rebellious son as best he might.‡

In 1647, Candahar was taken by Shah Abbas II. in person. In 1649 and 1652, it was invested by Aurungzebe; and, in 1653, by Dara Sheko, the acknowledged heir to the throne—Shah Jehan, on each occasion, accompanying the army as far as Cabool. Dara made a fierce and determined attack; for the jealousy already springing up between the royal brothers, rendered him especially desirous to conquer where Aurungzebe had been twice defeated. Besides natural means, he had recourse to magicians and astrologers, who promised great things, but could not prevent the failure of his last desperate assault, in which, though the troops at one time gained the summit of the rampart, they were eventually repulsed, and Dara compelled to raise the siege, after losing the flower of his army in its prosecution. No after-endeavour was made by the Moguls to recover Candahar, of which they had held but precarious possession since its first conquest by Baber.

Two years of nearly undisturbed tranquillity followed, during which, Shah Jehan having completed a revenue survey of his Deccani dominions, gave orders for the adoption of the system of assessment and collection, introduced by Todar Mul, in Bengal. This period is likewise memorable for the death of Saad Ullah Khan, who had succeeded Asuf Khan§ as vizier. In him Shah Jehan lost a wise and upright minister,

* Among other accusations, the governor asserted, that the Portuguese were in the habit of kidnapping or purchasing children, and sending them as slaves to other parts of India.—(Stewart's *Bengal*, p. 240.)

† Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 402. This chief would appear to have been the son of Mokund Sing, Rajah of Kotah, a branch of the Oudipoor family.

‡ Upon this war, according to Dow, six million were expended out of the imperial treasury, besides estates granted to the value of one million more.

§ Asuf Khan died in 1641, leaving several children; but as the emperor loved money, and might possibly avail himself of the law which constituted the sovereign heir to all his officers, the prudent vizier

whose ability had made amends for the decreasing energy consequent on the criminal excesses in which the emperor had indulged after the death of his favourite wife.

Towards the close of 1655, a pretext was found for renewing the war in the Deccan. Abdullah Kootb Shah, of Golconda, had taken for his chief minister, Meer Jumla, originally a Persian adventurer, who had gradually acquired great wealth as a diamond merchant. During the absence of this officer, in command of an army in the eastern part of the kingdom, his son, Mohammed Ameen, a dissolute and violent young man, seated himself on the musnud, in a fit of intoxication; for which offence he was severely reprimanded, and forbidden to appear in the presence of the sultan. Meer Jumla, either from distrust of his sovereign, or, as is more probable, from some previous understanding with Aurungzebe, to whom he was personally known, took occasion to solicit the assistance of that prince. Such conduct was inexcusably disloyal; for it does not appear that either the life or liberty of the offender were in danger; and Abdullah, by the regular payment of the stipulated tribute since the last pacification, had left no plea for Mogul interference. Nevertheless, Shah Jehan was induced to send to the sultan a peremptory order for the discharge of both father and son, for whom the same envoy bore commissions in the imperial service as munsubdars, respectively of 5,000 and 2,000 horse. Before the arrival of the ambassador, Abdullah having learned his approach and mission, threw Mohammed Ameen into prison, and confiscated the property of his father. Shah Jehan then authorised Aurungzebe to carry his command into effect by force of arms, which the wily prince proceeded to do after his own treacherous and manœuvring fashion, by despatching a chosen force, under pretence of escorting his son, Sultan Mohammed, to Bengal,* there to espouse his cousin, the daughter of Prince Shuja, the viceroy of that province. Abdullah Shah was preparing an entertainment for the reception of the supposed bridegroom, when he suddenly advanced as an enemy, and took the sultan so entirely by surprise, that he had only time to fly to the neighbouring hill-fort of Golconda, while Hyderabad fell into the hands of the Moguls, and was plundered and half-burned before the soldiery could be brought into order. Abdullah Shah released Mohammed Ameen, restored the confiscated property, and did all in his power to enter into an accommodation on reasonable terms, but Aurungzebe persisted in investing Golconda, and Meer Jumla drew near with re-inforcements, in readiness to turn his unfortunate master's troops against himself.

After repeated unsuccessful attempts to obtain aid from Beejapoor, and to raise the siege by force, Abdullah Shah was compelled to submit to the severe terms imposed upon him of giving his daughter in marriage to Sultan Mohammed, with a large dowry in land and money, and paying a crore of rupees (£1,000,000 sterling) as the first instalment of a yearly tribute; in which, however, a considerable remission was afterwards made by Shah Jehan.

When these matters were settled, the kingdom of Beejapoor was invaded by Aurungzebe on a plea as hollow as that used for the attack on Golconda. Mohammed Adil Shah died in November, 1656, and was succeeded by his son Ali, a youth of nineteen. A large portion of the Beejapoor army was employed at a distance, in wars with the petty Hindoo princes of the Carnatic; and Aurungzebe, having obtained his father's approval of his nefarious project, asserted the right of the emperor to decide upon the succession, denied that the minor was the real issue of the late sovereign, advanced upon the capital, and by sudden and treacherous† proceedings, left the new king no resource but to sue for peace on any terms. Even this overture was rejected by Aurungzebe, who would probably have speedily obtained complete possession of the kingdom, had not his attention been suddenly diverted by the startling intelligence, that his father's disgraceful indulgences had brought on an attack of paralysis and strangury, which threatened to terminate fatally.

At this time, the children of Shah Jehan, by Mumtaz Mahal, were six in number. Dara Sheko, the eldest, then in his forty-second year, was a high-spirited prince, dignified in his manners, and generous to his adherents,

thought it best to distribute a certain portion of his wealth, amounting to £375,000, among his children and servants, leaving the remainder (nearly £4,000,000 stg.) to his grandson, Dara Sheko. His landed estates, of course, reverted to the crown.

* In the road from Aurungabad to Bengal, a circuit is made to avoid the forests of Gondwana, and thus the prince was enabled to come within a short distance of Hyderabad, without creating suspicion.

† He succeeded in corrupting Ali's prime minister.

but obstinate in the extreme, and impatient of advice, even from counsellors on whose judgment and ability he might be expected to place most reliance. Shuja was brave, and not devoid of capacity, but given up to wine and pleasure. Aurungzebe, the third brother, was a man of extraordinary ability. His talents for war and intrigue had been repeatedly manifested, and Dara appears to have fully appreciated the depth of ambitious resolve which lay hidden beneath the veil of extreme humility of deportment and an affected indifference to all worldly distinction.*

Zeal for the religion of Mohammed was the ostensible motive of Aurungzebe's conduct through life; how far felt or how far feigned, can scarcely be decided, owing to the profound and habitual dissimulation which marked his whole career. A creed to be unceasingly promulgated by any and every means, was, in either case, a convenient political weapon; and Aurungzebe used it skilfully and without scruple. Frugal and abstemious almost to asceticism, he seemed resolved to follow in the steps of the early caliphs, and drew the attention of the more zealous Moslems, by his studious fulfilment of every ordinance, until he became looked up to as the champion of Islam, in contradistinction to Dara, who openly professed many of the tenets of Akber, and had written a book to reconcile the Hindoo and Mohammedan doctrines. Shuja, the viceroy of Bengal, was unpopular with the orthodox party, on account of his attachment to the Persian sect of the Sheiahs. Morad, the youngest prince, the governor of Guzerat, was brave and generous, but presumptuous and self-willed, with little intellect, and addicted to sensual gratifications. Padshah Begum, the elder of the two daughters, was richly endowed with beauty and talent. She exercised unbounded influence over her father, and was a great support to her favourite brother Dara. Roushenara, the younger princess, though less gifted with personal or mental attractions, possessed considerable aptitude for intrigue; and having made common cause with Aurungzebe, served him materially, by forwarding reliable information respecting the state of affairs at court at critical periods.

Dara endeavoured to keep the illness of the emperor a profound secret until the crisis should be past, by intercepting correspondence and detaining travellers likely to spread the news throughout the provinces; but all in vain: the absent princes soon learned what had occurred, and at once prepared to struggle for life and empire. Shuja assembled the troops of Bengal, and marched forthwith into Behar, on his way to the capital. Morad seized the money in the district treasuries of Guzerat, and laid siege to Surat, where there was a governor independent of his authority. Aurungzebe prepared his forces, but made no open declaration of war, until orders came from Dara, in the name of the emperor, directing Meer Jumla and other commanders to quit his standard. This injunction carried considerable weight in the case of the above-named general. On joining the Moguls, he had been appointed to the highest offices at court, but through the solicitations of Dara, was sent back to the Deccan. His family remained at Agra: he therefore feared the consequences of disobeying the imperial mandate. The subtlety of Aurungzebe soon suggested an expedient. Meer Jumla was seized with pretended violence, and placed in the fort of Doulatabad, while his chief officers continued secretly to obey his commands. Dara and Shuja, Aurungzebe knew, might be safely left to fight out their own quarrel; in Morad, he calculated, with reason, upon finding a useful tool, as well as an easy dupe. He addressed him a letter in the most adulatory strain, proffering his zealous co-operation against the infidel Dara, and declaring, that after aiding his worthy brother to mount the throne, he should renounce the world, and devote his life to praying for his welfare in the holy retirement of Mecca. Morad, completely deceived, joyfully accepted the offer, and Aurungzebe marched to join him in Malwa, whither Rajah Jeswunt Sing had been already sent to oppose them; but he, from sheer fool-hardiness, is alleged to have permitted the junction of the princes. Meanwhile, Shah Jehan had sufficiently recovered to resume the general control of the government. The tender solicitude of Dara, during his illness, had rendered

* One of our best authorities for this period is Bernier, an intelligent French traveller, who having been reduced to a state of penury "by various adventures with robbers, and by the heavy expenses incurred on a journey of near seven weeks from Surat to Agra and Delhi," was glad to accept a salary from Shah Jehan in the capacity of physician, and also from Danechmund Khan, a distinguished noble of the Mogul court to which Bernier was attached for eight years.

this son more dear to him than ever, and he resented with energy the misconduct of the other princes. To Shuja he wrote, commanding him in imperative terms to return immediately to his government; but instead of obeying, the prince affected to consider the order dictated by Dara, and continued his progress until he encountered Soliman Sheko, the son of Dara, in the neighbourhood of Benares, by whom he was defeated and compelled to retreat into Bengal. This battle occurred at the close of 1657: in the spring of the following year, a fierce conflict took place between the forces of the confederate princes and Rajah Jeswunt Sing, who had encamped on the river Sipra, near Oojein. The Rajpoots fought bravely, but were ill-supported, for most of the Moguls deserted to the enemy. The rajah retired in disorder to his own country, and Morad, whose gallantry had been very conspicuous throughout the sanguinary conflict, which had lasted from morning to sunset, was hailed as sole victor, Aurungzebe still acting in conformity with the solemn oath of fidelity and allegiance he had voluntarily taken at their first meeting. Shah Jehan now determined to take the field in person against his turbulent sons. Had he persevered in this resolve, much bloodshed would probably have been spared, as the soldiers of the rebel camp were known to be well-disposed towards him personally, and would doubtless have rallied round his standard. But Dara did not comprehend the extent of the danger; regard for his father's infirm state, united perhaps to a more selfish desire of keeping the authority in his own hands, rendered him averse to this proposition, and Shah Jehan reluctantly gave way. Confident in his superior numbers, Dara refused even to wait for Soliman, then on his victorious march from Benares with the flower of the troops, and proceeded single-handed to meet the advancing foe.*

The hostile armies came in sight of each other at Samaghar, one march from Agra, in the beginning of June, 1658. The battle which ensued was long and bloody, the three brothers fighting with desperation. Morad was attacked by 3,000 Uzbek archers, who showered their arrows upon his howdah until they resembled the bristling quills of a porcupine, and the frightened elephant would have rushed from the field, had he not ordered its feet to be chained, thus (although wounded in several places) cutting off his own power of retreat. Aurungzebe saw his brother's danger, but was fully occupied in opposing Dara, who having, by a third fierce charge of cavalry, broken through the guns chained together in front of the enemy's line, now carried all before him, and, though again checked, would probably have eventually prevailed, had not a rocket struck the elephant on which he rode, while pressing forward and cheering on his troops by voice and action. The terrified animal became perfectly ungovernable. Dara threw himself from its back and sprang upon a horse; but an attendant, while fastening on his quiver, was killed by a shot. The momentary confusion which occurred among those immediately around him, added to the effect of his previous disappearance from the view of the more distant troops, occasioned a general panic. With him the sole object of the war was supposed to have perished; and the confederate princes perceiving their advantage, pressed forward and drove the now disordered foe, including Dara himself, before them, in irremediable disorder. Rajah Chutter-sal, of Boondi, with his vassals, formed the vanguard of the unfortunate prince, and made a devoted but unavailing effort to stem the torrent. The rajah himself, clad in saffron robes, with a chaplet of pearls on his head, was true to these ensigns of victory or death. Leaping from the back of his wounded elephant, which he could not restrain from joining in the general flight, he mounted his horse, and forming his men in a dense mass, led them to attack Morad, against whom he was about hurling his lance, when a cannon-ball laid him dead at his feet. The brave band were soon hemmed in, and the heads of every Hara clan, including six princes of the blood-royal of Boondi, perished, maintaining inviolate their oath of allegiance to Shah Jehan When the issue of the day was evident, Aurungzebe fell on his knees and returned thanks for the victory granted to Morad, whom he saluted, and affecting lively emotion at the sight of his wounds, wiped the blood from his face, and warmly congratulated him on the acquisition of a kingdom. While this hypocritical scene was being enacted, the unhappy Dara pur-

* Khafi Khan states the imperial force at above 70,000 horse, with innumerable elephants and guns. (Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 423.) Bernier, at 100,000 horse, 20,000 foot, and 80 pieces of cannon. He reckons the opposing army as not exceeding "40,000 men of all arms."—(Brock's *Translation*, vol. i., p. 50.)

sued his flight to Agra, with about 2,000 men, most of them wounded; and feeling ashamed to present himself before the indulgent father, whose counsels he had disregarded, proceeded to Delhi, accompanied by his wife and two children, and was subsequently joined by 5,000 horse, sent by Shah Jehan to his assistance. Three days after the battle, Aurungzebe encamped before the walls of Agra, took immediate possession of the city, but did not attempt to enter by force the royal residence, contenting himself for some days longer by sending messages to his father, pleading the necessity of the case, and requesting to be forgiven and admitted to his presence. It is probable that he really desired to conciliate the aged monarch, and would have preferred carrying on the government in his name, at least until all rivalry should be completely crushed; but Shah Jehan resented his protestations of filial affection as an additional insult, and did not swerve from his attachment to Dara. Aurungzebe, therefore, sent his son, Mohammed Sultan* to take possession of the citadel, and prevent all communication between the emperor and every one beyond its walls. This appears to have been done without difficulty; for there is no record of a single effort being made to assert the rights of the monarch, who remained in a sort of honourable captivity, until his death, seven years after, aged seventy-four. During the long reign thus abruptly closed, the internal administration of affairs had been conducted with more rectitude and ability than, perhaps, under any other Mogul ruler. Khafi Khan (the best historian of those times) asserts, that although Akber was pre-eminent as a conqueror and a law-giver, yet, in territorial and financial arrangements, he could bear no comparison with his grandson. Although a staunch Mussulman, Shah Jehan was warmly attached to the Hindoos, who, as we have seen, had spent their best blood freely in his behalf, and his foreign wars did not interrupt the tranquillity which prevailed, almost without interruption, throughout his dominions. Wealth, both public and private, increased in a remarkable degree, and the annual revenue is supposed to have exceeded thirty-two million sterling. A new city was built at Delhi,† on a regular plan, far surpassing the old one in magnificence; and the imperial establishments, retinue, and appurtenances‡ all exceeded in pomp those of previous reigns. Yet, notwithstanding the costly wars in which he engaged, the maintenance of a large regular army (including 200,000 horse), and the erection of many splendid structures, Shah Jehan left a treasure estimated at twenty-four million sterling, besides vast accumulations in wrought gold and silver, and in jewels.

After deposing his father, the next step of Aurungzebe was to get rid of Morad, whom he continued to delude, by submissive behaviour and unremitting attentions, till they had marched from Agra in pursuit of Dara. Taking advantage of Morad's addiction to pleasure, Aurungzebe invited him to supper, and, waving his own scruples (if

* The circumstances connected with this interesting period are differently told. According to Bernier (whose account Dow appears to have followed), Shah Jehan was tempted to encounter Aurungzebe with his own weapons, and hoping to secure his person, consented to listen to his excuses. The wily prince affected extreme delight at this concession, but alleged, that although he had perfect confidence in his father's good faith, he dreaded the intrigues of his elder sister, and dared not trust the garrison, unless he were permitted to introduce, for his protection, some troops under his son, Mohammed Sultan. Shah Jehan, desirous to get him within reach at all hazards, consented, relying for aid on his daughter, who posted some strong Tartar women belonging to the harem in readiness to seize the prince. Mohammed was suffered to take possession of the citadel in anticipation of the arrival of Aurungzebe, when intelligence came that he had suddenly ordered his cavalcade to change their course, and was gone to offer up his prayers at the tomb of Akber. Shah Jehan, enraged beyond measure, asked Mohammed what he had come for, if not to guard his father. The curt reply was, "to take charge of the citadel." The insulted monarch pointed to the imperial crown which was suspended above his head, and taking the Koran in his hand, swore that if Mohammed would release him, he would make him emperor, to the exclusion of all his own sons. The prince, from policy or principle, refused the offer, and quitted the presence of his grandfather —little dreaming how soon a stronger temptation would lead him to take the course from which he now turned.—(Bernier, vol. i., p. 72.) Khafi Khan, whose father was an actor in the turbulent scenes of this period, makes no mention of this plot and counter-plot.—(Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 427.)

† *Tavernier's Travels* in various parts of the empire; Mandelsloe's in Guzerat; Graaf and Bruton's (*Murray's Asiatic Discoveries*) in Bengal, Behar and Orissa; afford forcible evidence of the grandeur of the Indian cities of this period, including those situated in remote provinces; and also to the richly-cultivated state of the surrounding country.

‡ The famous throne, of which the chief ornament was a peacock, with its tail spread, represented in its natural colours by various gems, was constructed for Shah Jehan; and a vine was commenced, with leaves and fruit of precious stones, whose rays were reflected from mirrors set in large pearls.

he really had any), induced him, by the two-fold temptation of wine and feminine seductions, to separate himself from his companions, some of whom appear to have warned him against placing such implicit trust in his brother's professions. While stretched on a couch, sleeping off the stupor of intoxication, Morad was seized, fettered, and sent off, before day-break, on an elephant, to Selimghur, a portion of the citadel of Delhi, while three other elephants were dispatched with similar escorts, in different directions, to mislead people as to the actual place of confinement, which was afterwards changed to Gwalior, the Bastille of Hindoostan. The frankness and bravery of the unfortunate prince had rendered him popular with the army, but the suddenness of his seizure seems to have paralysed every effort on his behalf. His chief adherents were brought into the presence of Aurungzebe, who, after receiving their oaths of allegiance, proceeded to Delhi, where he caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and assumed the title of Alumgeer (the Conqueror of the Universe), by which he is designated in local histories and documents.

The *Reign of Aurungzebe* had lasted a twelvemonth before his name was stamped on the coin, or the ceremonial of coronation performed. More pressing affairs claimed his whole attention during the interim. At the time of the fatal battle, Soliman, a brave prince of five-and-twenty, was marching to the aid of his father. Rajah Jey Sing, of Amber, who, like most of the Rajpoot leaders, had taken part with the lawful heir, was associated with the prince in the command; but the promises of the usurper, under whom he had served in Balkh, tempted him to abandon Soliman on a very flimsy pretext, as did also another general, named Dileer Khan. Deprived of the strength of his army, and scarcely able to retain any authority over the remainder, the prince endeavoured to avoid an encounter with the troops of Aurungzebe by taking the road under the mountains to join Dara; but being intercepted near Hurdwar, his soldiers lost heart, and all, except 500 horse, deserted. With this remnant Soliman proceeded to Sireenuggur, near Kumaon, where a new trial awaited him. The rajah refused to admit him, unless he would first dismiss his faithful followers; and to this proposition he was ultimately compelled to submit, after making an unavailing attempt to return to the fort of Allahabad, in which more than half of his little band perished. On entering the fort of Sireenuggur, with five or six attendants, he was courteously received, but soon found himself, in effect, a prisoner.

Meanwhile, Aurungzebe continued, in person, to pursue Dara. Having, during the early part of his flight, procured some troops at Delhi, the prince marched thence to Lahore, and finding a large sum of money in the royal treasury, began to raise an army. Shah Jehan had written urgently in his favour to the viceroy of Cabool, Mohabet Khan (son of the great general), and Dara, had he proceeded thither, would probably have found valuable auxiliaries in the troops of the province, or, in case of need, a ready refuge among the Afghan tribes, and an easy exit to the territories of the Uzbeks or the Persians. These views, even if entertained, were disconcerted by the prompt measures of Aurungzebe; and Dara, unable to resist the force by which he was threatened, left Lahore with three or four thousand men, on his way to Sinde. The emperor followed him nearly to Moultan; but before reaching that city he learned that Shuja was marching in force from Bengal; therefore, sending a detachment to follow Dara, he hastened to Delhi, and from thence set out to arrest the progress of the advancing army, comprising 25,000 horse and a numerous train of artillery. The brothers met at Cujwa, thirty miles north of Allahabad, and drew up their forces, neither caring to begin the conflict. On this occasion, Aurungzebe was nearly worsted by arts similar to those he himself delighted to employ. Rajah Jeswunt Sing, after his unsuccessful efforts in favour of Dara, had received a message from the victor, with assurances of pardon, and a command to join the army then forming against Shuja. He feigned obedience, but it would appear only for the sake of watching an opportunity to serve the cause of the rightful heir, and his angry feelings were increased by the withholding of the rank to which he considered himself entitled. Having communicated his intentions to Shuja, Jeswunt Sing, one morning before day-break, attacked the rear-ward of the imperial camp with his Rahtore cavaliers; and, during the onset made shortly afterwards by the prince's army in front, the rajah deliberately loaded his camels with plunder, and marched off to Agra, leaving the brothers to a contest which he heartily wished might involve the destruction of both. Notwithstanding

this inauspicious commencement, the self-possession and valour of Aurungzebe gained the day. The battle began by a cannonade, followed by a close action, in which he was repeatedly in imminent danger; but the centre of Shuja's troops was at length broken, and they fled, leaving 114 pieces of cannon and many elephants on the field. Mohammed Sultan and Meer Jumla (whose mock imprisonment had ceased so soon as his family were set free by the flight of Dara) were sent with a strong force to Bengal, while the emperor proceeded to Agra. The governor of this city, Shaista Khan, had just been relieved from great alarm; for the triumphant approach of Jeswunt Sing, added to discouraging reports from the field of battle, and various signs of popular feeling in favour of Shah Jehan, had so perplexed him that he would have swallowed poison, but for the timely interposition of his wife. Had Jeswunt at once attacked the citadel, the garrison would probably have surrendered, and the aged monarch been set at liberty; but the attempt was fraught with hazard; for besides the danger of shutting up his troops within the precincts of the capital, it would prevent his forming a junction with Dara, whom he had instructed to hasten to the scene of action. Aurungzebe, on returning to Agra, had consequently the satisfaction of learning that Jeswunt had departed to his own territories in Marwar, whither he sent 10,000 men to seize his person and reclaim the spoils now safely housed within the castle of Joda. But this open hostility was soon changed for a policy more congenial to the character of the wily monarch. The affairs of Dara had taken an unlooked-for turn,—after being compelled, by the desertion of his followers and the death of his carriage-cattle, to relinquish his designs upon Sinde, the fugitive had, through the loyalty of the governor of Guzerat (Shah Nawaz Khan, father-in-law to both Aurungzebe and Morad), obtained possession of the whole province, including Surat and Baroach. The territories of Jeswunt Sing extended from Guzerat to Ajmeer: to prevent his forming the projected coalition with Dara, was, therefore, of the highest importance to Aurungzebe, who, laying aside his plans of vengeance for a more convenient season, instead of soldiers and musketry, sent the rajah a letter in his own hand-writing, full of flattery and blandishments, conceding the rank and office, the withholding of which had previously been a cause of irritation. This politic conduct, added to the delay of Dara, made Jeswunt falter in his resolve, and by the mediation of Jey Sing, Aurungzebe succeeded in persuading him to rely on his good faith, and keep aloof from a cause which could only end in the ruin of its object and all connected with him. Dara, disappointed of the expected co-operation, fortified a commanding position on the hills near Ajmeer, and there awaited the approach of his brother. Three days' cannonading was followed by a general assault, in which, after the lapse of many hours, Shah Nawaz fell just as a party of the imperial troops mounted the ramparts. The prince fled precipitately, attended by the females of his family and a small body of horse, and reached the neighbourhood of Ahmedabad, after eight days* and nights of almost incessant marching, rendered nearly intolerable by the heat and dust of a scorching season, to which were latterly added the merciless attacks of the hill Coolies, who stripped or massacred every man separated from his companions. When within a march of Ahmedabad, Dara was informed that the gates were shut against him, and he must seek shelter elsewhere. Amid tears and lamentations the weary cavalcade resumed its toilsome progress; and after much loss of life in the desert, through hunger, thirst, and fatigue, at length reached the small territory of Joon, on the eastern frontier of Sinde. The chief of Joon,† apparently an Afghan, had been twice condemned to death for murder and treason, but saved from the vengeance of Shah Jehan by the intercession of Dara, who now relied upon his gratitude, notwithstanding the warnings and entreaties of his adherents. Dara's wife (the daughter of Prince Parvaez), who had been wounded in the late battle, and was fast sinking under suffering and fatigue, implored him to leave her, and prosecute without delay his journey to Persia. But the

* On the fourth day, Dara was met by Bernier, who was on his way to Delhi, unconscious of passing events. The sultana had been wounded, and there was no physician among the little band. The profession of the traveller being discovered, he was obliged to join Dara, and would have been taken on to Sinde, but that neither threats nor entreaties could procure a single horse, ox, or camel for his use. Having beheld the hapless prince and his family depart, Bernier, after a week's detention, succeeded in persuading the Coolies, "by a grand display of professional skill," to attach a bullock to his carriage and conduct him to Ahmedabad. (Vol. i. p. 106.)

† Called Jihon Khan in Brock's *Bernier*.

prince could not be prevailed upon to forsake his faithful companion in the trying hour of death, and after she had expired in his arms, he sent a portion of his small force, with two confidential servants, to attend her remains to Lahore. When the period of mourning permitted, he set out towards the Indus, accompanied by a brother of the chief of Joon and a body of troops, under pretence of escorting him to the frontier; but suddenly, the signal being given, Dara and his son, Seper Sheko, were seized and carried prisoners to Aurungzebe, who was then engaged in celebrating the anniversary of his accession. Loaded with chains, habited in coarse and dirty raiment, and mounted on a sorry elephant without housings, the royal captives were conducted through the most populous streets of the capital, amid the tears and groans of the people. No attempt at a rescue was made; but the next day the chief of Joon being recognised on his way to court, was nearly torn to pieces by the populace.* The leader of the tumult was executed; and shortly after, a mock consultation having been held by the chief counsellors and lawyers, Dara was pronounced worthy of death as an apostate Mohammedan. Aurungzebe gave his consent with affected reluctance, and selected a personal enemy of his brother's to carry the sentence into effect. When the assassins entered the prison, Dara and his son were occupied in preparing some lentils, the only food they would touch for fear of poison. Seizing a small kitchen knife, the sole weapon in his possession, Dara defended himself to the last; but being overwhelmed by numbers, was thrown down and decapitated. His body was exhibited to the populace on an elephant, and his head carried to Aurungzebe, who, having satisfied himself of its identity by washing the blood from the distorted features, affected to weep, and directed its interment in the tomb of Humayun. Seper Sheko was sent to the dreary fortress of Gwalior, whose gates soon afterwards opened to receive no less a person than Mohammed Sultan, the eldest son and acknowledged heir of Aurungzebe.

This prince had been betrothed to his cousin, the daughter of Shuja, but the marriage was broken off by the outburst of civil war. Seeing the critical position of her father, the princess addressed a communication to Mohammed, reminding him of their engagement; this appeal, added to his restless disposition and jealousy of Meer Jumla, who was associated with him in the command of the army, induced him to go over to his uncle, a step which he probably thought would be followed by the majority of the imperial army. Any such movement was prevented by the zeal and influence of Meer Jumla, and hostilities were recommenced at the conclusion of the rainy season. Shuja received his nephew with honour, and gave him his daughter in marriage; but either from the machinations of Aurungzebe,† or some other cause not satisfactorily explained, distrust sprang up between them, and the prince again deserted his party, and threw himself upon the mercy of his father, who immediately sent him to Gwalior. After a series of unsuccessful struggles, Shuja retreated to Dacca, and being hotly pursued by Meer Jumla, fled, with a few attendants, to Arracan. The remainder of his history is very imperfectly known. A difference is said to have arisen between him and the rajah, whose avarice was roused by the sight of the wealth of the prince, and, on one pretext or another, he was prevented from hiring vessels in which to proceed to Mokha, *en route* for Mecca. Shuja, irritated by this treatment, entered into a plot with the Mussulmans of the country to overturn the existing government; but, being detected, was seized by the rajah's emissaries, and put to death. Of his wife and family, no certain particulars were ever made public in Hindoostan; but it is probable they all perished by violence about the same time.‡

* When returning to his own country, laden with the price of blood, he was waylaid and assassinated.

† Dow asserts (but without giving his authority, who is evidently neither Khafi Khan nor Bernier) that Aurungzebe wrote a letter to his son, as if in answer to an appeal for forgiveness, and caused it to fall into the hands of Shuja, who, thereupon, dismissed his son-in-law and daughter from the camp, not crediting their protestations of innocence.

‡ Bernier, vol. i., p. 124. According to Dow, Shuja and his son, after bravely defending the mountain passes while endeavouring to make good their retreat to Pegu, were overpowered by means of stones hurled upon them from the adjoining rocks. Shuja was drowned (the doom of royal criminals in Arracan) in sight of his wife and daughters, who, in despair, flung themselves headlong into the river, but were rescued and carried to the palace. Of these four unhappy ladies, three perished by their own hands; the fourth was married to the rajah, but did not long survive her sufferings and disgrace. The elder son of Shuja and his infant brother were both put to death. Shah Jehan, on learning the melancholy intelligence, exclaimed, "Alas! could not the rajah of Arracan leave one son to Shuja to revenge his grandfather?"—(*Hindoostan*, vol. iii. p. 390.)

At the commencement of 1661, Aurungzebe obtained possession of the person of Dara's eldest son, Soliman; the Rajah of Sireenuggur, after prolonged negotiations, having been at length persuaded, by the arguments of Jey Sing, to deliver up the prince to the imperial officers. He was paraded through the city on an elephant, and then brought into the presence of his uncle in golden fetters. Bernier, who was present, describes his manly bearing as having affected many of the courtiers to tears; and when he implored that his life might be taken at once, rather than that his strength and reason should be undermined by the hateful opium draught* (which he evidently believed to be the common fate of captive princes), even Aurungzebe seemed touched with compassion, and assured him of safety and good treatment.

It is not likely that this pledge was redeemed; for Soliman, together with his brother, Seper Sheko, and the young son of Morad, all died in Gwalior within a short space of time, while the emperor's own son, Mohammed, lived several years, and was eventually restored to comparative freedom. The doom of Morad was less easily decided; for it was necessary to Aurungzebe's views that his death should be well known; and the convenient method of poisoning him in prison might leave a doubt regarding his fate on the public mind, which, in the event of a political crisis, would be eagerly seized by agitators or pretenders. The prince was popular, despite (or probably on account of) his misfortunes: he had endeavoured to escape by means of a rope let down from the battlements;† and Aurungzebe felt that there was no time to lose in compassing his destruction. The son of a man who had been arbitrarily put to death by the prince, while viceroy of Guzerat, was incited to complain against him as a murderer; and, after the formality of a trial and sentence, the last act of this family tragedy closed with the execution of Prince Morad, in prison. The three brothers of Aurungzebe and their brave sons had now all fallen victims to his ambition and their own, goaded on by the hateful policy which too often leaves to eastern princes little choice beyond a throne or a grave. Their aged parent, by a terrible retribution, sickened with horror as the tidings of one catastrophe after another slowly reached him within the walls of his palace-prison. He execrated the name of the son whose crimes had thus cast his own into the shade, and would not suffer his presence. Aurungzebe made repeated overtures of reconciliation by affecting to seek his advice on various affairs of state, and ventured to proffer two requests—the first on behalf of his third son, Prince Akber, for the hand of the daughter of Dara, then under the protection of her aunt Jehanara; the second, for some of the jewels retained by Shah Jehan, for the decoration of the throne. The deposed monarch indignantly rejected both demands, declaring that his granddaughter should never, with his consent, be thus degraded; and the maiden, on her part, avowed her purpose of self-destruction, should force be attempted to ally her with the son of her father's murderer. With regard to the jewels, Shah Jehan sternly bade his son make wisdom and equity the ornaments of his throne, and use no importunity to obtain the coveted gems, since the hammers were in readiness which should, in that case, crush them to powder. Aurungzebe prudently gave way, and his father, gratified by this submission, and by the ample provision made for his expenditure, afterwards sent him various articles more especially connected with the insignia of royalty.

The early measures of the new emperor were well calculated to obliterate from the minds of his subjects the monstrous iniquities above detailed. In the Deccan he had gained a high character for justice as well as austerity; and on grasping the reins of government, he evinced a determination to make the welfare of the people his leading object. In marching to battle against Dara, Aurungzebe had strenuously restrained his soldiers from plundering the countries through which they passed, and had even given compensation for the damage unavoidably occasioned. During a terrible famine which prevailed over different parts of India, resulting from the combined effects of drought and civil war, he made great exertions for the relief of the wretched sufferers, by remitting the taxes, and spending large sums from the treasury in the pur-

* Bernier calls it pousta, and says it was simply a strong infusion of poppy-heads, which the intended victims were compelled to drink daily until they became torpid and senseless, and so died.

† Khafi Khan, quoted by Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 451. It is to be regretted that no complete translation has been made of the works of this author, whose real name was Mohammed Hashem Khan. He was brought up in the service of Aurungzebe, by whom both he and his father (also an historian) were employed in various important military and diplomatic positions.

chase and conveyance of grain, from Bengal and the Punjaub, to the chief seats of distress. This calamity having passed over, the emperor found leisure to plan the extension of his dominions, resting the justification, alike of past and future aggression, on the duty of propagating the Koran by all and every means. One quality, essential to the character of a statesman, or even a successful general, he wanted—namely, confidence in his fellow-men. It was the fitting curse of this arch-hypocrite, that suspicion should lie like the canker-worm at the root of his best-laid plans, occasioning the harassing distrust, or at least the want of cordial support to which the reverses of his generals may be for the most part attributed.

Towards the end of 1661, a successful expedition was despatched against the Rajah of Bikaneer; and early in the following year, Meer Jumla, whose talents were at once the dread and admiration of his distrustful master, was sent to attempt the subjugation of Assam. Having obtained possession of the capital, the victor boastfully declared his intention of pursuing his conquests, and opening the way to China. The rainy season brought with it a change of affairs. The rich plains on either side the Burrampoctra were flooded; the cavalry could not march or even forage; and when the floods subsided, a pestilence broke out among the troops, so that Meer Jumla was glad to make terms with the rajah, renounce his magnificent projects, and withdraw his army. Before reaching Dacca he expired (January 7, 1663), stung by disappointment, and worn down by the fatigues which, despite the burden of advanced age, he had shared in common with the humblest soldier. His son, Mohammed Ameen, was immediately raised to the rank enjoyed by the deceased. Aurungzebe himself had recently received a forcible warning of the precarious tenure by which emperors and peasants alike hold, not merely worldly possessions, but life itself. A dangerous attack of fever completely prostrated him, and his tongue became so palsied as to deprive him almost entirely of the power of speech. Intrigues regarding the succession arose immediately; but Aurungzebe clung to political even more tenaciously than to physical existence, and during the crisis of his disorder, caused himself to be carried into the diurnal assembly of the nobles. Some days after, when scarcely recovered from a swoon (so long and deep that his death was generally reported), he sent for Rajah Jey Sing, and two or three other chief omrahs, to convince them that he lived; and in their presence, being still unable to articulate, wrote an order for the great seal, which had been placed in the charge of the Princess Roushenara, enclosed in a bag, and impressed with the signet which had remained fastened to his arm. These manifestations of a strong will triumphing over bodily weakness, inspired fear and admiration in the beholders, and had the desired effect of preventing any plots for the rescue of Shah Jehan, or conspiracies for less worthy ends. When convalescent, Aurungzebe sought repose and change of scene in Cashmere, little thinking of the fierce and prolonged strife about to burst forth in the Deccan, mainly in consequence of his own insidious policy. By gradually undermining the strength of the two remaining Mohammedan kingdoms of the south, he had anticipated their reduction to a state of enfeeblement and disorganisation, which must render them an easy conquest so soon as he should find leisure to take the field in person at the head of an extensive and powerful army. Meanwhile, he cared not to trust Jey Sing, Jeswunt Sing, Dileer Khan, or any other general, much less his own son, Mauzim, with a sufficient force for the reduction of these kingdoms, lest he should furnish weapons against himself: the troops placed under their command were, therefore, skilfully calculated as sufficient to maintain a distressing and desultory warfare, but nothing more. The imperial schemer had not a suspicion that in thus, as it were, drawing the claws of the Moslem rulers of Beejapoor and Golconda, he could possibly be serving the interest of a third party, as intriguing and hardly less bigotted than himself, though in a precisely opposite direction.

Rise of Mahratta power.—It will be remembered, that in sketching the ancient condition of India, the Mahrattas have been mentioned as inhabiting the territory lying between the range of mountains which stretches along the south of the Nerbudda, parallel to the Vindya chain; and a line drawn from Goa, on the sea-coast, through Beder to Chanda on the Wurda; that river being the eastern, and the sea the western boundary. This singular country will be described in a subsequent section, as also its inhabitants, of whom it is here only necessary to remark, that the soldiery were small sturdy men, active and persevering, posses-

sing nothing of the chivalrous sentiments or dignified bearing of the Rajpoots, but a great deal more worldly wisdom. The chiefs, in the time of the Great Moguls, were the representatives of families who had for generations filled the old Hindoo offices of heads of villages, or functionaries of districts, under the names of *patels*, *desmookhs*, &c., and had often been employed as partisans under the governments of Ahmednugger and Beejapoor. They were nearly all Soodras, of the same caste with their people, but some claimed to have Rajpoot blood in their veins. Though our present knowledge does not show that the Mahrattas formed at any time an united commonwealth, their strongly marked characteristics indicate a broad line of demarcation between them and the people of Carnara and Telingana, and also between the lower orders of Hindoostan; although the difference in this latter case is less striking. Mussulman writers, proverbially slow to recognise differences among infidels, scarcely notice the Mahrattas by this distinctive appellation until the beginning of the seventeenth century; although the surnames of chiefs, mentioned at earlier periods, prove their having belonged to that race. In the time of Malek Amber they first emerge into notice; and, under his government, the noblest of them, Lookjee* Jadu Rao, held a jaghire for the support of 10,000 men. Among his dependants was Malojee Bhoslay, a man of inferior rank, who, by a singular chain of circumstances,† obtained Jeejee Bye, the daughter of Jadu, in marriage for his son Shahjee, A.D. 1604; and the issue of this union was two children, of whom the younger was the famous Sevajee. Shahjee has been mentioned as an important actor in the concluding events of the Ahmednuggur state. He was subsequently employed by the king of Beejapoor on conquests to the southward, and obtained a considerable jaghire in the Mysore country, including the towns of Sera and Bangalore, in addition to that he had previously possessed, of which the chief place was Poona. Three years after the birth of Sevajee (in 1627), a disagreement arose between his parents, on account of a second marriage being contracted by Shahjee, who took his elder son with him to the Mysore, leaving the younger with his mother at Poona.

As all Mahratta chiefs were wholly illiterate, they usually retained a number of Brahmins in their service, styled *Carcoons*, or clerks, who were necessarily entrusted with their most private affairs. One of this class, Dadajee Konedeo, a man of talent and integrity, was left by Shahjee in charge of the Poona jaghire; and from him and his mother, Sevajee imbibed a deep and bitter hatred against the Mohammedans. The exploits of the heroes of the Ramayana and Mahabarat, with other wild and fantastic legends, were the boy's delight; he performed with earnest zeal the numerous observances enjoined by his creed, and anxiously waited the time when he should be old enough and strong enough to assert the rights and dignity of the insulted gods of his country. These feelings, in part, supplied the want of a more enlightened and exalted patriotism; and they afforded to Sevajee an object and a rallying point, of which, in after years, he learned the value. Like the mail-clad barons of old England, Shahjee deemed all book-learning undignified, if not degrading drudgery; and his son could never so much as write his name. In horsemanship, and the use of warlike weapons, he was unrivalled.

Poona is situated at the junction of the hilly country with the plains; hence Sevajee, in the hunting parties and military exercises, which formed his chief occupations, constantly associated with the soldiery in his father's service, and the plundering highlanders of the neighbouring Ghauts. The Bheels and Coolies, to the north of Poona —the Ramoosees to the south—viewed with admiration the young chief, to whom every glen and defile of their mountain recesses were well known; but his earliest adherents were the Mahrattas, called Mawulees, from the appellation of the valleys which they

* *Jee* is the Mahratta adjunct of respect, equivalent to our Mr. *Bye*, signifies lady.—(Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 121.)

† When Shahjee was about five years old, he was taken by his father to the house of Jadu Rao, where a large number of Hindoos of all castes had assembled to celebrate a religious festival. Pleased with the boy's bearing, Jadu merrily asked his daughter, a pretty child of three years' old, whether she would take her play-fellow for a husband; and the little maiden, by throwing at him some of the red colour at hand, in accordance with the usages of the festival, seemed to express assent. To the astonishment of all present, Malojee instantly started up, and desired the company to bear witness that Jeejee Bye and Shahjee were affianced. Jadu was exceedingly indignant at the advantage taken of him; but Malojee persisted in his claim, and being an active partisan, rose gradually in the service of the state of Ahmednuggur, and by the intercession of the king himself, eventually obtained the fulfilment of his long-cherished desire.

inhabited immediately to the west of Poona. Before he was sixteen, Sevajee began to talk of becoming an independent poligar, to the serious alarm of Dadajee, who endeavoured to wean him from his lawless associates by confiding much of the affairs of the jaghire to his superintendence, and tried earnestly to convince him that a much more brilliant destiny might be expected to await him, as a steady adherent of the Ahmednuggur government, than as a rebel. But the twig was already bent, and would grow only in one direction; and, in spite of the popularity gained by the courteous and winning manner of Sevajee among the respectable Mahrattas in the neighbourhood, it was whispered that he was a sharer in the profits of several extensive gang-robberies committed in the Concan.

The hill-forts possessed by Beejapoor, like most others under Moslem rule, were much neglected. Being remote and unhealthy, they were sometimes occupied by a single foreign commander, with a small garrison of ill-paid local troops; or, in other cases, left in charge of the nearest desmookh, or other revenue-officer. Our adventurer saw the opportunity afforded by this state of things for his plans of gradual and insidious aggression; and by some means, not precisely known, succeeded in getting possession of Torna, a hill-fortress, twenty miles S.W. of Poona, A.D. 1646. He immediately sent ambassadors to Beejapoor, representing his conduct in the most favourable light, and, by dint of arguments and bribery, was suffered to retain possession unmolested for several years, until it became known that he had built a stronghold on a neighbouring hill, by the aid of a golden treasure supposed to have been miraculously discovered to him, among some ruins at Torna, by the goddess Bhavani. A serious remonstrance was addressed to Shahjee, who wrote in strong terms to Dadajee and his son, reminding them of the danger to which he was exposed by their encroachments, and bidding them desist from all such attempts. Dadajee once more essayed to change the settled purpose of his young master; but soon afterwards, when about to expire, worn out with age and anxiety, he bestowed on him a parting benediction; and instead of further dissuasion, bade him protect Brahmins, kine and cultivators, preserve the temples of the Hindoos from violation, and—follow the fortune which lay before him.

These injunctions were obeyed to the letter. Under pretence of the poverty of the country and its increasing expenditure, Sevajee withheld the revenue from his father, and proceeded step by step, by manœuvring and bribery, to gain fort after fort; until at length, as before stated (p. 130), he had gained possession of the whole tract between the Chakun and the Neera, without bloodshed or any disturbance. "The manner in which he established himself," says Grant Duff, "watching and crouching like the wily tiger of his own mountain valleys, until he had stolen into a situation from whence he could at once spring upon his prey, accounts both for the difficulty found in tracing his early rise, and the astonishing rapidity with which he extended his power when his progress had attracted notice, and longer concealment was impossible." In 1648, Sevajee thought fit to throw down the gauntlet of open rebellion, by attacking and pillaging a convoy of royal treasure on the road to Callian; and the news had scarcely reached Beejapoor, before it was followed by tidings, that five of the principal hill-forts in the Ghauts, and subsequently Callian, and the whole of the northern Concan, were in the occupation of the same insidious foe.

Shahjee was seized and brought before Mohammed Adil Shah, who, heedless of his assurances that his son was acting in his defiance, as much as in that of their mutual sovereign, imprisoned him in a stone dungeon, of which he caused the door to be walled up, declaring, that if the insurrection continued beyond a certain time, the remaining aperture should be likewise closed. Sevajee was extremely alarmed by this menace, and is alleged to have been only dissuaded from submission by the arguments of his wife, who urged that his father's liberty might more probably be wrung by necessity from the king of Beejapoor, than obtained by blind reliance on the promises of a power so notoriously treacherous. He therefore maintained his position, and made overtures to Shah Jehan, who received his application the more favourably, as the wily Mahratta, anxious to leave himself a resource in the event of being hard pressed by his own government, had carefully avoided inroads on Mogul territory. It was probably by the intercession of the emperor that Shahjee was released from his dungeon; but four years elapsed before he was permitted to leave Beejapoor: at the expiration of which

time his presence in the Carnatic became necessary to the interests of the government, on account of an extensive insurrection, in which his eldest son had been slain. The restoration of Shahjee to his jaghire was the signal for the renewal of Sevajee's plans of aggrandisement. During the previous interval, he had delayed entering the imperial service, by preferring an hereditary claim to certain dues on land in the Joonere and Ahmednuggur districts, which he affected to desire to see settled before proceeding to Delhi. His first step, on resuming open hostilities against the Beejapoor state, was to seize the hilly country south of Poona, whose rajah, having refused to co-operate with him, he had allowed to be removed by assassination. The arrival of Aurungzebe in the Deccan, in 1655, somewhat disconcerted Sevajee, who at first addressed the prince as his suzerain; but, on seeing him engaged in war with Golconda, thought to profit by the general confusion, and, for the first time, invaded the Mogul dominions. He surprised and plundered the town of Joonere; but a similar attempt upon Ahmednugger proved less successful: and, alarmed by the rapid conquests of the imperial troops, Sevajee sought, by excuses and promises, to obtain forgiveness for his recent proceedings. At this crisis the illness of Shah Jehan suddenly called off Aurungzebe to Delhi; and the Mahratta chief, taking advantage of his departure, immediately renewed his attacks on Beejapoor, where the king had been succeeded by his son, a minor. A large army was despatched, (A.D. 1659), under the command of a noble, named Afzool Khan, who, at his public audience of leave, boastfully declared that he would bring back the insignificant rebel, and cast him in chains under the footstool of the throne. Sevajee was informed of the vaunt of his opponent, with whose character he was acquainted, and concerted his measures accordingly. On the approach of the hostile force, he took up his residence in the hill-fort of Pertabghur, and sent offers of submission, couched in the humblest terms, to Afzool Khan, who deputed a Brahmin, high in his confidence, to complete the negotiation. This man, Sevajee, during a private interview by night, contrived to win over to his cause, which he affirmed to be that of the Hindoos and the Hindoo faith. By their joint artifice, the haughty Moslem was persuaded that Sevajee's excessive alarm could only be overcome by his personal assurances of mediation at the court of Beejapoor, and he readily consented to leave the army and advance to meet the repentant rebel. In compliance with the suggestion of the treacherous Brahmin, the 1,500 men, who had escorted their general to within a few hundred yards of the fort, were forbidden to proceed further, for fear of exciting the apprehensions of Sevajee. Accompanied by a single armed attendant, Afzool Khan advanced to the appointed place of meeting, and, descending from his palanquin, entered the open bungalow prepared for his reception, where, clad in thin white robes, with a straight sword in his hand, he impatiently awaited the arrival of Sevajee, whose figure (unpretending, from its diminutive size, and rendered ungainly by the extreme length of the arms) was seen descending the heights with slow and hesitating steps. His only follower carried two swords in his waistband, a common circumstance among the Mahrattas; but Sevajee himself was seemingly unprovided with any offensive or defensive weapon, although secretly prepared for deadly strife. The convenient axiom for evil-doers—that the end justifies the means—had induced the Mahratta chief to proceed on this occasion as if about to attempt an act of heroic self-devotion, instead of a treacherous assassination. After performing, with earnest solemnity, his morning devotions, he laid his head at the feet of his mother (Jeejee Bye), and having received her blessing, arose and equipped himself in a suit of chain armour, over which he placed his turban and a cotton tunic. His right sleeve concealed a crooked dagger, named from its form a "beechwa," or scorpion, and his left-hand held a small steel instrument, called a "wagnuck," or tiger-claw, on account of its three crooked blades, which are easily hidden by half-closed fingers. Thus provided, Sevajee approached the khan, and, at the moment of the embrace, struck the wagnuck into his body; then, instantly following up the blow, dispatched him with his dagger. The attendant of Afzool refused quarter, and fell vainly endeavouring to avenge his ill-fated master. The blast of a horn and the firing of five guns announced the unhallowed triumph of Sevajee to the Mawulees. They rushed from the different wooded recesses, where they had been posted, upon the Beejapoor troops, who, suddenly roused from fancied security, were slaughtered or dispersed almost without resistance. Numbers were driven by hunger into a sur-

render, after long wandering in the neighbouring wilds, and all were humanely received by Sevajee, who, throughout his whole career, was remarkable for gentle treatment of prisoners, always excepting such as were suspected of concealing treasure, in which case, like the Great Moguls, he resorted to torture without stint or scruple.

By this violent deed, Sevajee gained possession of the whole train of equipment which had been sent against him, and many of the Mahrattas were induced to enlist in his service; but the most distinguished captive of that nation having steadily refused to renounce his allegiance, was honourably dismissed with costly presents. From this period, up to the close of 1662, Sevajee was engaged in hostilities with the king of Beejapoor, who took the field against him in person; but, after recovering much territory, was compelled to turn his chief attention to a revolt in the Carnatic, upon which the Mahratta chief regained his former conquests, with usury, and succeeded, through Shahjee's mediation, in obtaining a peace, by which he was recognised as master of the whole coast-line of the Concan for 250 miles (between Goa and Callian), and extending above the Ghauts for more than 150 miles from the north of Poona to the south of Merich on the Kistna. The extreme breadth of this territory did not exceed 100 miles. The hardiness and predatory habits of his soldiery, enabled Sevajee to support an army of 7,000 horse and 50,000 foot (a much larger force than the size of his country would seem to warrant), and he soon prepared to take advantage of his truce with Beejapoor, by extending his dominion at the expense of the Moguls.

To put an end to these aggressions, Shaista Khan (viceroy of the Deccan, and the emperor's maternal uncle) marched from Aurungabad, drove the marauding force from the field, captured Poona and Chakun, and took up his position at the former place, within twelve miles of Singhur, the hill-fort to which Sevajee had retired. The house occupied by the viceroy had been originally built by Dadajee for Jeejee Bye, and her son resolved to take advantage of his perfect acquaintance with its every inlet and outlet, by surprising the intruder, notwithstanding his well-planned precautions. Leaving Singhur one evening after dark, and posting small bodies of infantry on the road to support him, Sevajee, attended by twenty-five Mawulees, proceeded to the town, into which he gained admission by joining a marriage procession, planned for the purpose. By the aid of a few pickaxes, the party succeeded in entering the mansion, but not without awakening some of the women of the family, who gave the alarm. Shaista Khan escaped from the window of his bedchamber, having first received a sword-cut, which severed two of his fingers, while letting himself down into the court below. His son, and most of his attendants, were cut to pieces in a moment, after which Sevajee retreated with all speed, and ascended Singhur amid a blaze of torches, in full view of the Mogul camp.

On the following morning, a body of the enemy's horse came galloping towards the fort, but were driven off in confusion; and on this occasion the Mahrattas, for the first time, pursued the Mogul cavalry. Shaista Khan, blinded by grief and mortification, instead of taking active measures against Sevajee, accused Jeswunt Sing (who had not long before arrived with re-inforcements) of treachery; and the dissensions of the leaders crippled the movements of the army, until Aurungzebe removed Shaista Khan to Bengal, and sent Prince Mauzim to command in conjunction with the rajah.

After a feeble attempt to invest Singhur, Jeswunt retired to Aurungabad; and Sevajee, glad to be released from the necessity of standing on the defensive, having spread several false reports of his intentions, set off with 4,000 horse, surprised the rich and defenceless city of Surat, and, after six days of systematic plunder, leisurely proceeded to Raighur, a newly-erected fort in the Concan, which became thenceforth the seat of his government. The booty acquired at Surat was very considerable, and would have been greater, but for the determined defence made at the English and Dutch factories, where some of the native chiefs had taken refuge. The English, especially, gained much favour with Aurungzebe, who granted them a perpetual exemption from a portion of the customs exacted from the traders of other nations at Surat.*

At Raighur, Sevajee learned the death of Shahjee, who, although of a great age, con-

* It seemed necessary to notice this circumstance here; but the progress of European power, until the close of the reign of Aurungzebe, so little affected the general state of India, that I have thought it best, for the sake of clearness, to reserve an account of it for a brief separate sketch.

tinued to pursue his favourite diversion of hunting, until he was killed by a fall from his horse, A.D. 1664. He had restored his jaghire to perfect order, and extended his dominions to the southward, with the tacit permission of the king of Beejapoor, until they comprehended the country near Madras, and the principality of Tanjore. Sevajee now assumed the title of rajah, struck coins in his own name, and carried on hostilities alternately against the Beejapoor and imperial authorities. He collected a fleet, took many Mogul ships, and exacted ransoms from all the rich pilgrims proceeding therein towards Mecca. On one occasion he embarked with a force of 4,000 men, in eighty-seven vessels, and made an unexpected descent on the wealthy town of Barcelore, about 130 miles below Goa, plundered all the adjacent territory, and returned in triumph to his mountain capital. His homeward voyage was, however, prolonged for many days by adverse winds, which, with several other unfavourable circumstances, were interpreted as indications of the displeasure of the goddess Bhavani, at this the only naval enterprise in which Sevajee ever in person engaged. Alarming intelligence awaited his return. Aurungzebe at length resolved to punish the sacrilegious conduct of "the mountain rat," as he contemptuously styled the Mahratta chief; had sent a powerful force against him under Jey Sing and Dileer Khan, with orders, after his subjugation, to proceed against Beejapoor. Sevajee, for once taken by surprise (in consequence of the neglect or treachery of one of his own commanders), held out for some time, and then opened a negotiation with Jey Sing, who assured him, "on the honour of a Rajpoot," of safety, and even favour, on the part of the emperor, in return for entire submission and co-operation. This guarantee, even Sevajee deemed sufficient; and he proceeded, with a few attendants, to the Mogul camp, and agreed to deliver up twenty of the forts which he possessed, together with the territories attached thereto. Raighur and eleven others, with the dependent country, he was to hold as a jaghire from Aurungzebe, in whose service his son, Sumbajee—a boy, seven years old—was to receive the rank of a munsubdar of 5,000; and, probably in lieu of the alleged hereditary claims which he had so pertinaciously asserted, Sevajee stipulated for certain assignments (Chout and Surdeshmooki) on the revenue of each district under Beejapoor; an arrangement which laid the foundation of the ill-defined claims of the Mahrattas in after-times.

No mention is made of this condition in the letter written by Aurungzebe to Sevajee, in which he distinctly confirmed every other article of the treaty; nor in the subsequent communications, in which he highly commended the conduct of Sevajee and his 10,000 followers during the invasion of Beejapoor by Jey Sing, and invited him to court, with a promise of returning at pleasure to the Deccan.

The wily Mahratta was, in this instance, duped by the equally wily Mogul, and, at the termination of the campaign, set off for Delhi, accompanied by his son, and escorted by 1,500 men. Aurungzebe thought his foe secure within his grasp; and instead of acting as Akber would have done, by surpassing in courtesy and generosity the expectations he had raised, and binding to him the now submissive chief by the ties of self-interest, at least, if not of gratitude,—he broke every pledge, received him with marked disrespect, and caused him to be placed among the commanders of the third rank, in the very position promised to his child. Overpowered by rage and mortification, Sevajee sank to the ground in a swoon, and, on recovering his senses, bitterly reproached Ram Sing with the breach of his father Jey Sing's plighted faith; and then, declaring that life was valueless to him without honour, abruptly quitted the imperial presence.

Aurungzebe, astounded by this unexpected display of vehemence, refused again to receive the Mahratta, who requested permission to return to the Deccan, but, not obtaining it, affected to be quite cast down, and begged that his followers at least might be suffered to depart, as the air and water of Delhi injured their health. This solicitation was gladly complied with, and Sevajee seemed completely at the mercy of his foes. But Ram Sing, feeling his father's honour compromised by the conduct of Aurungzebe, connived at the escape of the captive, who, having taken to his bed on pretence of sickness, caused himself and his son to be conveyed by night out of the house and city in two large hampers, which the guards suffered to pass without examination, having been purposely accustomed to see similar baskets sent to and fro, filled with sweetmeats, flowers, &c., as presents to the Brahmins and physicians. His couch was occupied by a servant, and his flight remained undiscovered till a late hour on the following

day. In the meantime, Sevajee repaired to an obscure spot, where a swift horse had been posted in readiness, and rode off with his son behind him. At Muttra he shaved off his hair and whiskers, assumed the disguise of a Gosaen, or Hindoo religious mendicant, and leaving Sumbajee under the charge of a Brahmin, pursued his journey by the most obscure and circuitous roads, arriving at Raighur in December, 1666, after an absence of nine months. Tidings of his recovered liberty reached the Deccan long before his arrival; and the English factors at Carwar, in the Concan, wrote, September 29th—"If it be true that Sevajee has escaped, Aurungzebe will quickly hear of him to his sorrow."

Shah Jehan died about this time, and his favourite child, Padshah Begum, or Jehanara, was formally reconciled to her brother, whose fortunes were then in the zenith of prosperity. Tranquillity prevailed throughout his territories, the limits of which had been extended by the acquisition of Little Thibet, to the north, and Chittagong, on the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal. Some questions of etiquette had arisen with Shah Abbas II., of Persia, which threatened to involve a war with India, and preparations were being made, but set aside in consequence of the death of the Shah. The sole drawback on the general success of the empire was the ill-fortune of its army at Beejapoor, where the king had resorted to the old plan of defence, by reducing the surrounding country to a desert. Jey Sing, after investing the capital, was compelled to withdraw with loss to Aurungabad. Being soon after recalled, he died on the road to Delhi, having (according to Tod) been poisoned by his second son, at the instigation of Aurungzebe, who promised that he should succeed to the raj (or kingdom) of Mewar, to the prejudice of his elder brother, Ram Sing; but, when the crime was committed, withheld the promised reward, giving the parricide only the district of Kamah,* and offering no opposition to the claims of the rightful heir. Jeswunt Sing was now associated in command of the troops with Prince Mauzim and Dileer Khan—an arrangement which proved very advantageous to Sevajee; for Jeswunt exercised great ascendancy over the mind of the prince, and was secretly better disposed towards the Hindoos than to the government he served. By his mediation a treaty was concluded, A.D. 1667, on highly favourable terms for Sevajee, to whom a considerable portion of territory was restored, a new jaghire granted in Berar, and his title of rajah recognised. Aurungzebe confirmed these extraordinary concessions in the hope of deluding Sevajee again into his power: with this view the Mogul leaders were enjoined to keep up a constant intercourse with him, and even directed to feign disaffection to their own government, and a disposition to enter into a separate alliance with the Mahrattas. The emperor long patiently waited the result of his scheme; but at length discovering or suspecting the truth—namely, that his intended victim had turned his weapons against himself, by conciliating both the prince and rajah by bribes and gifts—he renewed hostilities by giving orders for an open attempt to seize his person, A.D. 1670. During the preceding prolonged truce, Sevajee, after obtaining from Beejapoor and Golconda the promise of an annual tribute, had laid aside his sword, and diligently employed himself in giving a regular form to his government. His great and varied talents were never displayed in a more forcible light than when exerted in domestic administration; and his rules were rigorously enforced, whether framed to check oppression of the cultivators† or fraud against the government. In the arrangement of the army, the most careful attention to method and economy was manifest. Both troops and officers received high pay, but were obliged to give up their plunder of every description to the state, or to retain it at a fixed price.

The trump of war again sounded in the ears of the miserable inhabitants of the Deccan. Sevajee recovered Singhur near Poona, plundered Surat anew, carried his ravages over Candeish, and levied the famous "chout," which, like the black mail of Scottish border warfare, exempted from plunder the districts in which it was regularly paid. He equipped a powerful fleet, and resumed his attacks on the Abyssinians of Jinjeera, which induced them to seek the protection of the Moguls. These successes were, in great measure, attributable to the inadequacy of the opposing force. Aurungzebe at length convinced of this, sent 40,000 men, under Mohabet Khan, to the scene of action, but quite independent of the authority of Prince

* *Annals of Rajast'han*, vol. ii., p. 355.

† Sevajee's assessments were made on the actual state of the crop, of which he is alleged to have taken two-fifths.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 231.)

Mauzim, whose fidelity he doubted, and with whom he left Dileer Khan, but recalled Jeswunt Sing. The consequence of this divided command was the total defeat of 20,000 Moguls, A.D. 1672, in a field-action with the Mahrattas. Mauzim and Mohabet were recalled, and Khan Jehan Bahadur, the viceroy of Guzerat, sent to take their place; but active hostilities were soon dropped by mutual consent, the energies of both Aurungzebe and Sevajee* being fully employed in other quarters.

The emperor's attention was drawn off by the increasing importance of a war which had been going on for some time with the north-eastern Afghans, including the Eusofzies. In 1670, an army under Ameen Khan, the governor of Cabool, had been totally destroyed; and, about the same time, a king was set up by the Afghans, who is represented by European writers as an impostor, assuming to be the murdered Prince Shuja; but is described, by Indian authorities, as an Afghan chief. In 1673, the emperor proceeded to direct, in person, the military operations of his troops, accompanied by his son, Mohammed Sultan, who was now released from prison; but, at the close of two years of unsatisfactory effort, he returned to Delhi, and a very imperfect settlement was afterwards arranged with the Afghans.

In 1676, an insurrection of an extraordinary character broke out near the capital, originating in the disorderly conduct of some soldiers of the police, who had mobbed and beaten a Hindoo devotee of the sect of quietists, called Sadhs or Satnamis, in consequence of a quarrel between him and one of their comrades. The Satnamis came to the rescue, several lives were lost, and the affray increased until the numbers of both parties became considerable. The devotees took possession of the town of Narnol, and maintained it, defeating two separate detachments sent against them from Delhi. The idea gained ground that they were endowed with supernatural powers; that swords would not cut, nor bullets pierce them, while their weapons dealt death at every blow. From standing on the defensive, they took an aggressive part, and were joined by several of the neighbouring zemindars. The growing belief in their invincibility seemed likely to justify its assertion; for no troops could be induced to face them; and, on learning their approach to Delhi, Aurungzebe found it necessary to order his tents to be prepared to take the field, and, with his own hand, wrote extracts from the Koran, to be fastened to the standards as a protection against enchantment. The royal force made a stand, and the insurgents were defeated and dispersed with great loss. But the previous success had tempted many of the Hindoo inhabitants of Ajmeer and Agra to take up arms, and it was with difficulty that order could be restored in these provinces. Instead of the conciliatory measures which were imperatively needed, Aurungzebe, chafed by recent occurrences, took the only step necessary for the complete alienation of the minds of his Hindoo subjects, by reviving the jezia (capitation tax on infidels) abolished by Akber. In vain the populace assembled in crowds round the palace; no notice was taken of their tears and complaints. Determined that their appeal should be no longer ignored, they intercepted the emperor on his way in procession to the mosque; but the stern command was given to force a path, and many of the suppliants were trampled under the feet of the horses and elephants. The tax was submitted to without further demur, but the good-will of the Hindoos was gone for ever: in the Deccan every one of them became at heart a partisan of the Mahrattas; and the little fanning needed to blow into a flame the long-smouldering discontent of the Rajpoots was given within a few months of the imposition of the hated jezia.

Rajah Jeswunt Sing died at Cabool, and his widow immediately set out for India, without waiting the permission of Aurungzebe, who made this insubordination a pretext for endeavouring to seize her two infant sons.† By the ingenuity of Durga Das, the Hindoo leader, the rani and her children were enabled to escape to Marwar, over which principality the elder of the boys, Ajeet Sing, lived to enjoy a long reign, and became a formidable enemy to the Great Mogul.‡ Ram Sing, of Jeypoor or Amber, remained faithful to the master who had so

* Sevajee is said to have given a large sum of money to Khan Jehan, part privately, and part publicly: the Mogul styled the latter, tribute; but the Hindoo called it "oil-cake given to his milch cow."

† The three eldest sons of Jeswunt Sing had perished: two, it is alleged, in consequence of the inclement climate of Cabool. The third, a youth of great promise, expired suddenly at Delhi in extreme torture, owing to a poisoned robe of honour bestowed on him by the perfidious emperor.—(*Rajast'han.*)

‡ Another female and two infants were captured by Aurungzebe, the Rajpoots sacrificing their lives freely, as if the supposititious family had been really the widow and orphans of the deceased rajah.

little deserved such loyalty; but Raj Sing,* the rana of Oudipoor, entered heartily into the cause of the children of Jeswunt Sing, and refused to agree to the jezia. A long and tedious contest commenced with the year 1679, and was carried on by Aurungzebe in a spirit of the most barbarous intolerance. His orders to the two princes, Mauzim and Akber, were "to make the enemy feel all the evils of war in their utmost severity;"† and the Rajpoots, having at length caught something of the intolerant spirit of their foes, plundered the mosques, burned the Koran, and insulted the Moollahs. A strange turn was given to affairs by the conduct of Prince Akber, then only twenty-three, who was induced to join the Rajpoots, on condition of being proclaimed emperor, in lieu of his father. This rebellious attempt proved unsuccessful; and after being deserted by every Mohammedan follower, Akber resolved to take refuge with the Mahrattas, and, under the escort of Durga Das and 500 Rajpoots, arrived safely in the Concan, A.D. 1681. Great changes had taken place in the affairs of the Deccan since the withdrawal of the flower of the Mogul troops to the north-eastern frontier, in 1672. Sevajee having turned his arms against Beejapoor, had, in the course of the year 1673, become master of the whole of the southern Concan (excepting the points held by the English, Abyssinians, and Portuguese), and of a tract above the Ghauts, extending to the east beyond the upper course of the Kistna. In 1675 he crossed the Nerbudda, and began to invade the Mogul territory. In the next four years he formed separate alliances with the kings of Golconda and Beejapoor against the Moguls, now under the command of Dileer Khan; and, in return for his co-operation, received valuable cessions of territory, including the jaghire in Mysore, which had been suffered to descend to his half-brother, Venkajee.

One singular feature in this period of the history of Sevajee, is the flight of Sumbajee, the elder of his two sons, who had been imprisoned in a hill-fort for attempting to violate the wife of a Brahmin. This young man, of his father's better qualities, seems to have only inherited personal daring. He succeeded in making his escape, and took refuge with Dileer Khan, who welcomed him gladly, but on learning that Aurungzebe was treacherously disposed, connived at his quitting the imperial camp. Sumbajee then threw himself upon the mercy of his father, who sent him back to the fort of Panalla. From thence he was speedily released by an unexpected event. Sevajee, shortly after dictating a letter to Venkajee, in which he bade him "arouse and be doing," for the present was the time for great deeds, was seized with a painful swelling in the knee-joint, which threw him into a fever, and in a few days cut short his extraordinary career, in the fifty-third year of his age, A.D. 1680.

The emperor expected, that deprived of their leader, the Mahrattas would sink into insignificance. But he was mistaken. Sevajee well knew the character of his countrymen, and had carefully used that knowledge in laying down rules for their government. The Brahminical creed could not be used as a weapon of persecution, but its mingled tolerance and exclusiveness made it a powerful instrument for concentrating the religious feelings of the Hindoos, and directing their full force against the cruel and bigotted oppression commanded by the Koran, and practised by Aurungzebe. Sevajee made it his mainstay, scarcely less when the boy-chief of a band of half-naked and superstitious mountaineers, than when these had become the nucleus of a powerful army, and he the crowned king of a state (under Providence) of his own creation, with yearly-increasing territory and revenue. It is

* About this time Aurungzebe had sent a body of 2,000 horse to escort to his court a princess of Roopnagurh, a younger branch of the Marwar house, whom he demanded in marriage. The maiden, indignant at the thought of wedding the enemy of her race, sent a message to Raj Sing by her preceptor (the family priest), entreating him to come to her rescue. "Is the swan," she asked, "to be the mate of the stork; a Rajpootni, pure in blood, to be wife to the monkey-faced barbarian?" The rana accepted the challenge, appeared suddenly before Roopnagurh, cut off the imperial guard, and carried away the princess in triumph to Oudipoor.

† Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 498. The same paragraph states, "their orders were to employ part of their troops to cut off all supplies from the fugitives in the hills; and with the rest to lay waste the country, burn and destroy the villages, cut down the fruit-trees, and *carry off the women and children*," of course as slaves, or for the services of the harem and its degraded eunuch guards. This barbarity contrasts with the practice of the Hindoos, whether Rajpoot or Mahratta. Sevajee himself decreed, that "cows, cultivators, and women were never to be molested; nor were any but rich Mohammedans, or Hindoos in their service, who could pay a ransom, to be made prisoners" (Duff, vol. i., p. 230); and Elphinstone remarks, that "his enemies bear witness to his anxiety to mitigate the evils of it [war] by humane regulations, which were strictly enforced."

not wonderful that the memory of the man whose well-digested plans "raised the despised Hindoos to sovereignty, and brought about their own accomplishment, when the hand that had framed them was low in the dust," should be gratefully remembered by his countrymen; but it affords melancholy evidence of the darkness of heathenism to be told, that the murder of Afzool Khan is spoken of as a "commendable exploit," and its perpetrator "as an incarnation of the Deity setting an example of wisdom, fortitude, and piety."*

Impartial judges admit that Sevajee possessed qualities which, in an unenlightened Hindoo, may be termed admirable. Prepared for every emergency, peril could not daunt, nor success intoxicate him. Frugal even to parsimony in his habits, courteous and endearing in manner though passionate in disposition, he continued to the last to move freely about among the people, inspiring them with his own spirit of determined opposition to the Mohammedans. Intent on following every turn and winding of Aurungzebe's snake-like policy, he also practised treacherous wiles; but the use of these unworthy weapons did not detract from his personal courage. To have seen him charge, was the favourite boast of the troops engaged in the Deccani wars; and his famous sword (a Genoa blade of the finest temper, named after his tutelary goddess, Bhavani) was preserved and regarded with nothing short of idolatrous veneration.

On the death of Sevajee, one of his surviving widows burned herself with his body. The other, Soyera Bye, endeavoured to place her son, Rajah Ram, a boy of ten years old, on the throne, to the exclusion of Sumbajee, whose mother had died during his infancy. The attempt failed, and Sumbajee was proclaimed king. He caused Soyera Bye to be put to a painful and lingering death; imprisoned her son; threw the leading Brahmin ministers into irons; and slew such of his other enemies as were not protected by the sanctity of their caste. Prince Akber reached the Deccan in June, 1681, and was honourably received by Sumbajee, who acknowledged him as emperor, but showed no intention of supporting his pretensions; devoting such time as he could spare from drinking and debauchery to making war upon the Abyssinians of Jinjeera and the Portuguese. The vast treasure accumulated by his father was soon dissipated; the people were harassed by oppressive taxes; and the troops, being left in arrears of pay, began to appropriate the plunder taken on expeditions for their own use, and to degenerate from comparatively regular bands into hordes of rapacious and destructive freebooters.

Such was the state of things when Aurungzebe, in 1683, arrived at the head of the whole force of the empire. Sumbajee awoke from his stupor; and ably seconded by his father's trained troops, cut off the greater part of the army sent under Prince Mauzim to overrun the Concan, in 1684;† and, in the following year, retaliated this invasion by taking advantage of the march of the emperor against Ahmednuggur, to sack and burn the great city of Boorhanpoor. In 1685, the Moguls being again drawn off to the south, Sumbajee made another bold inroad into the territory in their rear, and plundered Baroach with the adjacent part of Guzerat. About this time he entered into a defensive alliance with the king of Golconda, which Aurungzebe resenting, sent an army against that state, then weakened by internal dissension. Its sovereign, Abool Hussun, though indolent and voluptuous, was popular, and his government and finances were ably managed by Maduna Punt, an active and upright Brahmin, in whom he placed full confidence, thereby exciting the discontent of the Mussulmans, especially of Ibrahim Khan, the commander-in-chief, who, on the approach of the imperial force, under Prince Mauzim, deserted to him with the greater part of the army. The obnoxious minister was murdered; the king fled to

* *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 297. The above account of Sevajee is almost exclusively derived from the able and interesting narrative of Grant Duff, whose labour of love has rendered him as eminently the historian of the Mahrattas, as Colonel Tod of the Rajpoots.

† Dileer Khan died in this year. He was, perhaps, the ablest officer in the service of Aurungzebe, whose battles he fought for six-and-twenty years; but he, like Jey Sing and Jeswunt Sing, found, in the suspicion and neglect of his crafty master, fit punishment for treachery to the brave and unfortunate Dara. The emperor confiscated the property of the deceased, and being disappointed in its value, vainly strove to extort, by torture, from his secretary, a confession of the manner in which the supposed surplus had been employed. The relatives of Dileer Khan were not, however, more unfortunate than those of Khan Jehan Bahadur, foster-brother to the emperor, who visited his death-bed, but appropriated his property, giving the usual order to seek for hidden deposits, and recover all out-standing debts.

the hill-fort of Golconda; and Hyderabad was captured and plundered for three days by the Mogul soldiery, notwithstanding the efforts of the prince to check this breach of discipline, which his suspicious father attributed to his connivance, as a means of embezzlement for ambitious purposes.

By a large pecuniary payment, Abool Hussun purchased a brief respite from Aurungzebe, who then moved in person against Beejapoor. The army of this monarchy had been so reduced by prolonged warfare, that the city, although surrounded by walls six miles in circumference, was soon completely invested. The Patan garrison seemed determined to perish sword in hand, and were therefore suffered to capitulate after a practicable breach had been made, through which Aurungzebe entered the place on a portable throne. The state was extinguished, A.D. 1686; and Beejapoor, after attaining a grandeur quite disproportioned to the extent of the kingdom of which it formed the capital, sunk rapidly into the deserted condition in which it now stands. The young king, after three years' close imprisonment in the Mogul camp, perished suddenly, it is said by violence, the fears of his imperial gaoler having been raised by a popular commotion in his favour.

Golconda, the last independent Mohammedan state, was next destroyed, after a duration of 175 years. Abool Hussun strove by costly gifts to deprecate the ambition of Aurungzebe, who, while receiving these offerings, was secretly occupied in intrigues with the ministers and troops of the unhappy king; and at length, his plans being matured, denounced him as a protector of infidels, and laid siege to Golconda. Roused by this treachery, Abool Hussun, though deserted on all sides, defended the fort for seven months, but was eventually betrayed into the hands of his merciless foe, by whom he was sent to end his days in the fortress of Doulatabad. His fate and treatment awakened the compassion of Prince Mauzim, whose mediation he solicited; and the prince, touched by the dignity and resignation with which the monarch bore his misfortunes, or rather injuries, made an earnest appeal in his favour. The result was his own imprisonment for nearly seven years, after which he was released and sent as governor to Cabool. All the territories which had been acquired by Beejapoor and Golconda were annexed to the empire, as well as many of Sevajee's conquests; Venkajee was deprived of the Mysore jaghire, and confined to Tanjore; and Sumbajee seemed to have sunk into a state of inertia, and become heedless of passing events. Prince Akber, dreading to fall into his father's hands, fled to Persia, where he remained till his death, about eighteen years afterwards.

Aurungzebe had now reached the culminating point of success; neither humanity nor policy had stayed his covetous grasp: he stood alone, the sole Moslem ruler in India—the despotic master of an unwieldy empire, over which the seeds of disorganisation and dissolution were sown broadcast. In Hindoostan, the finest provinces were, for the most part, entrusted to the care of incompetent and needy governors, chosen purposely from the lower ranks of the nobility. These men oppressed the people and neglected the troops—evils which Aurungzebe preferred to the risk of being supplanted by more able and influential officers. His policy in the Deccan was equally selfish and short-sighted. In the governments of Beejapoor and Golconda, he might have found valuable auxiliaries in keeping under the power of the Mahrattas; but, by their destruction, he threw down the chief barrier to lawless incursions, setting aside constituted authorities without supplying any efficient substitute.* Of the disbanded armies, the Patans and foreign mercenaries probably obtained service under the emperor; the remainder joined Sumbajee, or plundered on their own account; and amid the general anarchy and distress, the new-born feeling of religious opposition rapidly gained ground. Notwithstanding the inefficiency of their rajah, the Mahratta chiefs exerted themselves individually against the invader, and their energies were rather stimulated than enfeebled by the unexpected capture of Sumbajee, with his minister and favourite companion, a Brahmin named Kaloosha, who were surprised by a body of Moguls during a revel at a favourite pleasure-house in the Concan. It was sug-

* In all these countries Aurungzebe acquired little more than a military occupation. "The districts were farmed to the Desmookhs and other zemindars, and were governed by military leaders, who received twenty-five per cent. for the expense of collecting; and sent up the balance, after paying their troops, to the emperor; unless, as often happened, assignments were made for a period of years on fixed districts for the payment of other chiefs."—(Elphinstone's *History of India*, vol. ii., p. 522.)

gested, that Sumbajee might be used as a tool to obtain possession of the Mahratta strongholds; and with this view, he was offered life on condition of becoming a Mussulman. But misfortune had awakened in him a sense of degradation, and the only reply was a sarcastic message to Aurungzebe, and an invective on the False Prophet, for which offence a cruel punishment was decreed. His eyes were destroyed by a red-hot iron, his tongue cut out, and he was at last beheaded in the camp bazaar, together with Kaloosha, A.D. 1689.

Sumbajee had neither deserved nor obtained the confidence of his subjects; but they were deeply mortified by his ignominious fate. The chiefs assembled at Raighur, acknowledged the infant son of the deceased as his successor, and nominated his uncle, Rajah Ram, regent. Raighur was invested by a Mogul force, and taken in 1690, after a siege of several months, through the treachery of a Mawulee leader. The young rajah and his mother fell into the hands of Aurungzebe, who treated them with unusual kindness.* Rajah Ram remaining at liberty, proceeded to the distant fortress of Jinjee, in the Carnatic, and assumed the sovereignty. He did not attempt more than the general direction of affairs, sending two able leaders to create a diversion in his own country, and leaving independent commanders to carry on desultory operations against the Moguls, with whom a tedious and harassing struggle commenced, in which the advantage lay on the side of the apparently weaker party.

Yet Aurungzebe was indefatigable. Although far advanced in years, he superintended every hostile operation, and besieged in person the chief places.† His immense armies were marshalled forth in splendid array. The nobles went to battle in quilted cotton tunics, covered with chain or plate armour, and rode on chargers, whose huge saddles, housings of cloth or velvet, satin streamers, bells, chains, and other ornaments of gold and silver, with the frequent addition of pairs of the bushy ox-tails of Tibet hanging down on either side, were better adapted for a triumphal procession, than for warfare with mountaineers in their own country. The common soldiers imitated their superiors in their cumbersome attire, and likewise in sloth and effeminacy: the result was a total relaxation of discipline. The Mahrattas, on the contrary, were mounted on horses, small, strong, and active as themselves, with a pad for a saddle, and a black blanket folded over it for nightly covering during their expeditions, when each man slept on the ground, with his spear stuck by him, and his bridle tied to his arm, ready for any emergency. A led horse, with bags to contain the expected plunder, formed the remainder of their camp equipage. Their common food was a cake of millet, with perhaps an onion; their dress, a small turban, a fold of which was frequently passed under the chin,‡ a quilted cotton tunic, tight drawers descending to the knee, and a scarf or sash rolled round the waist. Some carried a sword and shield; a certain proportion were armed with matchlocks, or bow and arrows; but the prevailing weapon was a bamboo spear, thirteen or fourteen feet long, which they wielded with extraordinary skill. Thus armed and habited, they wisely adhered to the desultory warfare which could alone be successfully waged against the heavily-attired legions of the Mogul.§ Then, as now, their only name for a victory was, "to plunder the enemy," this being, in their eyes, the chief object as well as sole irrefragable evidence and measure of conquest.

Fort after fort was captured by the imperial army; but the Mahrattas meanwhile issued from their lurking-places and overspread the newly-acquired territories, as

* Begum Sahib, the emperor's daughter, evinced unremitting kindness to both mother and child during their long captivity. The boy, being much with her, attracted the notice of Aurungzebe, who jestingly applied to him the nick-name of Sahoo or Shao, a word signifying the opposite of thief, robber, and similar terms, by which he habitually designated Sumbajee and Sevajee.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, vol. i.)

† The traveller, Gemelli Carreri, who saw Aurungzebe at Beejapoor, in 1695, describes him as slender and of low stature, with a smiling aspect, bright eyes, a long nose, and a beard whose silvery whiteness contrasted with an olive-coloured skin. His dress was of plain white muslin, with one large emerald in the turban. He stood amid his omrahs leaning on a staff or crozier (like those used by the fakeers); received petitions, read them without spectacles, and endorsed them with his own hand. In youth, says Manouchi, he was pale even to ghastliness.

‡ The Mahratta description of a very fierce-looking person, includes a turban tied beneath the chin, and mustachios "as thick as my arm." Their national flag, swallow-tailed and of a deep orange colour, is emblematic of the followers of Mahdeo.

§ The Mawulees were famous for sword-in-hand combat; the Hetkurees (Concan mountaineers) used a species of firelock, and excelled as marksmen: both parties could, with ease, scale rocks and mount precipices, which the Moguls would have found certain destruction in attempting.

well as Berar, Candeish, and Malwa. Detachments were sent against them in various directions, but to little avail; for, on perceiving their approach, the wily mountaineers dispersed at once, without attempting to stand a charge; and after leading the Moguls a weary, and generally fruitless chase, were themselves ready to follow the retreating track of their disheartened pursuers, and take advantage of any opening or confusion in the ranks, occasioned by accident or exhaustion. Fighting such foes was like beating the air, and even worse; for while their number and power were rapidly increasing by the alliance of the zemindars of the countries which they overran, the troops of Aurungzebe, thinned by long and sanguinary sieges, required frequent recruitment from Hindoostan, whence also supplies of money had to be drawn.

Rajah Ram died A.D. 1700, and was succeeded by his infant son, Sivajee, under the regency of Tara Bye, mother of the young rajah. This change had little effect on the war. Aurungzebe went on taking forts, until, by the close of the next five years, all the principal Mahratta strongholds had fallen before him; but then the tide turned, and the rapidly-multiplying foe themselves became besiegers, and regained many fortresses, at the same time intercepting several convoys, and thus depriving the emperor of the means of paying his army.* No writer has delineated the condition of the agricultural population of the Deccan; but their sufferings from these prolonged and desolating wars must have been frightful. From them the circle of distress spread gradually but surely, until scarcity of food began to be felt even in the imperial camp, and was aggravated by the devastating effects of heavy rains. On one occasion, a sudden flood of the Beema inundated the imperial cantonment during the night, and caused the destruction of 12,000 persons, with horses, cattle, and stores beyond calculation.

The contempt with which the Moguls once regarded the Mahrattas had long given place to dread; while the Mahrattas, on their part, began to see the emptiness of the pomp which surrounded the Great Mogul, and mocked the Mussulmans, by pretending to ejaculate devout aspirations for the prolonged life of their best patron, Aurungzebe. The news from Hindoostan was of an increasingly-disheartening character; the Rajpoots were, for the most part, in open hostility, and their example had been followed by the Jats (a Hindoo people of the Soodra class), near Agra: against these, as also against a body of Sikhs at Muttra, it had been necessary to send a force under a prince of the blood. Zulfikar Khan, the chief Mogul general, being treated with irritating distrust by his sovereign, seems to have grown dilatory and indifferent, if, indeed, the dark clouds which were gathering over the political horizon did not induce him, like other nobles, designedly to temporize with the foe. The princes—now favoured, now disgraced—turned pale when summoned to the presence of their father;† while he, remembering the fate of Shah Jehan, trembled yet more at the semblance of overstrained humility than at open insubordination.

At length overtures of peace were made to the Mahrattas, and Aurungzebe was brought to consent to the liberation of Shao, the son of Sumbajee, and to the payment of ten per cent. of the whole revenues of the six soubahs of the Deccan (as Surdeshmooki), on condition of the maintenance of a body of horse to keep order; but the negotiation was broken off by the exorbitant demands and overbearing conduct of the Mahrattas. Disgusted and unhappy, with dispirited troops and exhausted cattle, the aged emperor retreated from Beejapoor to Ahmednuggur, harassed all the way by the enemy, who succeeded in dispersing and destroying a portion of the grand army; and, had they chosen to hazard a general attack, would probably have captured the person of their inveterate foe. That no such attempt was made is a subject of fervent exultation with Mussulman writers. Aurungzebe gained Ahmednugger in safety; and, when pitching his camp on the same spot whence it had marched in so much pomp and power twenty years before, he sorrowfully remarked, that his campaigns were ended—his last earthly journey completed. He had now entered the fiftieth year of his reign, and the eighty-ninth of his age; but the extreme temperance and regularity which characterised his physical existence, had preserved his faculties in an

* Among the many letters extant, written by Aurungzebe, are several addressed to Zulfikar Khan, desiring him to search for hidden treasures, and hunt out any that may have fallen into the hands of individuals, that means may be afforded to silence "the infernal foot-soldiers," who were croaking like the tenants of an invaded rookery.

† Khafi Khan.—(*Vide* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 544.)

extraordinary degree of perfection.* Yet to him, freedom from the imbecility frequently attendant on extreme age was rather a curse than a blessing. The few sands still remaining in his measure of life would, he feared, be rudely shaken by the ambition of his heirs, and, to avoid this danger, he made a last exertion of power by sending away his favourite son, Kaumbuksh, to Beejapoor, and preventing Mauzim (then in Cabool) or Azim (in Guzerat) from coming to Ahmednuggur. His own children could not be trusted to minister to their aged father, although, in this awful period, he seems to have had a newly-awakened yearning for human sympathy. Death was fast approaching; and what provision had he made for the stability of the empire, the welfare of the people, the salvation of his own soul? After his decease, which took place in February, 1707, a will† was found beneath his pillow, decreeing the division of the empire among his sons: but he probably foresaw the little attention which would be paid to it, and might reasonably have adopted the saying of another crooked politician, "*Après moi le déluge.*" His subjects—at least the Mussulman portion—he commends to the care of his sons, in his farewell letters, as a charge committed to them by God himself; and then proceeds to give vent, in disconnected sentences, to the terrible apprehensions before which his spirit shrank in dismay. "Wherever I look," writes the dying emperor, "I see nothing but the Deity. I know nothing of myself—what I am—and for what I am destined. The instant which passed in power hath left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire," he adds, in the same tone of remorse rather than repentance. * * * "I have committed many crimes; and know not with what punishments I may be seized. The agonies of death come upon me fast. Farewell! farewell! farewell!"‡

It has been shown that, during the latter part of the reign of Aurungzebe, the empire was manifestly losing its coherent power. After his death, strife, luxury, and corruption in the court; disorganization in the camp, and discontent among the people;§

* Khafi Khan says, "none of his five senses were at all impaired, except his hearing in a small degree; but not so that others could perceive it." Aurungzebe possessed, in perfection, what Lytton Bulwer, following a French proverb, calls the twin secrets for wearing well—"a bad heart and a good digestion."

† A previous will contained directions for his funeral, the expense of which was to be defrayed by a sum, equal to ten shillings, saved from the price of caps which he had made and sold: 805 rupees, gained by copying the Koran, were to be distributed among the poor. (Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii., p. 551.)

‡ These remarkable and well-authenticated letters contain many characteristic and interesting passages: for instance, "the camp and followers, helpless and alarmed, are like myself—full of affliction, restless as the quicksilver. The complaints of the unpaid troops are as before. * * * The fever has left me; but nothing of me remains but skin and bone. My back is bent with weakness; my feet have lost the power of motion. * * * The Begum [his daughter] appears afflicted; but God is the only judge of hearts." To Kaumbuksh he says, "Odiporee, your mother, was a partner in my illness, and wishes to accompany me in death; but everything has its appointed time."—(Scott's *History of the Deccan*, vol. i., pp. 8 and 9.) According to Tod, this lady was a princess, not of Oudipoor, but of Kishenghur, a minor division of Joudpoor.

§ As in the Deccan, so also throughout Hindoostan, we can only form an idea of the condition of the mass of the people by an incidental remark, scattered here and there, amid many weary pages filled with details of invasion and slaughter, pomp and intrigue. The Mussulman writers were usually pensioners of the monarch, whose deeds they chronicled; the Hindoo annalists were the bards of the leading families, of which they formed important and cherished members. Neither the one nor the other could be expected to rise above the class of mere annalists. To have given a true and lively picture of the actual state of the Indian population under Moslem rule, would have tasked to the utmost the intellect of a philosopher, the zeal of a philanthropist, the courage of a martyr. And to whom should an historian, thus richly gifted, have addressed himself? Would either the degraded Hindoo or the sensual Mohammedan have cared to trace "the practical operation of a despotic government, and rigorous and sanguinary laws, or the effect, upon the great body of the nation, of these injurious influences and agencies."—(Preface to Elliot's *Bibliographical Index of Historians of Mohammedan India.*) No; for to Christianity alone belongs the high prerogative of teaching men to appreciate justly their rights, duties, and responsibilities. Even with her teaching, the lesson is one which nations are slow to learn. Concerning the reign of Aurungzebe, we know less than of many of his predecessors; because he not only left no autobiography behind him, but even, for a considerable number of years, forbade the ordinary chronicling of events. Of the wretchedness prevailing among the people, and the indignation with which the imposition of the jezia was generally regarded, a forcible representation is given in a letter, addressed by Raj Sing of Oudipoor (wrongly attributed by Orme to Jeswunt Sing of Marwar) to Aurungzebe, in which he reminds him of the prosperity attendant on the mild conduct of Akber, Jehangeer, and Shah Jehan towards the Hindoos, and points out the opposite results of the present harsh measures, in the alienation of much territory, and the devastation and rapine which universally prevailed. "Your subjects," he says, "are trampled under foot, and every province of your empire is impoverished; depopulation spreads, and difficulties accumulate. * * * The soldiery are murmuring; the merchants complaining; the Mohammedans discontented; the Hin-

fostered by the imposition of the jezia and excessive imposts upon land, grew apace, and the power of the great Moguls crumbled into ruins, its decay being hastened by the rapid increase of the Mahratta nation; the struggles of the Rajpoots for independence; the irruption of the Sikhs; and the desolating invasion of the Persian monarch, Nadir Shah. The career of the successors of Aurungzebe need be but briefly narrated, since their reigns are not of sufficient interest to occupy space which can be ill-spared from more important matters; beside which, the leading events of the eighteenth century will again come into notice in sketching the marvellous rise of the English from humble traders to lords paramount of India.

*Bahadur Shah.**—Prince Mauzim, the rightful heir to the throne, on receiving tidings of his father's decease, assumed the crown at Cabool with the title of Bahadur Shah, and offered to confirm to his brothers the territorial possessions bequeathed to them by Aurungzebe: viz., to Azim—Agra, with all the country to the south and south-west; to Kaumbuksh—Beejapoor and Golconda. The generous and upright character of Bahadur Shah warranted belief in his good faith; but Azim, who, on the death of the emperor, had hastened to the camp, from which he was not far distant, and caused himself to be proclaimed sovereign of the whole empire, could not be prevailed upon to retract this unwarrantable pretension.

Despite the exhausted state of the kingdom, very large armies were assembled on both sides, and a sanguinary contest took place to the south of Agra, in which Prince Azim and his two grown-up sons were slain. The third, a child, was taken by the soldier who decapitated his father, as he lay senseless in his howdah, and carried into the presence of the emperor, together with the bloody trophy of victory, the head of Azim. Bahadur Shah burst into tears, and strove to pacify the weeping boy with caresses, promising to treat him as one of his own children, a pledge he faithfully redeemed, in spite of the jealous insinuations of his own sons. In this important battle the valour and ability of Monaim Khan, who had been Bahadur Shah's chief officer in Cabool, were very conspicuous. Concealing his own dangerous and painful wounds, he remained on the field till late at night to restore order and prevent plunder; and then, perfectly exhausted, was lifted from his elephant, and carried into the presence of the emperor, by whom he was appointed vizier. Zulfikar Khan and his father, Assud Khan, who had at first taken part with Prince Azim, quitted his camp, disgusted by his arrogance, before the late engagement, of which they had remained spectators. On presenting themselves with fettered hands before the emperor, they were gladly welcomed, and appointed to high positions.

Prince Kaumbuksh, a vain and flighty young man, persisted in refusing to acknowledge the supremacy of his elder brother, who, after repeated attempts at negotiation, which were rejected with scorn and defiance, marched against him to the Deccan, and was again victor in a battle near Hyderabad. Kaumbuksh died of his wounds the same day; his children fell into the hands of their uncle, by whom they were treated as kindly as their orphan cousin.† The next important event was a truce with the Mahrattas, among whom internal dissensions had arisen, owing to the release of Shao (by Prince Azim, immediately after his father's death), and the disputed succession between him and the son of Tara Bye, whose claims, although an idiot, were actively upheld by his ambitious mother. The ascendancy of Shao was recognised by the Mogul government, and the chout, or fourth, of the revenues of the Deccan conceded to him. The Rajpoots were likewise permitted to make peace on very favourable terms. The territory cap-

doos destitute; and multitudes of people, wretched even to the want of their nightly meal, are beating their heads throughout the day in want and destitution. How can the dignity of the sovereign be preserved who employs his power in exacting tribute from a people thus miserably reduced?"—(Orme's *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*, p. 252.) Aurungzebe's persecution of his Hindoo subjects consisted in pecuniary exactions and systematic discouragement: they were excluded from office, their fairs and festivals forbidden, and even some of their temples destroyed; but bodily suffering was rarely, if ever, inflicted from mere bigotry; and capital punishments, for any offence whatever, were infrequent.

* Sometimes entitled Alum Shah Bahadur.

† Eradut Khan, one of the many rebellious nobles, who, after the defeat of Azim, were freely pardoned, says, that the sons of the fallen princes were always permitted to appear fully armed before the emperor, to accompany him daily in the chase, and share in all his diversions. Seventeen princes—his sons, grandsons, and nephews, sat round his throne: the royal captives of Beejapoor and Golconda were likewise suffered to take their place immediately behind the royal princes; and a crowd of the high nobility daily thronged "the platform between the silver rails."—(Scott's *Deccan*, vol. ii., p. 49.)

tured from the rana of Oudipoor was restored, and he became again independent in all but name. Ajeet Sing, the rajah of Marwar, and Jey Sing, of Jeypoor, appear to have obtained nearly similar advantages, but rather from necessity than good-will, since the emperor was about to advance against them, when his attention was diverted by intelligence of the capture of Sirhind by the Sikhs. These people, from an inoffensive, religious sect, founded about the end of the fifteenth century by a Hindoo named Nanuk,* had been changed by persecution into fanatical warriors. When driven from the neighbourhood of Lahore, which had been their original seat, they took refuge in the northern mountains, A.D. 1606, and there remained for nearly seventy years, until the accession of Guru Govind, the tenth spiritual chief from Nanuk. This leader conceived the idea of forming the Sikhs into a religious and military commonwealth. To increase their numbers, he abolished all distinction of caste, and all prohibitions regarding food or drink, except the slaughter of kine, which was strictly forbidden. Hindoo idols and Brahmins were to be respected, but the usual forms of worship were set aside. All converts were admitted to a perfect equality, and were expected to take a vow to fight for the cause, always to carry steel in some part of the person, to wear blue clothes, allow the head and beard to grow, and neither clip nor remove the hair on any part of the body.

The Sikhs fought desperately, but were too few in number to accomplish the plans of resistance and revenge planned by Guru Govind, who, after beholding his strongholds taken, his mother and children massacred, his followers slain, mutilated, or dispersed, was himself assassinated by a private enemy. To his spiritual authority, as Guru, no successor was appointed. The temporal command of the infuriated Sikhs was assumed by a Hindoo ascetic, named Bandu, under whose leadership they overran the east of the Punjaub, and, true to their vengeful motto of unceasing enmity to the Mohammedans, not only destroyed the mosques and slaughtered the moollahs, but massacred the population of whole towns, sparing neither age nor sex, and even disinterring the bodies of the dead, and exposing them as food for carrion. The chief seat of these atrocities was Sirhind, which they occupied after defeating the governor in a pitched battle: they subsequently retired to the country on the upper course of the Sutlej, whence they made marauding incursions, extending to the neighbourhood of Lahore on the one side, and of Delhi on the other.

Bahadur Shah marched against them in 1711, and soon obliged them to take refuge in the hills, where they long continued to struggle against the imperial force. Bandu was at last shut up in a fort, which was strictly blockaded; but the Sikhs continued the defence until large numbers perished of hunger, and then made a desperate sally, upon which the enemy took possession of the fort without further resistance; but Bandu escaped through the self-devotion of one of his followers, by whom he was personated.†

After this success, the emperor took his departure; but the Sikhs had received only a temporary check; and their power was again in the ascendant, when Bahadur Shah expired suddenly at Lahore (not without suspicion of poison), in the seventy-first (lunar) year of his age, and the fifth of his reign, A.D. 1712.

Jehandar Shah.—On the death of the emperor, a deadly conflict commenced between his four sons, in which three perished—the eldest ascending the throne, notwithstanding his well-known incapacity, by the aid of Zulfikar Khan, who had taken part with him from ambitious motives, hoping to govern absolutely under the name of vizier. All the princes of the blood, whose persons were within reach, were slain, to secure the authority of the new ruler. But this iniquity only served to heighten the hatred and disgust

* The beauty of Nanuk, when a mere boy, attracted the attention of a learned and wealthy Seyed, who caused him to be educated and instructed in the doctrines of Islam. As he grew up, Nanuk extended his reading, collected maxims alike from the Koran and the Vedas, and endeavoured to unite Mohammedan and Hindoo doctrines on the basis of the unity of God. Converts flocked around him, taking the name of Sikhs (*the instructed*), and giving to their preceptor the name and authority of Guru (*spiritual chief.*) The doctrines of the sect were gradually embodied in sacred volumes called *Grunths*, and the Sikhs silently increased; until, in 1606, the Moslem government took offence at their leading tenet—that the form of worship offered to the Deity was immaterial—and put to death their existing chief, whereupon the Sikhs took up arms under his son, Hur Govind.—(H. T. Prinsep's *Sikh Power.*)

† Though struck by the generosity of the impostor, Bahadur is said to have nevertheless sent him prisoner, in an iron cage, to Delhi, an act singularly at variance with his compassionate nature.

excited by the pride and tyranny of Zulfikar Khan, and the vices and follies of his imperial *protégé*, who lavished honours upon his favourite mistress (originally a public dancer), and promoted her relations, although, like herself, of a most discreditable class, to the highest dignities in the state. Dissatisfaction prevailed throughout the court, when tidings arrived that Feroksheer (the son of one of the fallen princes whom Jehandar had vainly striven to get into his power) had prevailed upon two Seyed* brothers, the governors of Behar and Allahabad, to espouse his cause; and having, by their aid, assembled an army, was now marching towards Agra. Jehandar and Zulfikar met the invaders, at the head of 70,000 men; but, being defeated, the emperor fled in disguise to Delhi, and took refuge in the house of Assud Khan. The treacherous old man made him a prisoner, and persuaded Zulfikar (who arrived soon after, with the remaining troops) to make terms with the conqueror, by the surrender of their unfortunate master. The father and son then presented themselves to Feroksheer, with fettered hands, as they had done to his grandfather, Bahadur Shah, some six years before, but with a very different result. Zulfikar and Jehandar were strangled with a leathern thong, after which their bodies were fastened to an elephant, and dragged through the leading thoroughfares of Delhi, followed by the wretched Assud Khan, and all the female members of his family, in covered carriages. Thus ended the nine months' sway of Jehandar Shah, A.D. 1713.

Feroksheer's first act of sovereignty was to appoint the Seyed brothers to the highest offices in the empire—the elder, Abdullah Khan, being made vizier; the younger, Hussein Ali, ameer ool omra, or commander-in-chief. He next proceeded to remove from his path, by the bow-string, such of the old nobility as might be disposed to combine against him; and the same instrument was freely used among the remaining members of the royal family, including even his own infant brothers. These cruelties were sure indications of a suspicious and cowardly nature; and, as might be expected, his distrust was soon excited against the very persons by whom he had been raised to the throne. The consequence was, that his whole reign was a continued, though long-disguised struggle with the two Seyeds, whose watchfulness and confidence in each other rendered them eventually victorious.† Feroksheer endeavoured to weaken, by dividing them; and, for this end, sent Hussein against Ajeet Sing, of Marwar, to whom a private intimation was forwarded, that the emperor would be well-pleased by the defeat and death of his own general. The plot failed; for the parties immediately concerned wisely consulted their mutual interest, by making a speedy peace, and Hussein returned to court, bearing with him the daughter of the rajah, to be the bride of his ungrateful sovereign. The nuptials were celebrated on a scale of extraordinary magnificence; but were no sooner terminated, than Hussein Ali was sent to the Deccan, ostensibly to prosecute hostilities against the Mahrattas. Daud Khan Panni, an Afghan commander, renowned for reckless courage, received orders to join Hussein, and, under pretence of co-operation, to take the first opportunity of effecting his destruction. But the agent selected to carry this nefarious scheme into execution was ill-chosen. Daud Khan, though well-disposed to revenge the death of his old patron, Zulfikar Khan,‡ would not stoop to stab in the dark; he therefore set the Seyed at defiance, engaged him as an open enemy, and, by the impetuosity of his charge, had nearly triumphed, when a ball pierced his brain, and at once changed the fortune of the day. Hussein Ali proceeded to execute his commission against the Mahrattas, without openly attributing

* Lineal descendants of Mohammed.

† The mother of Feroksheer had taken a leading part in persuading the Seyed brothers, for the sake of her husband who had befriended them, to uphold her son; and had sworn upon the Koran, that if they would do so, no plot should ever be formed against them, of which she, if cognizant, would not give them immediate information. This pledge was conscientiously redeemed, and her timely warning more than once preserved their lives.—*Vide* Col. Briggs' revised translation of the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*—(Manners of the Moderns), a work comprising the history of the greater part of the eighteenth century, written in a very clear and interesting manner, by Mir Gholam Hussein, a Delhi noble. Mr. St. George Tucker, late chairman of the East India Company, who met him repeatedly at Gya Behar, in 1786–'7, alludes to him as "the finest specimen of a nobleman I had ever seen."—(*Tucker's Life and Correspondence*, edited by J. W. Kaye, vol. i., p. 40.)

‡ Zulfikar Khan, on receiving the appointment of viceroy of the Deccan, had been permitted to reside at court, leaving Daud Khan as his representative, or, as it was then termed, *naik subah-dar*, deputy viceroy. He was himself succeeded, in 1713, by Cheen Kilich Khan (afterwards well-known under the titles of Nizam-ool-Moolk and Asuf Jah), who was in turn removed by Hussein Ali.

to the emperor the opposition which he had encountered, and sent a strong detachment against a chief named Dabari, who had established a line of fortified villages in Candeish, and by his depredations on caravans, shut up the great road from Hindoostan and the Deccan to Surat. While one portion of the imperial troops was thus employed, another was dispatched against the Sikhs, who had renewed their ravages with increased fury. Bandu was defeated, captured, and put to death in a most barbarous manner, and a large number of his followers were slaughtered in cold blood.* Those who remained at large were hunted down like wild beasts, and a considerable time elapsed before they became again formidable. In the Deccan the Moguls were less successful: the Mahrattas practised their usual tactics of evacuating assaulted positions, and leading their foes, by the oft-repeated expedient of a pretended flight, among hilly and broken ground, where they were easily separated and defeated in detail, many being cut to pieces, and others stripped of their horses, arms, and even clothes. This inauspicious campaign was at length brought to a discreditable conclusion; for Hussein Ali, determined at any cost to rejoin his brother at Delhi, made a treaty with Rajah Shao, acknowledging his claim to the whole of the territory possessed by Sevajee, with the addition of later conquests, and authorising not only the levy of the chout, or fourth, over the whole of the Deccan, but also of surdeshmooki,† or one-tenth of the remaining revenue. In return, Shao was to pay a tribute of ten lacs of rupees; to furnish a contingent of 16,000 horse; to preserve the tranquillity of the country; and to be answerable for any loss occasioned by depredations, from whatever quarter.

As Shao was at this time engaged in civil war, it was manifest that he could but very imperfectly perform his part of this extraordinary agreement, since a considerable portion of the country recognised as his, was really in possession of the hostile party. Feroksheer refused to ratify the treaty; but Hussein Ali gained his point, by returning to Delhi, where his presence was much needed by his brother, Abdullah Khan. This noble, though a man of talent, was indolent, and devoted to the pleasures of the seraglio; he therefore delegated the business of the vizierat almost wholly to his deputy, a Hindoo named Ruttun Chand, whose strict measures, arbitrary temper, and zeal for the Brahminical faith, aggravated the jealous feelings with which his administration was regarded by the Mussulman nobility. Of this state of affairs Feroksheer endeavoured to take advantage, by forming a combination of the chief persons to whom the vizier was known to have given offence. Among these were Jey Sing, of Jeypoor,‡ Cheen Kilich Khan, and others of importance, who entered warmly into the matter; but the irresolution and timidity of the emperor, together with the continued preference which he evinced, even at this critical period, for incapable and profligate advisers, disgusted and disheartened the nobles who were inclined to take part with him, and all except Jey Sing deserted his cause,§ and made their peace with the vizier, from whom Cheen Kilich Khan re-

* The majority were executed on the field of battle; but 740 were sent to Delhi, and after being paraded through the streets on camels, were beheaded on seven successive days, having firmly rejected the offer of life, on condition of belying their religious opinions. Bandu was exhibited in an iron cage, clad in a robe of cloth-of-gold and a scarlet turban: around him were the heads of his followers, fixed on pikes; and even a dead cat was stuck up to indicate the extirpation of everything belonging to him. On his refusal to stab his own infant, the child was slaughtered before his eyes, and its heart forced into his mouth. The wretched father was then torn to pieces with hot irons, and died defying his persecutors, and exulting in the belief that he had been raised up to scourge the iniquity and oppression of the age.—(Scott's *History of the Deccan.*)

† The Desmookh, literally *chief of the district*, was an hereditary officer under the Hindoo government, who received a portion of the revenue in money or in kind; "and," says General Briggs, "in the local or modern appellations of Dessavi, Nat Gour, Natumkur, Naidu, Dessye, Desmookh, and Zemindar we recognise the same person, from Ceylon to Cashmere, to the present day."—(Note to *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, p. 146.) It was as compensation for an hereditary claim of this description, *purchased* by Shahjee, that his son Sevajee stipulated with Aurungzebe for certain assignments on the Beejapoor revenue as early as 1666.—(Grant Duff, vol. i., p. 497.)

‡ This chieftain had been employed against the Jats, whom, after a long course of operations, he had succeeded in reducing to extremities; when the vizier opened a direct negotiation with them, in a manner considered very derogatory to the honour of the Rajpoot general. The cause of offence to Cheen Kilich Khan was his removal from the vice-royalty of the Deccan to the petty government of Moradabad.—(Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii., p. 580.)

§ In marching through Amber, Hussein Ali, to punish the fidelity of Jey Sing to the emperor, gave full scope to the rapacity of the soldiery, who ravaged the land and carried away many persons, of both sexes, into captivity.—(*Siyar-ul-Mutakherin.*)

ceived large promises of increased rank and influence, in return for co-operation against Feroksheer, whose doom was now sealed by the arrival of Hussein Ali, at the head of an army devoted to him, and strengthened by 10,000 Mahrattas. Hussein immediately demanded the dismissal of Jey Sing to his own principality. Feroksheer complied, and strove to deprecate the vengeance of his enemies by the most abject submission, giving no encouragement to the few nobles who were still inclined to take part with him. All was gloom and uncertainty, when the townspeople suddenly rose against the Mahrattas, upon which the Seyeds, taking advantage of the disturbance, marched into the city, forcibly occupied the palace, and wrung by torture, from the women of the seraglio, a knowledge of the hiding-place of the unhappy emperor, who was seized, flung into a dark closet, and soon afterwards put to death in a cruel and insulting manner. The body was then buried in that general receptacle for the murdered princes of the house of Timur—the sepulchre of Humayun: but the people evinced an unlooked-for degree of grief; and of the needy multitude who followed the funeral procession, no one could be induced to accept the money brought for distribution, or partake of the victuals prepared in conformity to custom. Three days afterwards a number of poor persons assembled at the place where the corpse had been washed and perfumed, according to Mussulman rites, and having distributed a large quantity of food, sent for several readers of the Koran, with whom they passed the whole night in tears and lamentations, separating in the morning in an orderly manner.

"Oh, wonderful God!" exclaims Khafi Khan, in concluding the above narration, "how did thy Divine justice manifest itself in the several events of this revolution! Feroksheer, in his days of power, had strangled his own brothers, yet in their tender years: he had murdered numbers of innocent persons, and blinded others; and he was, therefore, destined to suffer all these cruelties before he was permitted to die: he was doomed to experience, from the hands of strangers, all those agonies which others had suffered at his. Nor did the two brothers escape the day of retribution, or go themselves unpunished: in a little time they met with that same usage which they had inflicted on others."*

During their remaining tenure of prosperity, the Seyeds exercised unlimited power. Upon the deposition of Feroksheer, a sickly prince of the blood-royal was brought forth from the seraglio, and crowned under the name of *Rafi-ed-derjut*. He died of consumption in little more than three months, and his younger brother, *Rafi-ed-dowlah*, being set up in his stead, fell a victim to the same disease in a still shorter period.

Mohammed Shah was the title bestowed by "the king-makers" on *Roshen-akhter*, grandson to Bahadur Shah, whom they raised to the throne on the death of Rafi-ed-dowlah. This prince, now in his eighteenth year, had been educated, like his predecessors, in enervating seclusion; but he possessed an able counsellor in his mother, who enjoined the most unhesitating acquiescence with the will of his imperious protectors, until the time should arrive when he might safely defy their anger. The desired opportunity was not long in presenting itself. The decease of the two pageant emperors so soon after the murder of Feroksheer (although really not the interest of the Seyeds, but the reverse), had served to deepen the distrust and dislike with which they were generally regarded;† and in Allahabad, Boondi, and the Punjaub, efforts were made to take advantage of a government which was daily becoming weaker. In Cashmere, a furious contest took place between the Hindoos and Mussulmans, provoked by the persecuting and insulting conduct of the latter, in which some thousand lives and much property were destroyed before the authorities could restore tranquillity. But the most important event of this period was the revolt of Cheen Kilich Khan, the governor of Malwa. This chief, whose descendants were the famous Nizams‡ of the Deccan, is better known by his titles of Nizam-ool-Moolk or Asuf Jah, by which he will henceforth be indiscriminately

* Vide *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, vol. i., p. 193. From using such language respecting two Seyeds, Khafi Khan was evidently a Sonnite or Sunni (*see* note to p. 62); and disputes between this sect and the Sheiahs had risen to an alarming height during the late reign, a violent affray having taken place between them in the capital. In Ahmedabad, a still more serious contest, in which many lives were lost, had occurred between the Hindoos and the Mussulmans, in which the governor (Daud Khan Panni) took part with the former.

† *Rafi-ed-derjut* was said to have been poisoned for attempting to contravene the will of the Seyeds.

‡ Nizam-ool-Moolk, signifies *regulator of the state;* "the Nizam," though scarcely a correct expression, is commonly used by European writers to this day.

termed. His father, a Turk, had been a favourite officer with Aurungzebe, under whom he had himself served with distinction. The waywardness of Feroksheer had induced him to take part with the Seyeds, from whom he received the government of Malwa; but their evident weakness tempted his ambition, and induced him to levy troops, and attempt the establishment of an independent power in the Deccan. Marching to the Nerbudda, he obtained possession of the fortress of Aseerghur, by the simple expedient of furnishing the garrison their two years' arrears of pay; the citadel of Boorhanpoor was acquired in a somewhat similar manner; and many Deccani officers, both Mussulman and Mahratta, joined the invader. Two armies were dispatched against him from Malwa and Aurungabad; but Asuf Jah, knowing the impetuous character of one of the commanders (Dilawur Khan), drew him into an engagement before he could be supported by his colleague, Alum Ali (a nephew of the two Seyeds); and both forces were separately engaged and defeated, with the loss of their respective leaders.

Much alarm was created at Delhi by the tidings of these disasters; and a violent earthquake, which occurred about this time, deepened the gloom of the political horizon. The usurping brothers shared the general feeling; and the young emperor, though closely watched, began to form plans of deliverance from his wearisome tutelage, being aided in this perilous enterprise by a nobleman, named Mohammed Ameen Khan, with whom he conversed in Turki, a language unknown to the Indian Seyeds. A party was secretly formed, in which the second place was occupied by Sadut Khan, originally a merchant of Khorasan, who had risen to a military position, and eventually became the progenitor of the kings of Oude. These combinations were not unsuspected by the brothers, between whom it was at length resolved that the younger, Hussein Ali, should march against Asuf Jah, carrying with him the emperor and certain nobles, leaving Abdullah at Delhi to watch over their joint interests. Shortly after their separation, Hussein Ali was stabbed in his palanquin while reading a petition presented to him by the assassin (a Calmuck of rank), who immediately fell under the daggers of the attendants, A.D. 1720. Abdullah, on learning his brother's death, set up a new emperor, and hastily assembling a large but ill-disciplined force, marched against Mohammed Shah, who had now assumed the reins of government. Choraman, chief or rajah of the Jats (whose number and influence had thriven amid the general disorganisation), joined the vizier, while Jey Sing sent 4,000 men to reinforce Mohammed, who was further strengthened by some chiefs of the Rohilla Afghans, a tribe now rapidly rising into importance. The armies met between Delhi and Agra, a cruel signal being given for the commencement of the conflict. Ruttun Chand having been seized immediately after the murder of Hussein Ali, was severely beaten and kept in chains until the day dawned on which the decisive encounter was to take place. Then, when "the trumpets sounded and the heralds had published three times, as usual, that courage in war is safer than cowardice," the prisoner was decapitated, and his body fastened to the elephant on which Mahommed Shah sat, in the centre of his troops, throughout the whole of the ensuing day and night, which the contest occupied. Abdullah Khan was at length defeated and made prisoner, having received several severe wounds, of which he died in the course of a few months. Mohammed Shah entered Delhi in triumph: the empress-mother received him at the entrance of the haram, bearing a basin filled with gems and new coins, which she poured over his head, as a "wave-offering" of joy and thanksgiving. The puppet-prince, crowned by Abdullah Khan, was sent back to his former seclusion, happy in thus escaping punishment for the part which he had been made to bear in the late events. Mohammed Ameen Khan became vizier, but had scarcely entered upon the duties of his office, before he was taken ill, and died, after a few hours of extreme agony.* Asuf Jah was appointed as his

* He appears to have been poisoned; but popular belief assigned a different cause for his death. An impostor, named Nemud, had established himself at Delhi, and promulgated a new scripture, written in a language of his own invention, framed from those spoken in ancient Persia, and had founded a sect, of which the teachers were called Bekooks, and the disciples, Feraboods. The influence of the new pretender increased. His proceedings induced Ameen to issue orders for his apprehension; but before they could be executed, the vizier was taken ill, and his alarmed family, believing the wrath of Nemud to be the cause of this sudden attack, endeavoured, by gifts and entreaties, to avert his vengeance; but could obtain no other answer than—that the arrow being shot, could not be recalled. He was, nevertheless, left undisturbed, and died about three years after.—(*Siyar-ul-Mutakherin.*)

successor,* it being hoped that his abilities might prop up the falling monarchy. He did not, however, choose to leave the Deccan until his arrangements with the Mahrattas should be placed on a satisfactory footing. Meanwhile Mohammed was left to make his own terms with Ajeet Sing, whom he had offended by breaking his secret pledge, that as the reward of the rajah's neutrality, with regard to the Seyeds, he should receive the government of Ajmeer, in addition to that of Guzerat, which he already possessed. But the hour of peril having passed, its engagements were forgotten; not only was Ajmeer withheld, but Ajeet Sing was removed from Guzerat, upon which, assembling a large army of Rajpoots, he occupied Ajmeer, plundered Narnol, and marched within fifty miles of Delhi, the emperor being at length glad to compromise the matter by confirming him in the possession of Ajmeer. This happened at the close of 1721: in the beginning of the following year, Asuf Jah arrived in Delhi, and beheld with dismay the shameless dissipation which prevailed there. Corruption and intrigue were venial sins, if not necessary expedients, in the sight of a diplomatist brought up at the court of Aurungzebe; but indolence and sensuality were vices of a class which Asuf Jah held in well-merited abhorrence. It would seem as if the emperor had by this time cast off the salutary influence of his mother, since, among the circumstances that excited the stern reprobation of the vizier, was that of the royal signet being entrusted to the care of a favourite mistress, who accumulated a large fortune by means of the petitions she was suffered to carry within the seraglio. The dissolute companions of the young monarch cordially reciprocated the dislike of the minister, and, from mimicking the antiquated dress and formal manners of "the old Deccani baboon," as they insolently termed him, soon began to form serious conspiracies, which, he perceiving, quitted Delhi on pretence of a hunting excursion, and then sent in his resignation of the vizierat. Returning to the Deccan, he assumed the full powers of an independent ruler; still, however, affecting to recognise the supremacy of Mohammed Shah, who, with equal duplicity, returned this empty compliment, by conferring on him the highest titles that could be held by a subject; but, at the same time, sent secret orders to Mubariz Khan, the local governor of Hyderabad, to endeavour to dispossess Asuf Jah, and assume the viceroyalty of the Deccan. Mubariz perished in the attempt; and Asuf Jah, not to be outdone in dissimulation, sent his head to the emperor, with presents and congratulations on the suppression of the rebellion. Then, fixing his abode at Hyderabad, he strove to secure himself against the aggression of the Mahrattas, by various manœuvres, alternately endeavouring to direct their efforts against the Delhi court, or fomenting their own internal divisions. Considerable changes had taken place since the reign of Bahadur Shah. The idiot son of Tara Bye died in 1712, and a party set up the claims of Sumba, a child of the younger widow of Rajah Ram. In the struggle between the cousins, Shao acquired the superiority by the favour of the Moguls, and maintained it through the abilities of his minister, Balajee Wiswanath (the founder of the Brahmin dynasty of Peishwas), who, shortly before his death, in 1720, obtained from Mohammed Shah a ratification of the treaty made with Hussein Ali Khan in 1717. Chout and surdeshmooki being thus made legal claims, Balajee demanded, on account of the former, one-fourth of the standard assessment fixed by Todar Mul and Malek Amber; but, as of this only a small portion could now be realised from the exhausted country, the best that could be done was to secure at least 25 per cent. of the actual receipts. The latter claim, styled the rajah's *wutun*, or inheritance, it suited both the foreign and domestic policy of the Mahrattas to keep undefined; "but," says Grant Duff, "one system in practice—that of exacting as much as they could, was as simple as it was invariable."† The revenue thus acquired was parcelled out by Balajee in assignments on various districts, and distributed among different chiefs, in such a manner as to give each an interest in the increase of the general stock, while to none was allotted a compact property calculated to tempt its holder into forming plans of independence. This was the general rule; but some Mahrattas were already landed proprietors, and others were occasionally permitted to become so. The complicated state of affairs which naturally resulted from the above arrangements, rendered the illiterate chiefs more than ever dependent on their carcoons, or Brahmin

* *Asuf Jah* signifies "in place and rank, as Asuf," who is supposed to have been Solomon's vizier.

† *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 454.

clerks.* The power of the peishwas grew with that of their caste; and from being second† in the counsels of the rajah, they became paramount even over their nominal master, to which result, the talents and energy of Bajee Rao, the son and successor of Balajee, greatly contributed. This remarkable man united to the enterprise and vigour of a Mahratta chief‡ the polished manners and address which frequently distinguish the Brahmins of the Concan. He saw clearly that the predatory hordes, so useful in an enemy's country, would prove ungovernable at home; and, therefore, urged their immediate employment in invading the northern provinces. Shao hesitated: brought up in a Mussulman seraglio, he had retained little of the restless spirit of his countrymen; but when Bajee Rao pointed out the weakness of the Mogul empire, adding, "now is our time to drive strangers from the land of the Hindoos—let us strike at the trunk of the withering tree, the branches must fall of themselves," the rajah, roused to enthusiasm by the prophecy that his standard should fly from the Kistna to the Attock, exclaimed—"You shall plant it on the Himalaya, noble son of a worthy father."§ These ambitious projects were materially forwarded by the disputes between the emperor and Asuf Jah. The latter, while vizier, had obtained possession of the government of Guzerat; but was deprived of it, as also of Malwa, after his return to the Deccan. In Guzerat, Hameed Khan (Asuf's uncle and deputy) resisted the occupation of the newly-appointed governor, Sirbuland Khan, and called in the aid of the Mahrattas (A.D. 1725), giving, in return, the chout and surdeshmooki of the country under him, which grant, Sirbuland Khan, though victorious over Hameed, was eventually obliged to confirm.‖ Bajee Rao, about the same time, made incursions into Malwa, entrusting the chief commands to the afterwards famous leaders, Puar, Holcar, and Sindia.¶

The nizam (Asuf Jah), beheld with alarm the growing power of the peishwa, which he strove to undermine in various ways. But secret plots and open hostility alike failed;** and fearing that the emperor might be disposed to revenge his insubordination, by transferring the viceroyalty to his powerful foe, he changed his policy, and made overtures to Bajee Rao, which produced the mutual good understanding necessary to the immediate plans of both parties.

The presence of the peishwa was now needed for the support of the Mahratta interest in Guzerat, the court of Delhi having refused to ratify the grant made by Sirbuland Khan, who had been dismissed from the government, and forcibly expelled by his successor, Abhi Sing, rajah of Joudpoor, the unnatural son of the brave Ajeet Sing.†† Pilajee Guicowar (the ancestor of the family still ruling in Guzerat) repre-

* "Bajee Rao," says Grant Duff, "had not leisure to attend to detail or arrangement; the minute divisions which were made of the revenues ceded by the Moguls, served to provide hundreds of Brahmin carcoons with bread; and every one interpreted the amount of his own or his master's claims to Surdeshmooki, Baptee, Mokassa, &c.; rather according to his power to enforce his demands, than his ability to prove their justice."—(Vol. i., p. 568.)

† The *prithee nidhee*, or representative of the rajah, took rank above the eight ministers or *purdhans*, of whom the peishwa was the chief; and Bajee Rao long found a troublesome rival in Sreeput Rao, the prithee nidhee, whose influence with the rajah frequently obliged the peishwa to return to Sattara while engaged in distant expeditions, lest his power should be undermined through prolonged absence.

‡ During his first campaign against Bajee Rao, the nizam, desiring to form an idea of the person of his opponent, desired a famous painter in his service to proceed to the hostile army, and take the likeness of its leader, in whatever attitude he might be first seen. The result was a sketch of the handsome figure of the peishwa, mounted, with the head and heel-ropes of his horse in its feeding-bag, his spear resting on his shoulder, and both hands employed in rubbing some ears of ripening grain (the common *joowaree*), which he ate as he rode.

§ Duff's *Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 486.

‖ In 1729, he granted deeds, ceding ten per cent. (*surdeshmooki*) of the whole revenue, both on the land and customs, with the exception of the port of Surat and the district around it; together with one-fourth (*chout*) of the whole collections on the land and customs, excepting Surat; and five per cent. on the revenues of the city of Ahmedabad.—(Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 514.)

¶ Udajee Puar was a chief before his connection with the peishwa. Mulhar Rao Holcar was a shepherd on the Neera, south of Poona; and Sindia, though of a respectable family, near Sattara, had acted as a menial servant to Bajee Rao.

** The nizam first affected to doubt whether the money due from his revenues was to be paid to Shao or Sumba; but this question was decided by the treaty which the latter was compelled to sign, accepting, in lieu of all other claims, a tract of country round Kolapoor, bounded on the west by the sea. Asuf Jah next allied himself with a powerful leader, named Dhabari (the hereditary *senaputee*, or commander-in-chief), who had mainly assisted in the establishment of Mahratta power in Guzerat, and viewed with envy the paramount sway of Bajee Rao. Dhabari assembled an army of 35,000 men, and marched against the peishwa, by whom he was defeated and slain, A.D. 1731.

†† Ajeet Sing refusing to sanction the nefarious schemes of the two Seyeds, they sent for his son, and

sented the rights or claims of the Mahrattas in that district; and Abhi Sing, finding him a formidable adversary, procured his removal by assassination. This crime roused the indignation of the countrymen of the deceased: his son and brother appeared in great force; the hill tribes of Bheels and Coolies flocked round their standard; and, beside throwing the whole province into confusion, made a sudden irruption into the hereditary dominions of the Rajpoot governor, who, leaving a very inefficient deputy in Guzerat, withdrew to defend his own principality. In Malwa, the fortune of the Moguls was equally on the decline: Bajee Rao invaded it in person in 1732, and, taking advantage of the hostility between Mohammed Khan Bungush, the viceroy of Malwa and Allahabad,* and the rajah of Bundelcund, whose territory lay between those two provinces, made common cause with the latter, and succeeded in expelling the imperial governor. The Bundelcund rajah, in return for this co-operation, ceded the territory of Jansi, on the Jumna, to the peishwa, and, at his death, bequeathed to him certain rights in Bundelcund, which paved the way to the occupation of the whole of that country by the Mahrattas. Rajah Jey Sing II., of Amber, was now made viceroy of Malwa. This prince, so celebrated for munificence, learning, and love of science,† does not seem to have inherited the Rajpoot passion for war. He considered it hopeless to oppose the partition of the empire, and, therefore, surrendered the province to the peishwa (A.D. 1734), with the tacit concurrence of Mohammed Shah, on whose behalf it was still to be held. By this conduct, Jey Sing is said, by his own countrymen, "to have given the key of Hindoostan to the Southron;" but it is certain that he strove to curb the excesses of the Mahrattas, whose power and influence continued to increase during the two following years, at the expiration of which Bajee Rao, after a short interval spent in arranging the internal affairs of the Deccan, again took up the negotiation, and demanded, as the price of peace, a jaghire, comprising nothing less than the whole province of Malwa, and all the country south of the Chumbul, together with the holy cities of Muttra, Allahabad, and Benares. As the Mahrattas, like many other diplomatists, invariably began by demanding much more than they expected to obtain, the emperor tried to pacify them by minor concessions, including authority to levy tribute on the Rajpoots, and to increase that already legalised on the territories of Asuf Jah. This permission had the doubtless desired effect on the mind of the nizam. Becoming seriously alarmed by the rapid progress of his allies, he thought he had carried his policy of weakening the Moguls too far, and listened gladly to the solicitations of Mohammed Shah, who, overlooking his rebellious conduct, now earnestly desired his assistance. The courtiers, likewise, changing their tone, began to reckon upon the advice of the nizam as that of "an old wolf who had seen much bad weather." Asuf Jah was yet deliberating how to act, when Bajee Rao marched towards the capital, sending a detachment of light troops, under Holcar, to ravage the country beyond the Jumna. Sadut Khan, the governor of Oude, advanced to the defence of the adjoining province; and the check given by this spirited proceeding was magnified into a decided victory, the report of which occasioned excessive rejoicing at Delhi, and so galled Bajee Rao, that avoiding the army sent out to meet him, he advanced at the rate of forty miles daily, being resolved, as he said, to prove to the emperor that he had not been expelled from Hindoostan by showing him flames and Mahrattas at the gates of the capital.‡ As his object was,

informed him that the deposition and death of his father were the only means of averting the destruction of Marwar. By the offer of the independent sovereignty of Nagore, Abhi Sing prevailed on his younger brother, Bukht Sing, to murder their father, who was stabbed while sleeping. The mother of these parricidal sons burnt herself with her husband's body; and no less than eighty-four persons shared her fate; for, says Tod, "so much was Ajeet beloved, that even men devoted themselves on his pyre."—(*Rajast'han*, vol. i., p. 745.)

* Mohammed Khan threw himself into a fort, and was almost driven to surrender at discretion, when his wife sent her veil (the strongest appeal to Afghan honour) to her countrymen in Rohilcund; and by means of the volunteers thus assembled, her husband was rescued and escorted to Allahabad. (Scott, vol. ii.)

† This prince occupied the *gadi*, or cushion of Amber, for forty-four years. When dismissed by Feroksheer (*see* p. 158), he retired to his hereditary dominions, devoting himself to the study of astronomy and history. He built the city of Jeypoor; erected observatories, furnished with instruments of his own invention, at Delhi, Jeypoor, Oojein, Benares, and Mat'hura, upon a scale of Asiatic grandeur; and caused *Euclid's Elements*, the *Treatises on Plain and Spherical Trigonometry*, and *Napier on the Construction and Use of Logarithms*, to be translated into Sanscrit.—(*Rajast'han*, vol. ii., p. 358.)

‡ Duff's *Mahrattas*. vol. i., p. 532.

however, to intimidate rather than provoke, he exerted every effort to prevent the devastation of the suburbs by his troops, and, for this purpose, drew off to some distance from the city. This movement being attributed to fear, induced the Moguls to make a sally; but they were driven back with heavy loss. The approach of the imperial forces, and also of Sadut Khan, warned Bajee Rao of the necessity of making good his retreat to the Deccan, which the nizam quitted some months later for Delhi, tempted by the promise not only of the vizierat, but also of the viceroyalty of Malwa and Guzerat, provided he could expel the Mahrattas.

With an army of about 34,000 men under his personal command, supported by a fine train of artillery and a reserve, the nizam advanced to Seronje against his formidable foes, while Bajee Rao crossed the Nerbudda at the head of a nominally-superior force. This circumstance, added perhaps to reliance on his artillery, led Asuf Jah, with characteristic caution, to establish himself in a strong position close to the fort of Bhopal, and there await the enemy. But he ought to have been better acquainted with Mahratta tactics. Seldom formidable in pitched battles, they gladly avoided a decisive encounter, and resorted to their usual plans of laying waste the surrounding country, intercepting all communication, and attacking every detachment that ventured beyond the lines. Dispirited by watching and privation, many of the nizam's troops were inclined to desert; but Bajee Rao gave them no encouragement, well knowing, that so long as the blockade could be secured, the greater the numbers the greater their straits. After the lapse of a month or six weeks, Asuf Jah, straitened for supplies, and completely cut off from the reserve force, attempted a retreat northward, under cover of his powerful artillery, but was so harassed by the Mahrattas as to be compelled to come to terms, and agree, on condition of being suffered to pursue his humiliating march unmolested, to give up Malwa, with the complete sovereignty of all the country from the Nerbudda to the Chumbul, solemnly engaging to use his best endeavours to procure from the emperor a confirmation of this cession, together with a payment of fifty lacs of rupees (£500,000), to defray the peishwa's expenses.* Bajee Rao proceeded to occupy the territory thus acquired; but before the decision of the emperor could be pronounced, an event occurred which, for the time, threw into the shade the internal dissension that mainly contributed to bring upon unhappy Hindoostan so terrible a visitation.

Invasion of Nadir Shah.—The last mention made of Persia was the circumstance of the intended hostilities between Shah Abbas II. and Aurungzebe being broken off by the death of the former monarch in 1666. Since then, great changes had occurred. The Saffavi, or Sophi dynasty, after a duration of two centuries, had fallen into a state of weakness and decay; and Shah Hussein, the last independent sovereign of that race, was defeated and deposed by Mahmood, the leader of the Afghan tribe of Ghiljeis, who usurped the throne of Persia, A.D. 1722. Two years (spent in the unsparing destruction of the wretched Persians, whose numerical superiority was their worst crime in the eyes of their barbarous conquerors) terminated the career of Mahmood: he died raving mad, and was succeeded by his nephew, Ashruf. The new king resisted successfully the assaults of the Russians and Turks, who entered into a confederacy for dismembering Persia, the western provinces of which were to be appropriated by the Porte; the northern, as far as the Araxes, by Peter the Great. The death of the czar relieved Ashruf from these difficulties; but a more formidable foe arose in the person of Prince Tahmasp, the fugitive son of Shah Hussein, whose claims were supported by a freebooting chief, already widely celebrated as a daring and successful leader, under the name of Nadir Kooli, *slave to the Wonderful.*† On entering the service of the prince, this designation was exchanged for that of Tahmasp Kooli Khan, *the lord who is slave to Tahmasp;* but when, after some severe struggles, the Afghans had been expelled,‡ this nominally-devoted adherent,

* "I tried hard," says Bajee Rao, in a letter to his brother, "to get something from the nabob himself; but this I scarcely expected. I recollected his unwillingness to part with money when I entered on an agreement to assist him;" alluding to their compact six years before.—(Duff, vol. i., p. 542.)

† *The Wonderful* being used as a title of the Divinity. The father of Nadir Kooli belonged to the Turki tribe of Afshar, and earned his livelihood by making coats and caps of sheep-skins: his famous son was born in Khorasan, in 1688. An uncle of Nadir Kooli's, who appears to have been at the head of a small branch of the Afshars, was governor of the fort of Kelat; but, having quarrelled with his turbulent nephew, fell a victim to his resentment, Nadir Kooli slaying him with his own hand.

‡ Ashruf was murdered by a Beloochee chief, between Kerman and Candahar, in 1729.

finding his master disposed to exercise the prerogatives of royalty, found means to depose him, and place his infant son on the throne, usurping the sole authority under the name of regent. Repeated victories over the Turks, ending in a treaty of peace with both Turkey and Russia, rendered this soldier of fortune so popular in Persia, that he felt the time had arrived to give free rein to ambition. The boy-king died opportunely at Ispahan; and Nadir, assembling the army and the leading persons in the empire, to the number of 100,000, in the spacious plain of Mogham, bade them choose a ruler. They named him unanimously; upon which he, after a hypocritical declaration that he looked upon the voice of the people as the voice of God, and would therefore abide by their decision, although it contravened his own intention in calling them together, accepted the crown, on condition of the general renunciation of the Sheiah doctrine and the establishment of that of the Sunnis, or Sonnites, throughout Persia. This proviso was evidently designed for the purpose of eradicating any lingering regret from the public mind regarding the Saffavis, who had ever been the champions of the Sheiah sect: but it proved unsuccessful; for the people secretly adhered to their former belief, and its prohibition, together with the strangling of the refractory chief moollah, or high-priest, only served to alienate them from their new ruler, who, on mounting the throne (A.D. 1736), assumed the title of Nadir Shah, *the Wonderful King*.

Hostilities with the Ghiljeis, from whom Candahar was captured after a close blockade of nearly a twelvemonth, brought Nadir Shah to the frontiers of the Mogul empire. He could not be ignorant of its weakness; and the prospect thus afforded of lucrative and congenial employment for the warlike tribes who owned his sway, offered temptations not to be resisted. In such cases, pretexts are seldom wanting; nor were they now. While besieging Candahar, Nadir Shah had applied to the court of Delhi for the seizure or expulsion of some Afghans who had fled into the country near Ghuznee; a demand to which the indolent and effete government, after a long interval, returned an ambiguous answer, being, it would appear, at once unable to comply with the request, and disinclined to acknowledge the title of the Persian sovereign. Nadir Shah advanced on Ghuznee and Cabool, and, from the latter place, which he captured with little difficulty, sent another messenger to Delhi, who failed in fulfilling his embassy, being cut off, with his escort, by the Afghans at Jellalabad.* This circumstance was set forth as warranting the invasion of India; and after spending some months in settling the affairs of the country round Cabool, Nadir marched to the eastward in October, 1738.† Even these proceedings failed to rouse the supine authorities at Delhi, or teach the necessity of merging internal strife in defensive operations against a common foe. They knew that Cabool was taken, but believed, or tried to believe, that the mountain tribes and guarded passes between that city and Peshawur would check the further advance of the invading force, although, in fact, even this barrier had been cast down by the peculation or misplaced economy of Khan Dowran, the ameer-ul-omra, who, by withholding the sum of twelve lacs of rupees, formerly sent every year for the payment of guards, had caused the breaking up of garrisons, until roads and defiles being all unwatched, marauding Afghans or invading Persians alike passed without obstruction. Its commencement being unopposed, the march of Nadir Shah was speedy and terrible. Having sacked Jellalabad, he passed through Peshawur, crossed the Attock in boats, and entered Moultan. The governor of Lahore made some show of opposition, over which Nadir triumphed with little difficulty; and, in fact, met with no serious opposition until, on approaching the Jumna, within 100 miles of Delhi, he found himself in the neighbourhood of the whole Indian army.

Mohammed Shah, at length thoroughly roused to a sense of the impending calamity, strove to meet the danger it was now too late to avert; and, being joined by Asuf Jah, moved to Kurnaul, where he occupied a fortified camp. Sadut Khan, the viceroy of Oude, arrived to join his sovereign; and Nadir Shah, by attempting to intercept

* Khan Dowran, and his supporters, treated the account of the intercepted embassy from Cabool as a report originated by Nizam-ool-Moolk and the Turani party at court, and jeeringly declared, that the houses of Delhi had very lofty roofs, from which the citizens might see Nadir Shah and his troopers from afar whenever they chose.—*Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, p. 414.

† The number of his force is nowhere satisfactorily stated. Fraser, in one place (*History of Nadir Shah*, p. 155), gives the total, including armed followers, at 160,000; but, in a previous page, a more distinct enumeration, made by a Persian news-writer at the camp at Jellalabad, only shows 64,500 fighting-men and 4,000 followers.

him, commenced hostilities, which issued in a general engagement. In this battle it would appear, that few (if any) Rajpoot princes took part, no longer caring to shed their blood for a foreign dynasty, whose ingratitude they hated, and whose weakness they despised. Even in this emergency, disunion prevailed in the Indian camp. Asuf Jah, from some real or pretended misconception, took no part in the action. Khan Dowran, the commander-in-chief, was killed; Sadut Khan taken prisoner; and Mohammed Shah, seeing his troops completely routed, had no resource but to send Asuf Jah to offer his submission, and repair himself, with a few attendants, to the Persian camp. Nadir Shah, considering the affinity between himself, as of Turcoman race, (though the son of a cap-maker), and the defeated monarch (a lineal descendant of the house of Timur), received his unwilling visitor with every demonstration of respect, and would probably have accepted a ransom, and spared Delhi, but for the selfish intrigues of Sadut Khan and the nizam. The accounts recorded of this period differ materially;* but it is certain, that after some time spent in apparently fruitless negotiations, Nadir Shah marched into Delhi, established himself in the palace, distributed his troops throughout the city, and stationed detachments in different places for the protection of the inhabitants. During the first day strict discipline was maintained, and all was quiet, though, probably, the usurpers could as ill-disguise their exultation as the Indians their hatred and disgust; but on the second, a rumour spread of the death of Nadir Shah,† and the citizens immediately rising, slew all the Persians within reach, to the number of 700, including some of those who had been stationed for the protection of private dwellings. The tumult continued during the whole night: at daybreak, Nadir Shah mounted his horse and sallied forth, believing that his presence would at once restore order by proving the falsity of the current report. Flights of stones, arrows, and fire-arms from the houses, soon undeceived him; and one of his chiefs, being killed at his side by a shot aimed at himself, he ordered his troops to retaliate, and not leave a soul alive wherever they should discover the corpse of a Persian. This command, which, of course, warranted nothing less than a general massacre, was eagerly obeyed: the soldiery entered the houses, and gave free loose to those hateful passions—covetousness, lust, revenge; the true "dogs of war." The streets of Delhi streamed with blood; many thoroughfares became blocked up with carcasses; flames burst forth in various places, where the wretched citizens, distracted by the thought of beholding their wives and children in the hands of the foe, had preferred sharing with them a fiery death; the shrieks and groans of the dying and the dishonoured pierced the air, overpowering at moments the fearful imprecations, or yet more fiendish scoffing of their persecutors; and from sunrise to broad noon these horrid sights and sounds continued unabated. Nadir Shah, it is said, after issuing the murderous order, went into the little mosque in the Great Bazaar, near the centre of the city, and there remained in gloomy silence until he was aroused by the entrance of Mohammed Shah, whose deep distress (for though weak and sensual, he was compassionate and gentle) obtained a command for the termination of the massacre. The prompt obedience of the troops, is quoted by historians as a remarkable proof of discipline; but these tigers in human form must have been weary of a slaughter, in which, according to the lowest trustworthy statement, 30,000 human beings were put to the sword.‡

* According to the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, Nadir Shah, at an interview with Asuf Jah (procured by the diplomacy of the captive, Sadut Khan), consented to conclude a peace, and return to his own dominions, on condition of receiving two crores of rupees (£2,000,000 sterling), a piece of intelligence which so delighted Mohammed Shah, that he instantly conferred the office of ameer-ul-omra on the successful mediator. Sadut Khan, enraged by the success of his rival, told Nadir Shah, that the ransom he had consented to receive was absurdly insufficient—that he himself could afford to pay it from his private fortune; and, by these treacherous representations, induced the invader to violate his pledge, enter the city, and pillage it without mercy.

† This rumour is said to have been spread by the proprietors of certain granaries, which had been forcibly opened, and the wheat sold at a low price.

‡ *Nadir-nameh*, translated from Persian into French, by Sir W. Jones (*Works*, vol. v.) Scott states the number at 8,000; but Mr. Elphinstone naturally remarks, that it is incredible so small a result should have been produced by a detachment of 20,000 men, employed for many hours in unresisted butchery (vol. ii., p. 630.) Fraser, who among much valuable authority, quotes the journal of a native Indian, secretary to Sirbuland Khan, writes—"of the citizens (great and small), 120,000 were slaughtered: others computed them at 150,000;" adding, in a note, "about 10,000 women threw themselves into wells, some of whom were taken out alive, after being there two or three days."—(pp. 185-187.)

The wretched survivors seem to have wanted energy even to perform the funeral obsequies of the dead. "In several of the Hindoo houses," says Fraser, "where one of a family survived, he used to pile thirty or forty carcasses a-top of one another, and burn them: and so they did in the streets; notwithstanding which, there still remained so many, that for a considerable time, there was no such thing as passing any of those ways." After some days, the stench arising from the multitudes of unburied dead becoming intolerable, the bodies were dragged into the river, thrown into pits, or else collected together in heaps, without distinction of Mussulman or Hindoo, and burned with the rubbish of the ruined houses, until all were disposed of.

The sufferings of the wretched people of Delhi were not yet complete; the rapacity of Nadir afforded fresh cause for bloodshedding, aggravated by cruel tortures. The usurper sat on the imperial throne, receiving costly offerings from the humiliated monarch and his degraded courtiers. He now demanded, under the name of peishcush (*a gift*), a sum stated at from twenty-five to thirty million sterling,* exclusive of the jewels, gold-plate set with gems, and other articles already appropriated. How to provide this enormous ransom was a new difficulty; for Mohammed Shah was far from inheriting the wealth of his ancestors. The prolonged wars of Aurungzebe, and the continued struggles of his successors, had well nigh emptied the treasury; and the present emperor had neither striven to replenish it by legitimate methods, nor, to his credit, be it recorded, by injustice or oppression. The jezia had been formally abolished at the commencement of his reign; and he alone, of all the Great Moguls, had steadily refused to confiscate the property of deceased nobles, leaving, not a small portion, as a matter of favour, for the maintenance of their families, but suffering the appropriation of the whole as a matter of right. The result was, that Mohammed Shah had comparatively little to lose: even the famous peacock-throne, now seized by Nadir, had been deprived of its most costly ornaments; and other portions of the imperial regalia were proportionately diminished in value. During the administration of the Seyeds, large sums had been abstracted from the treasury; and even the gold and silver rails of the hall of audience had been coined into money. A large quantity of gold, silver, and jewels was found in vaults, sealed up long ago (probably by Shah Jehan), and immense sums were levied from the nobles. Neither the crafty nizam nor his treacherous rival, Sadut Khan, were exempted from furnishing their quota, the former being compelled to disgorge treasure exceeding in value a million and a-half sterling; the latter, above a million; while both were treated by the conqueror with undisguised contempt and distrust. Sadut Khan died suddenly, whether from the effects of disease, anger, or poison, is an open question: the old nizam lived on, waiting for the turn of the wheel destined to restore to him that political power which was the sole end and aim of his existence.† The means of exacting the required tribute grew severe in proportion to the difficulty of its obtainment. The property of the nobles, merchants—even of the smallest tradesmen—was subjected to an arbitrary assessment, which, being frequently much above the actual value, impelled numbers of all ranks to commit suicide, as a means of avoiding the disgrace and torture likely to follow their inability to furnish the amount required;‡ while others perished

* *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*; on the authority of Hazveen, an eye-witness; and Scott's *Deccan*, vol. ii., p. 208.

† Dow's account of this period, though very interesting, is not deemed reliable; the rumours in circulation at the period, being too often suffered to usurp the place of carefully-sifted facts. This want of judgment is aggravated by the infrequency with which he gives authorities for particular statements. He describes Nadir Shah as having been invited to Hindoostan by Asuf Jah and Sadut Khan, and afterwards represents him as reproaching them for the treachery, by which he had gained the battle of Kurnaul, and spitting upon their beards. The nizam, seeing the fury of Sadut at this public disgrace, proposed that they should end their lives by poison, which being agreed to, they returned to their respective homes. Sadut, doubting the sincerity of his wily colleague, sent a messenger to his house to discover whether the oath had been carried into effect. Being made aware of the presence of the spy, the nizam swallowed an innoxious draught, and pretended to fall down dead. The trick succeeded; Sadut Khan took poison, and died, leaving his rival to exult over his wicked device.—(*Hindoostan*, vol. ii., p. 425.)

‡ The vakeel from Bengal, being ordered to send for seven crore of rupees, said, "so much would fill a string of waggons from Bengal to Delhi; for which, being roughly used, he went home, and murdered himself and family." (Fraser, p. 200.) The rough usage here alluded to was probably a severe bastinadoing; since that punishment was frequently inflicted on men of station and character, by the orders and in the presence of Nadir Shah, whose partiality for this species of discipline is strange enough, since, if the authorities quoted by Fraser may be relied on, he had been himself, in early youth, bastinadoed by the

under the tortures inflicted by the mercenary wretches to whom the power of extorting the tribute was farmed, and who made their own profit, or wreaked their private revenge unchecked, amid universal misery and desolation. "It was before a general massacre, but now the murder of individuals. In every chamber and house was heard the cry of affliction. Sleep and rest forsook the city." The pangs of hunger and sickness were not long absent; and "no morning passed that whole crowds, in every street and lane, did not die."* The citizens vainly strove to escape these multiplied calamities by flight; the roads were blocked up; and all such attempts punished by mutilation of the ears or nose; until at length—the dignity of human nature subdued by terror—the wretched sufferers slunk away into holes and corners, and cowered down before their oppressors like the frightened animals of the desert. The Persian horsemen sallied forth in different directions, seeking provisions and plunder; ravaging the fields, and killing all who offered resistance; but were occasionally attacked by the Jats, who had taken up arms. Intelligence of what was passing at Delhi had reached the Deccan: it was even reported that 100,000 Persians were advancing to the southward. Bajee Rao, undismayed, prepared to meet them, declaring, that domestic quarrels and the war with the Portuguese were to him as nought—there was now but one enemy in Hindoostan. "Hindoos and Mussulmans," he said, "the whole power of the Deccan must assemble; and I shall spread our Mahrattas from the Nerbudda to the Chumbul." Nadir, however, does not appear to have had any intention of risking his rich booty by exposing it to the chances of Mahratta warfare. He contented himself with inveighing bitterly against the insolence of the infidel "wretches of Deccan," in venturing to demand tribute from the dominions of a Mussulman emperor, and the weakness of the government by which it had been conceded; and then, having drained to the uttermost those very resources on which the means of resisting similar extortion depended, he prepared to quit the desolated city. Before departing, he caused a marriage to be celebrated between his son and a princess of the house of Timur, with a degree of regal magnificence sadly at variance with the gloom and desolation which prevailed throughout the once stately capital. Seating Mohammed Shah anew on his dishonoured throne (after severing from the Mogul empire the whole of Sinde and Cabool, together with some districts that had always been set apart for the pay of the garrisons of the latter province), he placed the crown upon his head, and bade him keep strict watch over the intrigues and corruption of his courtiers—especially of Asuf Jah, who was too cunning and ambitious for a subject. To this advice he added an assurance, that in the event of any cabals, an appeal from Mohammed Shah would bring him to his assistance, from Candahar, in forty days; and although this speech would, at first sight, appear only an additional insult, yet it is just possible, that it was dictated by a sort of compassionate feeling, which the misfortunes of the delicately-nurtured, indolent, and easy-tempered monarch had awakened in the breast of his victorious foe, whose mental characteristics contrasted no less forcibly than the extraordinary physical powers of his stalwart frame,† with the handsome but effeminate person and bearing of his victim. To the principal Hindoo leaders, including Jey Sing, Abhi Sing, Shao, and Bajee Rao, Nadir Shah issued circular-letters, bidding them "walk in the path of submission and obedience to our dear brother;" and threatening, in the event of their rebellion, to return and "blot them out of the pages of the book of creation."‡ On the 14th of April, 1739, the invader quitted Delhi, after a residence of fifty-eight days, bearing with him plunder in coin, bullion, gold and silver plate, brocades, and jewels (of which he was inordinately fond) to an incalculable extent. The money alone probably exceeded thirty million.§ Numerous elephants and camels were likewise carried away, as

order of Shah Hussein, "until his toe-nails dropt off." However, it is doubtless true, that in forming an opinion regarding the use of the rod, it makes all the difference which end falls to our share.

* Scott's *History of the Deccan*, vol. ii., p. 210. This description is quoted from a journal kept by an eye-witness, during this terrible epoch. The work somewhat resembles De Foe's masterpiece—the *Plague of London;* though the misery which it records is of a far more varied character.

† Fraser's description of a weather-beaten man, of fifty-five—above six foot high, very robust, with large black eyes and eyebrows—exactly coincides with the full-length picture of Nadir Shah formerly in the India-house. His voice was so strong, that he could, without straining it, give orders to the troops at above 100 yards' distance.—(Fraser, p. 227.)

‡ Scott's *Deccan*, vol. ii., p. 215.

§ Scott, Fraser, and Hanway. The Nadir-nameh states it at only 15 million: but this is not probable.

also many hundreds of skilful workmen and artificers. Exactions were levied in the towns and villages through which the retreating army marched, until they reached Cabool, where the mountaineers threatened to attack them; and Nadir, considering that the soldiers had suffered much from the intense heat, and were heavily laden with booty, thought it best to purchase forbearance, and reached Herat in safety, where he proudly displayed the spoils of Hindoostan.*

Reign of Mohammed Shah resumed.—The Persian invasion had plunged the court and people of Delhi into a "slough of despond," from which it was long before they summoned sufficient resolution to attempt extricating themselves. The state of public affairs held forth no promise that future prosperity might make amends for past suffering; and the worst of all indications of the decadence of the empire, was the readiness with which the courtiers relapsed into the habits of sensuality and intrigue, that had rendered them impotent to resist the power of a foreign foe; while the lower classes, imitating their apathy, grew to regard the brutal excesses of the Persian soldiery, rather as a subject of coarse merriment than deep humiliation; and, in mimicking their dress and manners, gave vent to feelings no less different from what may be termed the natural dignity of uncivilised man, than from the magnanimous forgiveness of injuries, which is the very crown of Christian virtue.

The influence of Asuf Jah was now supreme at Delhi. He was supported by the vizier, Kamer-oo-deen, with whom he was connected by intermarriage, and by a few leading families, who being, like himself, of Turki descent, were called the Turani nobles. He was secretly opposed by a large number of malcontents, among whom the emperor was thought to be included; and thus the counsels of government were again weak and divided at a time when there was most need of energy and union. On the departure of Nadir Shah, Bajee Rao sent a letter to the emperor, expressive of submission and obedience, together with a *nuzur*, or offering of 101 gold mohurs, and received in return a splendid *khillut*,† accompanied by assurances of general good-will, but not by the expected *sunnud*, or grant of the government of Malwa, an omission which the peishwa naturally attributed to a breach of faith on the part of the nizam. Had Bajee Rao, on this, as on previous occasions, chosen to advance to the gates of the capital, and there insist on the confirmation of the agreement, he might have probably done so with impunity, so far as the Moguls were concerned; for Nadir Shah had ravaged the only provinces which the Mahrattas had left intact; the imperial army was broken up, and the treasury completely empty. But Bajee Rao was himself in a critical position: hostilities abroad, intrigue at home, crippled his ambitious plans, and surrounded him with debt and difficulty. His foreign foes were the Abyssinians of Jinjeera, and the turbulent sons of Kanhojee Angria, of Kolabah, a powerful chief, whose piracies (which he called levying chout on the sea) had rendered him a formidable enemy to the Portuguese and English.

After the death of Kanhojee, in 1728, a contest ensued between his sons. Bajee Rao took part with one of them, named Mannajee, whom the Portuguese also at first assisted; but, being disappointed of the expected reward, changed sides, and appeared in arms against him. For this inconstancy they paid dearly by the loss of their possessions in Salsette, Bassein, and the neighbouring parts of the Concan; and hostilities were still being carried on, when the tacit refusal of the Delhi government to recognise his claims, induced the peishwa to direct his chief attention to his old antagonist, the nizam. Before recommencing hostilities in this quarter, it was necessary to provide against the coalition of the prithee nidhee with other domestic foes (of whom the chief was Rugojee Bhonslay, of Berar,‡ and the next in importance, Dummajee

* A portable tent was constructed from the spoils; the outside covered with scarlet broad cloth, and the inside with violet-satin, on which birds and beasts, trees and flowers, were depicted in precious stones. On either side the peacock-throne a screen extended, adorned with the figures of two angels, also represented in various-coloured gems. Even the tent-poles were adorned with jewels, and the pins were of massy gold. The whole formed a load for seven elephants. This gorgeous trophy was broken up by Nadir Shah's nephew and successor, Adil Shah.—(*Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurreem*, a Cashmerian of distinction, in the service of Nadir Shah. Gladwin's translation, Calcutta, 1788, p. 28.)

† A *khillut* comprises a complete dress, or *sir-pa* (head to foot), with the addition of jewels, horse, elephant, and arms.

‡ Parsojee, the founder of the Bhonslay family, from whom sprang the rajahs of Berar, being one of the first to tender allegiance to Shao on his release at the death of Aurungzebe, was promoted from the rank of a private horseman to high position. Not-

Guicowar, of Guzerat), who, envying his power, were plotting its overthrow, under pretence of emancipating their mutual sovereign. This difficulty Bajee Rao met by engaging the Bhonslay chief in a remote expedition into the Carnatic; but another, of a different character, remained behind. The vast army he had kept up, and the necessity of giving high rates of pay, in order to outbid the nizam, and secure the best of the Deccan soldiery, had induced him to incur an expenditure which he had no means of meeting.* The troops were in arrears, and, consequently, clamorous and inclined to mutiny. His financial arrangements would appear to have been far inferior to those of Sevajee; and, as a nation, the Mahrattas, from various causes, no longer found war a profitable employment. Still, Bajee Rao persisted in endeavouring to carry out his ambitious designs, and taking advantage of the absence of the nizam, surrounded the camp of his second son, Nasir Jung, who had been left in charge of the viceroyalty. The defence was carried on with such unlooked-for vigour, that after some months of active hostility, the peishwa became convinced that his means were inadequate to the task he had undertaken, and entered into an accommodation with his young and energetic opponent. The prudence of the general triumphed over the rash valour of the soldier; yet it was a moment when many in his position would have been inclined to struggle on; for it would appear, that his retreat to court was cut off by the machinations which he had sought to circumvent by procuring the absence of Rugojee Bhonslay. Addressing his *mahapooroosh*, or spiritual adviser, he writes—"I am involved in difficulties, in debt, and in disappointments, and like a man ready to swallow poison: near the rajah are my enemies; and should I at this time go to Sattara, they will put their feet on my breast. I should be thankful if I could meet death."† After such an avowal, there is something strange and startling in the fact that Bajee Rao set off suddenly, with his army, towards Hindoostan, with what object is not known, but only lived to reach the Nerbudda, on whose banks he expired in April, 1740.‡

Rugojee Bhonslay, although about besieging Trichinopoly when he heard of the death of his rival, instantly hastened to Sattara; but being obliged to leave the greater part of his army behind him, had no sufficient force to cope with Balajee Bajee Rao, who asserted his hereditary claim to succeed to the office of his father; neither was Dummajee Guicowar ready to take the field. In this conjuncture, Rugojee proposed that Bappoojee Naik,§ a connection, but bitter foe (because a disappointed creditor of the late peishwa's), should be appointed to the vacant position; and very large sums were offered to Shao, on condition of his seconding the arrangement.

These attempts failed; and Balajee Bajee Rao was formally appointed by the rajah. Being answerable for his father's debts, he was immediately assailed by Bappoojee Naik with the harassing pertinacity frequently exercised by Mahratta creditors.‖ From this persecution, his own efforts, ably seconded by the influence and credit of his *dewan* (treasurer, or high steward), relieved him; and, after more than a year spent in internal arrangements, he prepared to resist

withstanding the coincidence of his surname with that of the rajah, they do not appear to have been related.

* The soucars, or bankers, to whom he already owed a personal debt of many lacs of rupees, refused to make any further advances; and he forcibly describes his embarrassments, by declaring—"I have fallen into that hell of being beset by creditors; and to pacify soucars and sillidars (military commanders), I am falling at their feet till I have rubbed the skin from my forehead"—a figurative expression, used in allusion to the Hindoo custom of placing the forehead at the threshold of the temple, or at the feet of the idol, in humble supplication.

† *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 559. The manner of his death does not appear.

‡ Bajee Rao left three sons—Balajee Bajee Rao, Rugonat Rao, or Ragoba (who was at one time much connected with the English), and Shumsheer Bahadur, to whom, though the illegitimate offspring of a Mohammedan woman, and brought up in that creed, he bequeathed all his claims and possessions in Bundelcund. The names of the peishwas (first Balajee, then Bajee, and now Balajee Bajee, combined) will, it is to be feared, confuse the reader; but the alliteration is unavoidable.

§ Brahmin soucars and money-changers assume the appellation of Naik.

‖ A species of dunning, called tuquazu, is practised as a trade. Several men, hired for the purpose, follow the debtor wherever he goes, and establish themselves at the door of his house, subsisting all the while upon the food with which the invariable custom of the country obliges him to supply them. If humble petitions and insolent demands alike fail, the creditor himself sometimes resorts to the last expedient (as Bappoojee Naik did in the present instance), by the practice of *dhurna*—that is, by taking up his position in person, as a dun, and observing a rigid fast, in which his unfortunate debtor is compelled by that powerful agent, public opinion, to imitate him, even at the hazard of starvation, until he can induce him to raise the siege.

the encroachments of inimical Mahratta chiefs, and to demand the government of Malwa from the Delhi court.

In the interim, no endeavour had been made by the Mogul party in the Deccan to take advantage of the dissensions in the Mahratta state. The active viceroy, the successful opponent of Bajee Rao, had been fully occupied in rebellion against his own father, the nizam, who, in 1741, marched into the Deccan to oppose his refractory representative, and received, during his progress, a personal visit from the new peishwa, together with the assistance of a body of troops.

Rugojee Bhonslay, upon the failure of his political schemes at Sattara, returned to the Carnatic, and after the successful termination of the campaign, by the surrender of Trichinopoly and the capture of Chunda Sahib, the soubahdar (or, according to the English phrase, the nabob), he sent a force into Bengal under his Brahmin minister, Bhaskur Punt.

At this period, the viceroyalty of Bengal was possessed by Ali Verdi Khan (sometimes called Mohabet Jung.) This celebrated individual was of Turki descent, and had been promoted by Shuja Khan, the late viceroy, to the subordinate government of Behar. After his death, Ali Verdi turned his arms against Serferaz Khan, the son and successor of his late patron, slew him in battle, and usurped the government, for which he obtained an imperial firman by dint of large bribes and hypocritical assurances of devoted submission. He made a determined resistance to Bhaskur Punt;* but, alarmed by the advance of Rugojee in person, he besought the emperor to assist him in the defence of the province; and this request resulted in an appeal for aid to the peishwa, seconded by the long-withheld grant of the viceroyalty of Malwa.

Such an invitation would have been at all times welcome; for the Mahrattas were invariably solicitous to find excuses for interfering in the affairs of the various provinces still more or less subject to Mogul rule, and were ever labouring silently to increase their influence. In the present instance, Balajee Bajee was especially glad to be called in to act as an auxiliary against his private foe, and immediately marching by Allahabad and Behar, he reached Moorshedabad in time to protect it from Rugojee, who was approaching from the south-west. After receiving from Ali Verdi the payment of an assignment granted to him by the court of Delhi on the arrears of the revenue of Bengal, the peishwa marched against the invader, who retired before him, but was overtaken, and suffered a rout and the loss of his baggage before he was completely driven out of the province, A.D. 1743. The reprieve thus purchased for Bengal only lasted about two years; for the peishwa, who, in the name of his sovereign, Rajah Shao, wielded the power of the head of a confederacy of chiefs, rather than that of a despotic ruler, found it necessary to come to terms with Rugojee, by ceding to him the right of levying tribute in all Bengal and Behar, if not also in Allahabad and Oude. Bhaskur Punt was again sent to invade Bengal (1745), and proceeded with success, until he suffered himself to be inveigled into an interview with Ali Verdi Khan, by whom he was treacherously murdered. Of twenty-two principal officers, only one (Ru-

* Ali Verdi Khan was encamped at Midnapore, when he heard of the approach of Bhaskur Punt, at the head of 40,000 horse. He marched to Burdwan, and there strove to bring on a general engagement, which the Mahrattas of course avoided, and ravaged the environs with fire and sword, offering, however, to evacuate the country on payment of ten lacs of rupees. This Ali Verdi refused; and resolving to force his way to Moorshedabad, issued orders that the heavy baggage and camp-followers should remain at Burdwan. Instead of obeying, the people, terrified at the idea of being left to the mercy of the enemy, persisted in accompanying the retreating army; and the result was, that on the first day's march, the Mahrattas surrounded the line, and captured the chief part of the stores, artillery, and tents. The sum previously demanded as the price of peace was offered, but rejected: Bhaskur Punt would now accept nothing less than a crore of rupees (a million sterling), with the surrender of all the elephants. Ali Verdi refused these degrading terms, and continued his retreat, for three days, through a flat country, amid heavy rains, constantly harassed by the enemy, and greatly distressed for food and shelter. On the fourth morning he reached Cutwa; and although the foe had been beforehand with him, by setting on fire the magazines of grain, enough remained to afford means of subsistence to the famishing soldiery until further supplies could be procured. Yusuf Ali Khan, one of Ali Verdi's generals, states, that the first day of the march, he and seven nobles shared between them about one pound's-weight of kichery (boiled rice, mixed with pulse); the next, they had a few pieces of a sweet confection; the third, a small quantity of carrion, which, while it was cooking, was eagerly watched by others, who could not be refused a single mouthful. The common soldiers strove to maintain life on the bark of trees, leaves, grass, and ants.—(See *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, done into English by a Frenchman, in 3 vols. 4to.) This translation, though full of gallicisms, is of great value to inquirers on Indian history; since the able labours of General Briggs, then extended only over the first part of the first volume.

gojee Guicowar) escaped, having been left in charge of the camp, and by him the army was conducted back to Berar. No long time elapsed before an opportunity to revenge this perfidious massacre arose, as a direct consequence of the crime itself; for Mustapha Khan, the leader of a body of Afghans who had borne the chief part in it, quarrelled with Ali Verdi for withholding the promised reward—namely, the government of Behar. Both parties were well aware that assassination was an expedient likely enough to be attempted, and soon came to open hostilities, in which the Afghans supported their countrymen. Rugojee Bhonslay took advantage of this state of affairs to invade Orissa, where he obtained possession of several districts, and named 30,000,000 rupees as the sum for which he would spare the remainder, and quit the country. Before narrating the result of these proceedings, which occupied several years, it is necessary, for the sake of the chronological succession of events, to return to the court of Delhi. On the departure of Asuf Jah for the Deccan, A.D. 1741, his place at court was taken by his son, Ghazi-oo-deen, the son-in-law of the vizier, Kamer-oo-deen. These two nobles, being closely united by political and by domestic ties, resisted successfully many intrigues and combinations; but they fought with the same unholy weapons that were employed against them. Treacherous and sanguinary deeds became frequent, offering unmistakable evidence of the weakness as well as wickedness of those who bore sway, and indicating to all accustomed to watch the decline of national power, its rapidly-approaching dissolution. The only person who appears to have profited by the bitter medicine of adversity, was the emperor; he became a wiser and a better man: but long-continued habits of ease and indolence are not to be lightly broken; and he gladly sought refuge in the devotion of the closet, from the cares, vexation, and intrigue which beset the council-chamber. Nevertheless, "while he lived, the royal name was respectable, and his prudence sustained the tottering fabric of the state from falling into total ruin; but he could not repair the unwieldy fabric."*

Of the various communities whose separate existence was more or less fostered at the expense of the empire, the only one against which Mohammed Shah took the field in person, after the departure of the Persians, was that founded by the Rohillas, an Afghan colony, composed chiefly of Eusofzeis and other north-eastern tribes, who had acquired possession of the country east of the Ganges, from Oude to the mountains, and, under a chief named Ali Mohammed, had attained to so much importance, as to be with difficulty reduced to even temporary submission. Turbulent and rebellious as subjects, they were yet more dangerous as neighbours; and scarcely had tranquillity been partially restored in the territory above designated, before a formidable combination of Afghans, in their own dominions, threatened India with another desolating irruption. The chief cause was an event which, above all others, would have been least expected to contribute to such a result—namely, the assassination of Nadir Shah, the spoiler of Hindoostan, whose leading share in the expulsion of the hated Afghan dynasty and victories over the Turks, had gained him a degree of renown which, despite his crimes, made him the boast of his subjects. On returning to Persia, he was received with the utmost enthusiasm; and the troops whom he had trained and led to conquest, gloried in the renown of their successful leader. At first, it appeared as if he were disposed to use his ill-gotten wealth for the relief and improvement of his kingdom; but it soon became evident, that the hardening influence of rapine and slaughter had extinguished every better impulse, fostered his evil passions, and rendered the once enterprising adventurer nothing better than a cruel and capricious coward. Even his ability and energy in war seemed to fail; and his latest proceedings against the Turks evinced little of his early skill. When this contest was terminated by a treaty, Nadir Shah, no longer occupied by external hostilities, gave free vent to his fierce, savage, and dastardly nature, and instead of the boast, became the terror and execration of his country. All around him trembled for fear of becoming the object of suspicions which their slavish submission served only to increase. Among other atrocities, he accused his eldest son of having incited an attempt to kill him by a shot, which slightly wounded him while traversing a forest in one of his campaigns; and, although there appeared no reason to think that the assassin was not one of the enemy, the unhappy prince was blinded at the command of his still more unhappy father, who, in a paroxysm of gloom and remorse, subsequently caused no less than fifty of his chief nobles to be put to death, because they had

* Scott's *History of the Deccan*, vol. ii, p. 223.

witnessed the execution of his wicked sentence without one prayer for mercy.* Covetousness was one of the distinguishing vices of his advancing age; and, instead of pursuing his avowed intention of relieving the Persians from the pressure of taxation by means of his enormous private wealth, he became extortionate and oppressive, as if ravaging a conquered territory. Disaffection and revolts ensued, and afforded pretexts for fresh cruelties. Whole cities were depopulated; towers of heads raised to commemorate their ruin: eyes were torn out; tortures inflicted; and no man could count for a moment on his exemption from death in torments.† The mad fury of Nadir was aggravated by his knowledge of the angry feelings excited, at the time of his accession, by the prohibition of the Sheiah doctrines, and the confiscation of the lands and stipends of the priests, and his conviction that, after all, the people generally, maintained the forbidden opinions. At length, he came to regard every Persian as his enemy, and entertained for his protection a band of Uzbeg mercenaries, placing his entire confidence on them and the Afghans, taking a delight in aggrandising these, his former enemies, at the expense of his own countrymen. To such a height had his madness attained, that he actually ordered the Afghan chiefs to rise suddenly upon the Persian guard, and seize the persons of the chief nobles; but the project being discovered, the intended victims conspired in turn; and a body of them, including the captain of Nadir's guard, and the chief of his own tribe of Afshar, entered his tent at midnight, and after a moment's involuntary pause—when challenged by the deep voice at which they had so often trembled—rushed upon the king, who, being brought to the ground by a sabre-stroke, begged for life, and attempted to rise, but soon expired beneath the repeated blows of the conspirators.‡

With the morning light, the rumour of this sanguinary deed spread alarm and amazement throughout the army. The Afghans, under the command of a young chief, named Ahmed Khan, the head of the Abdalli tribe, were joined by the Uzbegs in an effort made in the hope of being still in time to rescue Nadir Shah; but being repulsed, and finding that the Shah was really dead, they marched to Candahar, obtained possession of that city, and captured a large convoy of treasure on its way from Cabool and Sinde to the Persian treasury. Ali, the nephew of the murdered monarch, was placed on the vacant throne under the name of Adil Shah,§ and, during his short and inglorious reign, had probably neither the ability nor inclination to interfere with the proceedings of Ahmed Khan, who, having rapidly extended his influence over the neighbouring tribes and countries, including Balkh, Sinde, Cashmere, and other previously-conquered provinces, was, in the course of a few months, formally declared king of Candahar. In the plains and cities he established absolute authority; but the Afghan tribes retained their internal government: Beloochistan, Seestan, and some other places remained under their native chiefs, but owned allegiance and military service. Without, however, waiting the settlement of all the above-named countries, Ahmed Shah directed his attention to India as a means of employing his army and increasing his pecuniary resources. The coronation festivities were scarcely concluded before he marched to the eastward, and, having rapidly subjugated all the territory as far as the Indus, proceeded to invade the Punjaub. The viceroy being in revolt, could claim no aid from the Delhi government; and Ahmed,

* Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii., p. 652.

† The sole exception is that afforded by his desire to encourage commerce; but even this was, for the most part, only another incentive to despotic and harsh measures. To foreign traders he, however, extended protection; and Jonas Hanway, the eminent merchant, who visited his camp at a time when all Persia was devastated by his exactions, obtained an order that the property of which he had been plundered, during a rebellion at Asterabad, should be restored, or compensation given instead.

‡ Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 653, on the authority of Père Bazin, a jesuit, who acted as physician to Nadir Shah during the last years of his life. Malcolm states, that being suddenly aroused from sleep, the king started up, and had slain two of the meaner assassins before a blow from Salah Beg, the captain of his guards, deprived him of life.

§ To assuage the fears of the guilty chiefs by whom he was raised to the throne, Adil Shah publicly but falsely declared, that he had himself incited the deed by which Persia had been relieved from the curse of a despot, who delighted in blood. This character was equally applicable to himself; for he slew the unfortunate blind prince, Reza Kooli, and thirteen of Nadir's sons and grandsons, sparing only Shah Rokh, a lad of fourteen, who was afterwards protected in his residence at Meshhed, by Ahmed Shah, who possessed dependencies immediately to the east of that city. All the assassins of Nadir did not escape with impunity; for the Afshar leader, having incurred the displeasure of Adil Shah, was delivered over to the vengeance of the female relatives of the murdered monarch, by whom he was cut to pieces.—(Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. ii., p. 56.)

with little difficulty, triumphed over the feeble opposition offered to his usurpations, and occupied Lahore and other towns on the road to the Sutlej. News of his approach had reached the court, and Prince Ahmed, the heir-apparent, with Kamer-oo-deen, the vizier, at the head of the Mogul army, were sent to arrest his progress.* They had taken possession of the fords of the Sutlej; but the Candahar king, despite the inferior number of his troops, resolved to force a passage; and having succeeded in crossing at an unguarded, because unfordable part, left the enemy in his rear, and advancing against Sirhind, captured that place, together with the baggage, stores, and guns deposited therein. The Moguls, intimidated by the rapidity of these movements, intrenched their camp, soon after which the vizier was shot by a cannon-ball; but the army continued to repel the assaults of the Dooranis (as the Abdallis were now termed),† and on the tenth day succeeded in effecting their complete defeat, obliging them to march off homeward during the ensuing night.

Mohammed Shah expired within a month of this victory (A.D. 1748), and his only son, Ahmed, ascended the throne. For the first time from the commencement of the Indian annals of the house of Timur—in the beginning of the 15th century—the succession was uncontested.‡ In truth, it was a woeful heritage—little to be coveted by the most ambitious pretender.

Reign of Ahmed Shah.—The events of the next eighteen years can scarcely be woven into a connected narrative. The Great Mogul is no longer the chief feature in the picture; his proceedings have ceased to form the centre around which all other incidents could be easily and naturally grouped; the governors of provinces, from simple servants of the crown, having become independent powers, whose assistance their nominal sovereign was glad to purchase, at any cost, to ward off a foreign foe.

After the battle of Sirhind, the victor sent a governor to the Punjaub, believing that important province secured to the empire by the retreat of the Afghan monarch; but this latter, on learning that the prince had been recalled to Delhi, by the illness of his father, turned back before he had reached the Indus, and forced from the newly-appointed viceroy an engagement to pay a permanent tribute. Ahmed Shah, anxious to form connections which should enable him to provide against the incursions of his turbulent neighbour, offered the "ink-stand of the vizierat"§ to Asuf Jah, who had become reconciled to his son, Nasir Jung, and was employed in consolidating his own power over the territories in the Deccan, conquered with so much difficulty by the most powerful of the house of Timur, and so easily snatched from their feeble descendants. The nizam declined the proffered office, on account of his great age, and died, shortly after, at Boorhanpoor, in his ninety-sixth year.‖

Nasir Jung assumed his father's government, and Sufdur Jung (son and successor of Sadut Khan) became vizier, on condition of retaining likewise the viceroyalty of Oude. In the northern part of that province, the Rohillas had again become formidable, and the efforts of the imperial force were directed to their suppression. Sufdur Jung acted in this matter with shameless ingratitude,¶ and his ill-disciplined troops sacked their own town of Bara (famous for being peopled by Seyeds), and massacred such of the inhabitants as attempted resistance. The Rohillas, though greatly inferior in number, gained a complete victory; wounded the vizier, set the imperial power at defiance, and penetrated to Allahabad. In this emergency, the common error was committed of avoiding one danger by incurring another involving greater, though less immediate hazard. Mulhar Rao Holcar, and Jeiapa Sindia, had been recently sent to Malwa by the peishwa: to them Sufdur Jung now applied for aid; as also to Suraj Mul, rajah of the Jats. With these auxiliaries, he defeated the Rohillas, in a pitched battle;

* Elphinstone states his force at 12,000 men; Elliot's *Hafiz Rehmet* at 15,000; but the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* at 67,000 horse.

† By the advice of a dervish, who had predicted his future greatness, Ahmed assumed the title of *Door-dowran* (the pearl of the age); and the Abdalli tribe took the name of Doorani.

‡ The accession of Jehangeer can scarcely be deemed an exception, since opposition was attempted before the death of Akber; and by Prince Khoorum within four months after.

§ An ornamented ink-stand, or rather ink-horn, is the insignia of office worn by viziers.

‖ Or 104 lunar years, according to the Mohammedan mode of computation; their years consisting of 13 months—of 28 days 6 hours each.

¶ He induced Kaium Khan Bungush, the Afghan governor of Furruckabad, to conduct the war against his own countrymen. Kaium was slain in battle, and his employer strove to dispossess the widow of the chief part of her legitimate possessions, but with no avail; for the people rose upon his representative,

drove them into the lower branches of the Himalaya, about the Kumaon range, which forms their north-eastern boundary, and by authorising the Mahrattas to levy the promised subsidy on the conquered territory, soon reduced his foes to such straits for subsistence, that they submitted on the sole condition of receiving the assignment of a few villages for their chiefs.

In the Deccan many important changes had occurred since 1745, when Rugojee Bhonslay, taking advantage of the rebellion of Mustapha Khan, had invaded Orissa. The defeat of the Afghans, and the fall of their leader, in an attempt to obtain possession of Behar, relieved Ali Verdi from one dangerous foe, and enabled him to direct his efforts to the expulsion of the Mahrattas. In this undertaking he was less successful; driven off at one point, they attacked another, fighting ever in true Cossack* style, until Ali Verdi, in 1751, weary of beholding his fertile plains desolated by their incursions, and possibly influenced by the craving for quiet, natural to the old age of even men of war, bought off the invaders by the cession of Cuttack (the southern division of Orissa), and an engagement for the annual payment of twelve lacs of rupees, as the chout of Bengal and Behar. This very inadequate sum, Rugojee was doubtless induced to accept by the necessity of returning to the Deccan, where the renewal of internal strife among the Mahrattas, and the quarrels and intrigues of the sons of Asuf Jah, together with the ambitious projects of M. Bussy, the French leader, warned every wandering chief to guard his home interests.

The death of Shao, in 1750, gave the expected signal for a struggle between the peishwa and his rivals. The rajah was childless, and had not complied with the Hindoo custom of adopting an heir. His wife, Sawatri Bye, an intriguing and ambitious woman, had strongly urged the claims of the nearest relative, the rajah of Kolapoor; but Shao, who, after remaining for some years in a state of imbecility, had shortly before his death recovered his senses, rejected this candidate, because he also was without offspring, and declared that he had received a private intimation of the existence of a posthumous son of Sevajee II., who had been concealed by Tara Bye. The story sounded sufficiently improbable: but the peishwa and Tara Bye agreed in asserting its truth; and the former procured from the rajah an instrument, transferring to him all the powers of the government, on condition of his maintaining the royal dignity in the house of Sevajee, through its newly-discovered representative and his descendants. Whether this document was authentic or not, the peishwa acted as if it had been so, by placing the alleged grandson of Tara Bye on the throne, with the title of Ram Raja, and by removing all obstacles to his own supremacy either by force, fraud, or bribery. The prithee nidhee was seized and thrown into prison, and Sawatri Bye goaded into performing suttee, in accordance with her own declaration, made before her husband's death, to disguise her real designs. Rugojee Bhonslay, who was anxious to prosecute his annual incursions into Bengal—not having then come to the above-mentioned agreement with Ali Verdi—formally acknowledged the succession of Ram Raja, receiving, in return, a portion of the confiscated lands of the prithee nidhee, and other concessions; while the good-will of Holcar and Sindia was secured by assignments of almost the entire revenue of Malwa.† Believing his path now clear, Balajee Bajee left the rajah at Sattara, under the control of Tara Bye, and starting from Poona, to which place he had before transferred his residence, and which may be henceforth considered as the Mahratta capital, proceeded to take part in the civil war that had broken out between the sons of the late nizam. He was speedily recalled to Delhi by the machinations of Tara Bye, who, having vainly endeavoured to induce her weak and timid grandchild to assert his independence, and set aside the dominant influence of the peishwa, vehemently declared, that she believed he was, after all, no true descendant of Sevajee, but a base-born Gonedulee,‡ having been changed, at nurse, by the cottagers to whose charge he had been confided; then throwing him into a damp, stone dungeon, with the coarsest grain doled out as food,

and called in the Rohillas, against whom the vizier took the field in person.—(Scott, vol. ii., p. 225.)

* The Mahrattas have borrowed this term from the Moguls, finding it perfectly applicable to their favourite mode of warfare.

† Of the annual revenue, estimated at about £1,500,000, £750,000 was allotted to Holcar; £650,000 to Sindia; and £100,000 to Puar and other chiefs.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, vol. ii., p. 40.)

‡ The Gonedulees were a low cast of musicians, in the house of one of whom Rajah Ram (according to the statement of Tara Bye) had been first concealed.

the old virago assumed the government in her own name, and called in the assistance of Dummajee Guicowar, who had previously refused to acknowledge the succession of Ram Rajah. Dummajee was treacherously captured by the peishwa at a pretended friendly interview, and his army completely dispersed. Tara Bye proved a more troublesome opponent, being regarded by the people as the rightful regent; besides which, popular superstition attributed to her the possession of supernatural power; but whether she was a *deo* or a *dyt*—that is, a good or an evil spirit—was a disputed point, though one on which most persons, acquainted with her character and history, would scarcely entertain much doubt.

At Delhi, another revolution was impending. During the absence of the vizier in Rohilcund, the Doorani king had extorted from the emperor the cession of the Punjaub; and this arrangement, though it would seem to have been almost inevitable, the vizier made the pretext for insult and reproach; and soon after, vented his jealous spleen by the assassination of Jaweed, a eunuch much favoured by the emperor and his mother, at a banquet to which the victim had been purposely invited. Exasperated by this outrage, Ahmed Shah turned to the ameer-ool-omra for aid against the vizier. This young man, named Shaab-oo-deen,* was grandson to Asuf Jah, and had inherited too much of his ancestor's unprincipled ambition to hesitate taking any part that promised to gratify his dominant passion; he, therefore, gladly sided with the emperor against the very man whose patronage had placed him in an influential position. A civil war ensued, determined not by one great battle, but carried on for six months in daily combats in the streets, during which time the vizier being a Sheiah, and his opponent a Sunni, the war-cry of their respective adherents was the test-word of either sect. Becoming wearied of this unprofitable contest, the rival ministers came to terms; and the unhappy monarch, betrayed by both, made an effort to assert his independence; but being captured by the Mahratta auxiliaries of his treacherous servants, under Mulhar Rao, was delivered over into the hands of the ameer-ool-omra, by whom he was deposed and blinded, together with the queen his mother, A.D. 1754.

* He also bore his father's and grandfather's title of Ghazi-oo-deen; but to avoid confusion, I have adhered to his original appellation.

Alumgeer II.—Under this name a prince of the blood was placed on the vacant throne by Shaab-oo-deen, who, upon the death of the vizier, which happened about this time (at Lucknow, the capital of Oude), took upon himself the vacant office, and soon afterwards marched towards Lahore, secretly hoping to take advantage of the state of affairs in the Punjaub. Upon the death of the Mogul governor, whom Ahmed Shah had continued in his office after the cession, his infant son had been appointed to the viceroyalty under the tutelage of his mother. It so happened, that Shaab-oo-deen had been affianced to the daughter of the late viceroy, and he now approached on pretence of claiming his bride. The marriage festivities were in course of celebration, when a sudden attack was made upon the town, and the governess captured in her bed. While being conveyed to the camp, she vehemently denounced the treachery which had been practised, declaring, that the vengeance of Ahmed Shah would be swift and terrible. Her prediction was verified: the Doorani king marched rapidly from Candahar, passed through the Punjaub without opposition, and advanced upon Delhi to enforce his demand of pecuniary compensation. The culprit escaped through the intercession of his mother-in-law, whom he had contrived to conciliate; but the devoted city was again given over to pillage and slaughter, Ahmed Shah, if willing, being quite unable to restrain the excesses of his soldiery. A detachment was sent into Bengal to levy a contribution, and Ahmed proceeded in person to Agra, against the Jats, with a similar object. The troops enforced his exactions by the most barbarous methods, and found, in bigotry, an excuse and incentive for the indulgence of their natural ferocity. The ancient and venerated city of Muttra was surprised during the celebration of a religious festival, and the defenceless worshippers massacred without distinction of sex or age.

Happily, the career of these destroyers was stopped by the excessive heat, which occasioned an alarming mortality among them, and compelled Ahmed Shah to renounce the siege of the citadel of Agra, which was defended by a Mogul governor, and be content with the money already levied. Before returning to his own territories, he married a princess of the house of Timur, and affianced another to his son, afterwards Timur Shah. He also caused an able and enterprising Rohilla chief, named

Nujeeb-oo-dowla, to be appointed ameer-ool-omra at the especial request of the emperor, who hoped to find in him a counterpoise against his intriguing vizier. This scheme failed; for Shaab-oo-deen called in the assistance of the Mahrattas, under Ragoba (brother to the peishwa), who had recently acquired notoriety by his proceedings in Guzerat, and in levying contributions on the Rajpoot states. Thus aided, the vizier forcibly re-established his paramount influence in Delhi, the prince, afterwards Shah Alum, having first escaped to a place of safety, and Nujeeb to his own country about Seharunpoor, to the north of Delhi.

The ascendancy of his ally being secured, Ragoba next turned his attention to the Punjaub, where a turbulent chief, named Adina Beg, whose whole career had been a series of intrigues, was plotting the overthrow of Ahmed Shah's sway by means of the Sikhs, who, during the late disorders, had again become considerable. Ragoba, seeing in this disorganisation the promise of an easy conquest, marched to Lahore (May, 1758), and took possession of the whole of the Punjaub, the Dooranis retiring across the Indus without hazarding a battle. The death of Adina Beg threw the power wholly into the hands of the Mahrattas, who now began to talk unreservedly of their plans for the obtainment of unquestioned supremacy over the whole of Hindoostan. These pretensions, though little likely to be vigorously contested by the nominal emperor, were opposed to the interests of various individuals, especially of Shuja-oo-dowla, who had succeeded his father, Sufdur Jung, in the government of Oude, and who now joined his hereditary foes, Nujeeb-oo-dowla and the Rohillas, against the common enemy. The first result of this alliance was the invasion of Rohilcund by the Mahrattas, and the destruction of 1,300 villages in little more than a month: but Shuja marched from Lucknow to the relief of his allies, and drove the invaders, with heavy loss, across the Ganges, obliging their leader, Duttajee Sindia, to conclude a peace, which he did the more readily on account of the reported approach of Ahmed Shah from Cabool.

The retaliation of the Afghan ruler for the expulsion of his son from the Punjaub, had been retarded by the attempt of Nadir Khan, chief of the Beloochees, to establish his entire independence; but this question was no sooner settled than Ahmed, for the fourth time, invaded India (September, 1759), advancing by the southern road of Shikarpoor to the Indus, and marching along its banks to Peshawur, where he crossed the river and entered the Punjaub. The Mahrattas offered no obstacle; and he continued his progress towards Delhi, avoiding the swollen rivers, keeping near the northern hills until he passed the Jumna, opposite Seherunpoor.

The approach of the Afghans greatly alarmed the vizier, who, conscious of the friendly feeling existing between Ahmed Shah and the emperor, thought to remove an obstacle from his path, and ensure a safe tool, by causing the assassination of Alumgeer II., and hurrying from the palace-prison of Selimghur to the throne, another ill-fated descendant of Aurungzebe.

Extinction of Mogul power.—The title of the prince brought forward by Shaab-oo-deen was never recognised; and the heir-apparent (Shah Alum) being, happily for himself, beyond the reach of his father's murderer, the strange confederacy of Moguls, Mahrattas, and Jats, against Doorani and Rohilla Afghans, had no crowned leader whose uncontested supremacy could afford a bond of union to all concerned.

At this crisis, the question naturally arises —where were the Rajpoots, and how occupied, at an epoch so favourable for the assertion of national independence and individual aggrandisement? Their eloquent historian, Colonel Tod, candidly admits, that, absorbed in civil strife, enfeebled by luxury, degraded by intrigue—their position, in no small degree, resembled that of the once powerful dynasty, whose most distinguished members they had opposed so bravely, or served so loyally. Yet, even had Mewar possessed a rana able and energetic as Pertap or Umra—Marwar, a rajah like Jeswunt or Ajeet; or Amber (Jeypoor), like Maun or Jey Sing, it is still not probable that Rajast'han would have become the nucleus of a Hindoo empire. The characteristics of feudal confederacies are, under any circumstances, scarcely consistent with comprehensive and enlightened patriotism; and the temporary alliances between Rajpoot states, formed in an hour of mutual peril, were thrown aside as soon as their immediate cause was removed. The spirit of clanship, unrestrained by higher and holier principles, prompted in proud and ardent breasts many deeds which, at the first glance, seem grand and heroic, but when tried by the standard of Christian law, severe in its sim-

plicity, are found to be fair-seeming fruit rotten at the core. To raise the honour of a clan—to humble a rival—to avenge an affront—these were objects to be gained at any cost of blood or treasure, and without regard to the character and true interest of the state. It was by taking advantage of the opportunities thus offered, and by becoming partisans in disputed successions, that the Mahrattas, as much by stratagem as by force, were enabled to levy chout over all Rajast'han.

The Mahratta power was now at its zenith. The whole territory, from the Indus and Himalaya, on the north, to nearly the extremity of the Peninsula, was either subjugated or tributary. The authority of the peishwa had become absolute, Tara Bye having, though ungraciously enough, been compelled to enter into terms of peace. She still, however, persisted in retaining the unfortunate Rajah Ram in rigorous confinement, a measure which entirely coincided with the views of the wily Brahmin, who ensured its continuance by perpetually soliciting its revocation. The army, no longer composed of predatory bands, now included a large body of well-paid and well-mounted cavalry, 10,000 infantry, and a train of artillery. Nor were external signs of increasing wealth and dominion wanting. The pomp which had characterised the palmy days of the Delhi court, together with much of the ceremonial of Rajpoot states, was now observed at Poona; and the peishwa and inferior ministers, possessing the comely forms and courteous manners common among Concan Brahmins, bore their new-fledged honours with natural dignity. The case was very different with the field-officers, who, by exchanging the rude but picturesque garb and homely manners of former days, for the cumbersome attire and wearisome conventionalities, in which they rather caricatured than copied the Moguls, not only rendered themselves ridiculous, but really lost much efficiency in vain attempts to assume a stateliness of demeanour in correspondence with the cloth-of-gold uniforms in which their short, sturdy, active, little bodies were now encased. Their love of plunder had, however, undergone no change: they even seemed to have become more extortionate in proportion to their growing passion for ostentatious display. Their conduct, at this epoch, brought its own punishment; for, although there were 30,000 Mahratta horse in the field, in two bodies, at some distance from each other, when the Dooranis crossed the Jumna, the country people, exasperated by their depredations, kept them in complete ignorance of the movements of the enemy. Ahmed Shah was consequently enabled to prevent their junction; and, coming suddenly on the body under Duttajee Sindia, slew that chief and two-thirds of his force, while the other division was overtaken and almost destroyed by a detachment which had made an extraordinary march for that purpose. The news of this inauspicious commencement of the war, enraged but did not dispirit the Mahrattas, who prepared for a desperate and decisive encounter. The command of the assembled force was given to the peishwa's cousin, Sewdasheo Rao Bhow, commonly called the Bhow,* a brave soldier, but too violent and headstrong for a safe general. He was accompanied by Wiswas Rao, the youthful son and heir-apparent of the peishwa, and by almost all the leading Mahratta chiefs.† The pressing necessity of uniting to repel the common foe of the Hindoos, seems to have aroused even the Rajpoots from their apathy, and induced them to lay aside their private quarrels; for several Rajpoot detachments were sent to join the Mahratta force on its march from the Deccan, and Suraj Mul came to meet them with 30,000 Jats. This experienced old chief beheld with dismay the gorgeous appearance of the advancing cavalcade, and earnestly entreated the Bhow to leave his heavy baggage, infantry, and guns, under the protection of the strong forts in the Jat territory, and practise the same tactics which had so often proved successful; urging, that if the war could only be protracted, the Dooranis, who had been already many months in India, would probably be constrained by the climate to withdraw to their native mountains. This judicious counsel, though seconded by the Mahratta chiefs, was haughtily rejected by their commander, who affected to despise the Jats;‡ treated Suraj Mul as a petty zemindar,

* The Bhow, or brother, is a term commonly applied by the Mahrattas to cousins German.

† Ragoba remained in the Deccan, having given offence by his improvidence in previous campaigns.

‡ The Jats (who, according to Tod, are "assuredly a mixture of the Rajpoot and Yuti, Jit, or Jete races") formed the chief part of the agricultural population of Agra in the reign of Aurungzebe, by whose persecutions they were driven to rebel and elect Choramun for their leader and rajah.

incapable of judging of politics on a large scale; and marched on, in defiance of all counsel, with his whole force to Delhi, which was held by a small garrison of Dooranis and their partisans, Ghazi-oo-deen having sought refuge in the Jat country. The citadel yielded after a feeble defence. The Bhow triumphantly entered the ill-fated capital; defaced the palaces, tombs, and shrines, for the sake of the rich ornaments which had been spared by the Persians and Afghans; tore down the silver ceiling of the hall of audience (which was coined into seventeen lacs of rupees); seized the throne, and all other royal ornaments; and even talked of proclaiming Wiswas Rao emperor of India. Disgusted and alarmed by these rash and grasping proceedings, Suraj Mul returned to his own territory, and the Rajpoots likewise withdrew from the confederacy. Ahmed Shah passed the rainy season on the frontier of Oude, and during that time succeeded in procuring the co-operation of Shuja-oo-dowla. He then marched rapidly towards Delhi, and on reaching Cunjpoora, on the Jumna, learned that the Doorani garrison stationed there had been captured by the enemy, and put to the sword. In a paroxysm of rage, the Shah, thirsting for revenge, crossed the river between fording and swimming; and this impetuous act, by which many lives were sacrificed, so astonished the Mahrattas, that they retired to Paniput, and intrenched their camp.

The force of Ahmed Shah was computed at less than 100,000 men; that of his opponent at 300,000, including followers.* This disparity prevented the invader from venturing an attack, and induced him to encamp, and fortify his position. For three months the hostile armies remained face to face, without coming to any decisive engagement. During that time the state of affairs underwent a material change. The Mahrattas at first endeavoured to provoke an attack, by cutting off the supplies of the Doorani camp; and with this object a chief, named Govind Rao Bondela, was ordered to collect troops on the lower course of the Jumna, and spread over the country in the Mahratta fashion. Govind Rao obeyed, and levied 10,000, or 12,000 men, who proved very successful plunderers, until their leader was surprised in a mango-grove and cut off, with about a thousand followers, by a body of horse, who had come upon them, after performing a march of sixty miles. Other disasters followed; and, at length, all means of forage being cut off, Ahmed Shah succeeded in establishing a rigid blockade; and the resources of the town of Paniput, which was within the lines, being quite exhausted, the pressure of want began to be severely felt; and, from clamouring for arrears of pay, the Mahrattas now began to lack daily food. Cooped up amidst the stench of a besieged camp, among dead and dying animals, surrounded by famished followers, the once mighty host grew weaker daily; and, to the dispiriting influences of physical evils, the knowledge of the dissensions between the Bhow, Holcar, and minor chiefs, added greatly. The position of Ahmed Shah was one of considerable difficulty; but he rejected the overtures of peace made through the intervention of Shuja-oo-dowla, judging, by the impatience and weariness of his own troops, of the condition of the foe, and feeling convinced that they would soon be driven into quitting their intrenchments, as the only alternative from starvation. Meanwhile he kept a vigilant guard, visiting his posts, reconnoitring the enemy, and riding fifty to sixty miles a-day. Among the last efforts of the besieged, was the dispatch of a party, with innumerable camp-followers, on a midnight foraging expedition. The attempt was discovered by the watchful picket stationed by Ahmed Shah, and the defenceless crowd were surrounded and slaughtered in prodigious numbers. On this, the chiefs and soldiers called upon the Bhow to put an end to their sufferings and suspense, by leading them to the attack. The necessary orders were given; the last grain in store distributed among the famishing troops; and, an hour before day-break, the Mahrattas quitted their intrenchments, marching forth with the ends of their turbans loosened, and their hands and faces dyed with turmeric;

* The Bhow's force consisted of 55,000 cavalry, in regular pay, with at least 15,000 predatory Mahratta horse, and 15,000 infantry; of whom, 9,000 were disciplined sepoys, under Ibrahim Khan Gardi, a Mussulman deserter from the French service. He had 200 guns, with numerous wall-pieces, and a great supply of rockets, which is a favourite weapon with the Mahrattas. These troops, with their immediate followers, made the numbers within his lines amount to 300,000 men. Ahmed Shah had about 4,000 Afghans and Persians, 13,000 Indian horse, and a force of Indian infantry, estimated at 38,000, of which the part consisting of Rohilla Afghans would be very efficient; but the great majority, the usual rabble of Indian foot-soldiers. He had, also, about thirty pieces of cannon of different calibres, chiefly belonging to the Indian allies, and a number of wall-pieces. (Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 679.)

their gait and expressions bespeaking victims prepared for sacrifice, rather than warriors hoping for conquest. The sight of the foe revived their courage; a fierce onslaught was made on the centre of the Mohammedan army; and a general encounter followed, which lasted in unabated violence until noon —the field of action being one mass of dust and confusion, the combatants fighting hand to hand, and the shrieks and groans of the dying drowned by the incessant "Allah!" and "Deen!" of the Mohammedans, and the "Hur! Hur! Mahdeo!" of the Mahrattas. Up to this period, victory seemed to incline to the latter party; but a reserve, sent forward by Ahmed Shah, who, from his little red tent, had eagerly watched the engagement, decided the fortune of the day. The Bhow and Wiswas were slain.* Holcar and Dummajee Guicowar quitted the field; and "all at once, as if by enchantment, the whole Mahratta army turned their backs, and fled at full speed."† The victors pursued them with the utmost fury, giving no quarter, and slaying without mercy all who fell into their hands. Men, women, and children crowded into the town of Paniput, where they were blockaded for the night, and the next morning divided into allotments by their barbarous captors, the women and children being taken for slaves, the men ranged in lines, and prevented from fainting by a few grains of parched corn, and a little water poured into the palms of their hands preparatory to their decapitation; after which, their heads were piled around the doors of the tents,‡ as fitting trophies of what men call "a glorious victory." These atrocities Ahmed Shah made no effort to restrain; but, on the contrary, sanctioned by example the cold-blooded massacre of the most distinguished prisoners, among whom was Jancojee Sindia, a youth about the age of Wiswas Rao. Ibrahim Khan was cruelly treated; and it was even reported that his death had been caused by the poison put into his wounds.

This great overthrow was a blow from which the aspiring Mahrattas never wholly recovered. In the course of the campaign, 200,000 of them are alleged to have perished, including nearly all their leading chiefs. The disastrous intelligence reached the Deccan through the medium of a letter addressed to the soucars or bankers, who generally contrive to obtain the earliest tidings of all affairs affecting the money-market. The letter-carrier was intercepted by the peishwa while about to cross the Nerbudda, on his way to Hindoostan, and its brief contents—"two pearls have been dissolved; twenty-seven gold mohurs have been lost; and, of the silver and copper, the total cannot be cast up"—revealed to him the fate of his beloved son and cousin, of the officers and army. The shock proved fatal to a mind worn down with intrigue, and a frame enfeebled by indolence and sensuality; and the peishwa, retiring towards Poona, died in a temple which he had erected near that city. Notwithstanding the personal faults of Balajee Bajee Rao, his political sagacity, polished manners, and great address, together with the honoured names he bore, had rendered him popular, and his death increased the gloom which overhung the country.§

With the battle of Paniput‖ the Mohammedan portion of the history of India naturally closes. Ahmed Shah quitted Hindoostan without attempting to profit by the fruits of his victory; and Alum Shah, after enduring many vicissitudes of fortune, ended his days as a pensioner of the powerful company whose proceedings will occupy the chief portion of the following section.

* The body of Wiswas Rao was brought to the tent of the Shah, where the whole camp assembled to look upon it, and admire the extraordinary beauty which, strange to say, a violent death had not marred. Yet the Afghans, untouched by pity, looked upon the pale corpse only as an evidence of victory; and were, with difficulty, induced by Shuja-oo-dowla to renounce the idea of having "it dried and stuffed, to carry to Cabool." Concerning the fate of the Bhow considerable uncertainty prevailed, although a headless trunk was said to be recognised as his by a scar on the back—certain marks in the hands and feet, which seemed to bear evidence of the 1,400 prostrations he made daily before the sun, and what the astrologers term the *Puddum Mutch*, or fortunate lines in his foot.

† *See* narrative of Casi Rai, an officer in the service of Shuja-oo-dowla. (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii.)

‡ The Dooranis said, that "when they left their own country, their mothers, wives, and sisters desired, that whenever they should defeat the unbelievers, they would kill a few of them on their account, that they also might possess a merit in the sight of God."—(*Casi Rai.*)

§ Tara Bye did not long survive her old adversary, the peishwa. She died, aged eighty-six, full of exultation at the misfortunes which had overtaken her foes. The rajah was then taken out of prison, and suffered to reside at large in Sattara; his originally weak intellect, still further broken down by persecution, rendering such a procedure free from any danger to the interests of Madhu Rao, the youthful son and successor of the late minister.

‖ Paniput is in 29° 22′ N., 76° 51′ E.; the town, about four miles in circumference, was formerly surrounded by a brick wall,

Mohammedan Conquerors and Rulers of Hindoostan.

House or Dynasty.	Name or Title.	Date.	Capital.	Successor.	Death or Deposition.
House of Ghuznee—Subuktugeen dynasty.	Mahmood	1001	Ghuznee	Son	Natural death, 1030.
	Mohammed	1030	Ditto	Brother	Deposed and blinded.
	Masaud	1030	Ditto	Nephew	Deposed and murdered.
	Ahmed	1040	Ditto	Son	Murdered.
	Modood	1041	Ditto	Brother	Natural death.
	Abul Hussun	1049	Ditto	Uncle	Deposed.
	Abul Raschid	1051	Ditto	No Relation	Murdered.
	Toghral	1052	Ditto	Prince of the Blood	Assassinated.
	Farokshad	1052	Ditto	Brother	Assassinated.
	Ibrahim	1058	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Masaud II.	1089	Do. and Lahore	Son	Natural death.
	Arslan	1114	Ditto	Brother	Murdered.
	Behram	1118	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Khosru	1160	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Khosru Malik	1167	Ditto	Conqueror	Imprisoned and murdered.
Ghor dynasty	Shahab-oo-deen	1186	Ditto	His slave & general	Assassinated.
	Kootb-oo-deen	1206	Ghor, Ghuznee, & Delhi	Son	Natural death.
Slave Kings	Aram	1210	Delhi	Brother-in-law	Natural death.
	Altamsh	1211	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Rukn-oo-deen	1236	Ditto	Sister	Deposed after 7 mths. reign.
	Rezia (Sultana)	1236	Ditto	Brother	Imprisoned and murdered.
	Behram (*Moiz-oo-deen*)	1239	Ditto	Son of Rukn	Imprisoned and murdered.
	Masaud (*Ala-oo-deen*)	1241	Ditto	Grandson of Altamsh	Imprisoned and murdered.
	Mahmood (*Nasir-oo-deen*)	1246	Ditto	His Vizier	Natural death.
	Bulbun, or Balin	1266	Ditto	Son of Bakhara	Natural death.
	Kei Kobad	1286	Ditto	A Khilji Chief	Assassinated.
House of Khiljii.	Jelal-oo-deen	1288	Ditto	Nephew	Assassinated.
	Ala-oo-deen	1295	Ditto	Son	Poisoned.
	Mobarik	1317	Ditto	Vizier	Murdered.
House of Toghlak.	Gheias-oo-deen	1321	Ditto	Son	Killed, supposed by his son
	Mohammed (*Juna*)	1325	Deoghiri, or Doulatabad	Nephew	Natural death.
	Feroze	1351	Delhi	Grandson	Natural death.
	Gheias-oo-deen	1388	Ditto	Ditto of Feroze	Deposed and murdered.
	Abubekir	1389	Ditto	Son of Feroze	Deposed.
	Nasir-oo-deen	1390	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Humayun	1390	Ditto	Brother, a Minor	Natural death.
	Mahmood Toghlak	1394	Ditto	No Relative	Driven from Delhi by Timur
Lodi.	Doulat Khan Lodi	1412	Ditto	No Relative	Expelled.
The Seyeds, or Seids.	Seyed Khizer Khan	1414	Ditto	Eldest Son	Natural death.
	Moiz-oo-deen, or Seyed Mobarik	1421	Ditto	Son	Murdered in a Mosque.
	Seyed Mohammed	1436	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Seyed Al-oo-deen	1444	Ditto	Conqueror	Abdicated.
House of Lodi.	Bheilol Lodi	1450	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Secander Lodi	1488	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Ibrahim Lodi	1517	Ditto	Conqueror	Slain in battle at Paniput.
Mogul dynasty.	Baber	1526	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Humayun	1530	Ditto	Usurper	Driven into Persia.
Afghan dynasty.	Sheer Shah Soor	1542	Agra	Youngest Son	Killed at a siege.
	Selim Shah Soor	1545	Delhi & Gwalior	Son	Natural death.
	Feroze Soor	1552	Gwalior	Uncle	Assassinated in 3 days.
	Mohammed Shah Soor Adili	1552	Chunar	Division of Dominion	Expelled and slain.
	Ibrahim III.	1554	Delhi	Division of Dominion	Imprisoned and slain.
	Secander Soor	1554	Agra	Humayun	Defeated in battle, and fled
Mogul dynasty.	Humayun	1555	Delhi	Son	Killed by a fall.
	Akber	1556	Delhi & Agra	Son	Natural death.
	Jehangeer	1605	Delhi & Agra	Son	Natural death.
	Shah Jehan	1627	Delhi	Fourth Son	Deposed.
	Aurungzebe (Alumgeer)	1658	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Bahadur Shah	1707	Ditto	Eldest Son	Natural death.
	Jehandar Shah	1712	Ditto	Son of Azim-u-Shan	Murdered
	Ferokshere	1713	Ditto	Nephew	Deposed and slain.
	Mohammed Shah	1719	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Ahmed Shah	1748	Ditto	Prince of the Blood	Deposed and eyes put out.
	Alumgeer II.	1754	Ditto	Son	Murdered.
	Alum Shah	1760	Ditto	No successor	Natural death.

Note.—Of the above 65 conquerors and rulers, 24 were assassinated or poisoned; 11 were deposed, driven from the throne, or abdicated; two were slain in battle; one killed by a fall; and 27 were said to have died a natural death. Fifteen princes of the *Ghaznivede* dynasty had an average duration of reign of 11 years; 10 *Slave* kings of eight years; three *Khiljii* of 10 years; eight *Toghlak* of 11 years; four *Seyeds* of nine years; three *Lodi* of 25 years; two *Mogul* of eight years; six *Afghan* of two years; and 12 *Mogul* of 17 years each. If the reign of Akber, which lasted for 49 years, and that of Aurungzebe, for 49 = 98, be deducted, the average duration of the remaining 10 princes' reigns was only 10½ years. The period of 751 years gives an average reign, to each prince, of exactly 11 years. These statements must, however, be regarded rather as affording a general view of the Indo-Mohammedan Dynasties, than as assertions of opinions on various disputed points respecting the death and exact date of accession of several potentates: for accounts of the minor Mohammedan kingdoms *see* pp. 93 to 107. The Great Moguls alone assumed the title of Padsha, or Emperor.

SECTION II.

EUROPEAN INTERCOURSE—RISE AND GROWTH OF BRITISH POWER.

Some light is thrown on the communication between the eastern and western hemispheres by the scriptural account of the frequent supplies of spices and other oriental products obtained by Solomon from the southern parts of Asia, B.C. 1000. The Phœnicians were even then supposed to have long been the chief carriers in the Indian trade, by way of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf; but an overland intercourse appears to have been simultaneously maintained through Persia and Arabia. Of the Asiatics themselves, and of their territories, little was known in Europe until the invasion of the Indian frontier by Alexander the Great, B.C. 331. For nearly three centuries after his death, the Indian traffic was chiefly conducted by Egyptian and Arabian merchants, by way of the Red Sea, the Nile, and the Mediterranean; the marts being Berenice, Coptos, and Alexandria. There were, besides, two other and far less frequented routes: the first lay through Persia and the upper part of Arabia to the Syrian cities, and stretched over a long and dreary desert tract, in which the only halting-place was the famous Tadmor or Palmyra—the city of palms—whose independence and growing prosperity exciting the jealousy of imperial Rome, proved the occasion of its destruction, notwithstanding the determined efforts of its brave queen, Zenobia. With Palmyra the overland traffic of the desert, which had existed since the time of Abraham, terminated; but the other route, across the rocky passes of the Hindoo Koosh, is still in existence, and by this means an inland trade is maintained between India, Persia, and Russia (*viâ* Bokhara.)

In the middle of the first century of the Christian era a discovery was made by a Greek, named Hippalus, the commander of an Egyptian East-Indiaman, of the steady course of the monsoon, at fixed periods, in a certain direction. The result of his observation and daring adventure was to reduce a tedious voyage, of two months' duration, within the compass of a few days; mariners thenceforth steering from the mouth of the Red Sea directly across the ocean to Nelcunda (the site of which Dr. Vincent traces in the modern Nelisuram), instead of following the circuitous line of the Arabian and Persian coasts. Here pepper in great abundance, cotton cloths, and exquisitely fine muslins, silk, ivory, spikenard, pearls, diamonds, amethysts, with other precious stones, and tortoiseshell, awaited the arrival of the merchants, and were largely exported, as also from Tyndis and Musiris (Barcelore and Mangalore), and other emporia on the Indian coast, in exchange for gold and silver, (in vessels and specie,) cloth, coral, incense, glass, and a little wine.

The weakness and distraction of the Roman empire checked this profitable traffic, and the rise of Mohammedan power subsequently cut off all direct communication between Europe and India. The Arabians then formed settlements on the eastern coasts of the Deccan, and by their vessels, or by inland caravans, the rich productions of India were sold to the Venetians or Genoese on the shores of the Mediterranean or of the Euxine. These merchant-princes, though characterised by maritime enterprise, were naturally little desirous of prosecuting discoveries calculated to break up their monopoly, and transfer to other hands at least a large proportion of the Indian trade. The leading European states, engrossed by national or internal strife, were slow to recognise the superiority of an extended commerce as a means of even political greatness, over the sanguinary warfare into which whole kingdoms were repeatedly plunged to gratify the ambition or malignity of a few persons—often of a single individual. The short-lived triumphs of the sword only paved the way for new contests, envenomed by bitter recollections; and it followed inevitably, that all peaceful interests—arts and sciences, mechanics, and agriculture—were neglected in the paramount necessity of finding means to meet the heavy drain of blood and treasure so wantonly incurred. The true principle of trade—the greatest good of the greatest number—was quite overlooked: the citizens of a leading emporium forgot, in triumphing over a defeated rival, that they were exulting in the destruction of one of their own markets; and were far from understanding the more remote connexion which, in the absence

of a holier principle of union, binds nation to nation, forming of the whole a body-corporate, through which the blood circulates more or less freely according to the healthy or diseased action of each and every member.

Portuguese Discovery and Dominion.*—A new epoch commenced for Europe, dating from the time when John I. and Prince Henry—worthy representatives of the royal house of Portugal—struck out for themselves and their country a path to power and renown, by becoming the patrons of maritime discovery. Portugal was then, as now, of limited extent and fertility: her previous history afforded little scope for boastful recollection, either while under the sway of the Romans, as the province of Lusitania, or when, in the middle ages, she lay crushed beneath the iron yoke of the Moors, who, after having overrun nearly the whole Peninsula, erected Portugal into a kingdom, under the name of Algarve. But the fiery furnace of adversity developed marvellously the latent energies of the Portuguese. Religious zeal became the inspiring theme with them, as it had formerly been with their conquerors; and, after a struggle of many hundred years' duration, they, like their Spanish neighbours, succeeded in expelling from their shores the numerous, warlike, and fanatical hordes united under the banner of the crescent.

Acting on the false principle of their late persecutors,—that hostilities against infidels were meritorious in the sight of God,—the Portuguese pursued the Moors into Africa, retaliating by every possible means the long series of outrage and thraldom to which they had been subjected. The peculiar situation of Portugal, and its long range of coast-line, bordered by the yet unmeasured expanse of the Atlantic, favoured maritime enterprise; and the exploration of the shores of western, southern, and eastern Africa was followed by the expedition of Vasco de Gama, who, after crossing the Indian Ocean (by the aid of a Hindoo pilot, obtained at Melinda), succeeded in gaining the Malabar coast, and landed at Calicut in May, 1498.

The general condition of India at this period has been shown in previous pages.† Secander Soor sat on the throne of Delhi: in the Deccan, the Mohammedan rulers were Mohammed II., of the Bahmani dynasty; Yusuf Adil Shah, of Beejapoor; and Ahmed Nizam Shah, of Ahmednuggur. The country visited by the Portuguese had anciently formed the southern division of the kingdom of Kerala;‡ but in the course of the ninth century had revolted from its prince (who had become a Mohammedan), and been formed into many petty Hindoo principalities. Of these, the chief was that once governed by a ruler styled the *zamorin*, or *Tamuri rajah*,§ to whom several lesser rajahs seem to have been feudatory; his capital, called Calicut, had attained wealth and celebrity as a commercial emporium. By this prince the adventurers were well received; and notwithstanding some awkward blunders, occasioned by their ignorance of the language, customs, and religion of the country,‖ all went on favourably until their proceedings excited the jealousy of the Mohammedan traders, whom they

* The authorities for the Portuguese proceedings are Lopez de Castanheda; Stevens' translation of Faria y Sousa; and the accounts given in Harris's *Voyages*, the *World displayed;* Murray's *Discoveries;* and other collections of travels by land and sea, in which Juan de Barros and Osorio are largely quoted.

† Pp. 92 to 106. ‡ Page 41.

§ The origin of the zamorins, or Tamuri rajahs, is discussed by Buchanan (vol. ii., p. 474) and Sousa (vol. ii., p. 225.) In accordance with the custom of the country, the name of the individual then reigning was withheld from the Portuguese; but their interpreter, a Moor of Tunis (long resident at Calicut), described him "as a very good man, and of an honourable disposition." He proved to be a person of majestic presence and advanced age: dressed in fine white calico, adorned with branches and flowers of beaten gold, and rare gems (with which latter his whole person was bedecked), he reclined on cushions of white silk, wrought with gold, under a magnificent canopy. A golden fountain of water stood beside him, and a gold basin filled with betel and areca: the hall of audience was richly carpeted, and hung with tapestry of silk and gold. De Gama found some difficulty from the want of the costly presents with which all diplomatic intercourse in the east begins and ends. The zamorin desired an image of Mary, in gold, of which he had heard: this was refused, on the plea that it was only wood, gilt, but valuable "because it had preserved them at sea"—an answer calculated to confirm the assertion of the Moors, that these Europeans, unlike the native Christians, were idolaters.

‖ The Portuguese, acquainted by the accounts of Marco Polo and other travellers with the existence of a Christian community on this coast, looked for the signs of Christian or rather Romish worship; and, filled with this idea, actually entered a splendid pagoda with lofty pillars of brass, and prostrated themselves before an assemblage of strange and grotesque forms, which they took for the Indian ideal of the Madonna and saints. The strings of beads worn by the priests, the water with which the company were sprinkled, the powdered sandal-wood, and the peal of bells, could not, however, quell the suspicions excited by the numerous arms and singular accompaniments of many of the figures; and one of the Portuguese started to his feet, exclaiming, "If these be devils, it is God I worship."

termed the Moors,* settled in Calicut. These merchants having, through their factors, received intelligence of the contests which had taken place, during the voyage, between Vasco de Gama and the people of Mozambique, Mombas, Melinda, and other places on the coast of Africa, informed the zamorin of the outrages that had been committed on this and previous occasions, urging, with sufficient reason, that people who, on frivolous pretences, fired upon and destroyed towns, carried off the inhabitants as slaves, and scrupled not to extort information by the most barbarous tortures, were more probably pirates than ambassadors,† especially as they came unprovided with any offering from their sovereign. Notwithstanding these representations, the Portuguese were suffered to make an advantageous disposition of their cargo (of scarlet cloth, brass, coral, &c.) at Calicut; but a dispute subsequently arising, the factor and secretary were made prisoners. De Gama dissembled his alarm, and continued to communicate with the Indians as if nothing had occurred, until he had succeeded in entrapping on board his vessel a party, comprising six nairs‡ and fifteen other persons of distinction. He then demanded the release of his officers as their ransom; but when this condition was complied with, forfeited his pledge by retaining possession of several of his captives. Enraged by this dishonourable and insulting conduct, the zamorin dispatched a squadron of boats against the Portuguese, and succeeded in procuring the co-operation of neighbouring powers; so that in a short time every bay, creek, and river was filled with boats, ready, at a given signal, to attack the intruders. Such at least was the intelligence, wrung by tortures of the most cruel and disgusting description, from a spy who came out from Goa. De Gama, by the aid of favourable winds avoided the encounter, steered homewards, and reached the Tagus in August, 1499, after an absence of two years and two months; only fifty-five of the 160‖ men who had accompanied him on his perilous enterprise, surviving to share the honours of his triumphant entry into Lisbon; but of these, every individual received rewards, together with the personal commendation of King Emanuel.

An armament, comprising thirteen ships and 1,200 men, was immediately fitted out and dispatched to take advantage of the new discovery. The command was entrusted to Alvarez Cabral, De Gama being excluded on the plea of being spared the hazard, but probably either on account of an opposite interest having begun to prevail at court, or because even his own report of his Indian proceedings may have borne evidence that the beneficial results of the skill and courage which had enabled him to triumph over the perils of unknown seas, were likely to be neutralized by his indiscreet and aggressive conduct on shore. Cabral reached Calicut in September, 1500, having, on his way, discovered the coast of Brazil, and lost four of his ships in the frightful storms encountered in rounding the Cape of Good Hope, Bartholomew Diaz being one of those who perished in the seas he had first laid open to European adventure. The captives carried off by De Gama were restored by Cabral, and their representations of the honourable treatment they had received in Portugal, together with costly presents of vessels of gold and silver of delicate workmanship, and cloths ingeniously wrought, obtained for the admiral a gracious reception, and permission to establish a factory at Calicut. Cabral endeavoured to ingratiate himself still further by intercepting and driving into the harbour or roadstead of Calicut a large vessel, then passing from the neighbouring port of Cochin, laden with a rich cargo, including seven elephants, one of which the zamorin had vainly endeavoured to pur-

* This designation seems frequently applied to Arabian and African Mohammedans, in contradistinction to Moguls and Patans. Sousa speaks of them as "inhabiting from Choul to Cape Comorin."

† Prince Henry's characteristic motto, "Talent de bien faire," was sadly misapplied by the Portuguese commanders, who, almost without exception, treated the natives of newly-discovered territories with such shameless cruelty, that their skill and courage fails to disguise the fact, that they were little else than pirates and robbers on an extensive scale;—worse than all, they were stealers of men; and thereby guilty of a crime which could not and did not fail to bring a curse upon their nation. In vain they strove to strengthen themselves with forts and cannon—spreading the terror of their name over the whole African sea-coast: their power has dwindled away like a snow-ball in the sun; and now only enough remains to bear witness of lost dominion. Five-and-twenty years ago, when serving in the navy, I visited the great fortress of Mozambique, where we landed the marines of our frigate to prevent the governor-general (then newly-arrived from Lisbon) being massacred by a horde of savages. At Delagoa, Inhamban, Sofala, and other places, the Portuguese governor and officers were unwilling to venture beyond the reach of the rusty cannon on the walls of their dilapidated forts.

‡ Military class of Malabar, of the Soodra cast.

‖ According to Sousa. Castanheda says, 108.

by Alphonso Albuquerque, who arrived in 1506, bearing a commission as governor-general of India.* Almeida positively refused to resign his command until he should have avenged his son's death by the destruction of the hostile fleet. Being supported in his disobedience to the royal mandate by several leading officers, he refused to allow Albuquerque even to take part in the intended expedition, and sailed off to attack Dabul, a leading emporium, which had zealously embraced the Egyptian cause. The troops disembarked at Diu, notwithstanding the discharge of powerful batteries; for these, having rather a high range, passed over the soldiers heads as they landed in boats, without inflicting any injury. Once on shore, a deadly conflict commenced with the bodies of armed citizens who blocked up the narrow passages to the town: these were at length overpowered; and by the orders of the merciless victor, an indiscriminate slaughter ensued. The streets streamed with blood, and the distracted multitudes fled to the caves of the neighbouring mountains, finding that even buildings consecrated to the service of the One Universal Lord afforded no refuge from the lust and fury of the savage men who dared to cast dishonour on the great name of the Redeemer, by styling themselves disciples and propagators of a faith whose very essence is peace and love. This disgraceful scene had a suitable conclusion; for Almeida, unable to withdraw his troops from their horrible employment, resorted to a violent method of restoring some degree of discipline, by causing the town to be set on fire. The flames extended rapidly over the light timber roofs, and after reducing the stately city to a pile of smoking wood and ashes, reached the harbour. The native shipping was destroyed; the Portuguese vessels with difficulty escaped, and proceeded to the Gulf of Cambay. Here Almeida attacked the combined fleet, and gained a great but costly victory. The Mameluk portion was completely destroyed, and Malek Eiaz compelled to sue for peace. Almeida stipulated for the surrender of Meer Hocem; but Eiaz indignantly refused to betray his ally, and would offer no further concession as the price of peace than the freedom of all European captives. Having no power of enforcing other terms, Almeida was compelled to accept these; but unsoftened by the kindness which the surviving companions of his son had received from their brave captor, the Portuguese admiral filled the measure of his barbarities by causing his prisoners to be shut up in the prize vessels and burnt with them. "Many," says Faria y Sousa, "judged the unhappy end of the viceroy and other gentlemen to be a just punishment of that crime." If so, it was not long delayed. On the return of Almeida to Cochin, a contest seemed about to commence with Albuquerque for the possession of the supreme authority. At this crisis, Ferdinand Coutinho, a nobleman of high character, arrived in command of fifteen ships and a large body of troops, having been opportunely dispatched by Emanuel, with powers to act in the very probable conjuncture which had actually arisen. By his mediation, Almeida was induced to resign the viceroyalty, and set sail for his native country, which he never lived to reach,—he, who had brought so many to an untimely end, himself suffering a violent death at the hands of some Hottentots at the Cape of Good Hope, of whose cattle the Portuguese had attempted to take forcible possession.†

Albuquerque was now left to carry out unchecked his ambitious schemes. He commenced by the assault of Calicut (January, 1510), in conjunction with Coutinho, who, being about to return to Portugal, vehemently urged his claim to be allowed to take the lead on this occasion. As the city could only be approached through narrow avenues, amidst thick woods, in which the whole army had not room to act, it was arranged that the two commanders should advance, at day-break on the following morning, in separate divisions. That of Albuquerque took the lead, and obtained possession of a fortified palace (previously fixed upon as the first object of assault) before the rival party reached the spot. Coutinho, greatly annoyed at being thus anticipated, reproached Albuquerque with a breach of faith, and declaring that he would not be again forestalled, made his way through the streets of Calicut to the chief palace, which lay on the other side of the city, and formed a little town, enclosed by a wall. Being the only regular fortification in the place, it was defended by the main strength of the army; but Coutinho succeeded in forcing open the gates, and acquired possession of the whole enclosure. Flushed with victory, he gave his men full

* The office of viceroy and governor-general was the same, though the title differed.

† Vide *British Possessions in Africa*, vol. iii., p. 4.

license to plunder, and withdrew, to seek rest and refreshment in the state apartments. This over-confidence afforded the Hindoos time to recover from their consternation; and a cry, uttered by one of the chief nairs, passed from mouth to mouth, to the distance of several miles, until 30,000 armed men had assembled, and in turn, surprised the invaders. Albuquerque, who occupied the city, vainly strove to maintain the communication with the fleet: he was hemmed in with his troops in the narrow lanes and avenues, and exposed to a continued shower of arrows and stones, one of which felled him to the ground. The soldiers set fire to the adjacent buildings, and escaped to the ships, bearing away their commander in a state of unconsciousness. Coutinho was less fortunate. When, after neglecting repeated warnings, at last roused by the clash of arms to the actual state of the case, he sprang to the head of his troops, and fought with the fury of desperation, striving not to retain possession of the place—for that was manifestly impossible—but only to cut a path to the shore. In this the majority of the common soldiers succeeded; but Coutinho, with Vasco Sylviera, and other nobles of distinction, were left dead on the field. Out of 1,600 Portuguese (according to De Barros), eighty were killed, and 300 wounded. This disastrous commencement, so far from checking, only served to increase the desire of Albuquerque for territorial dominion, in opposition to the policy previously pursued by Almeida, who had considered that factories, guarded by a powerful fleet, would better suit the purposes of commerce, and be less likely to excite enmity.

Disappointed in the hope of gaining possession of the capital of the zamorin, he looked round for some other city which might form the nucleus of a new empire; for as yet, notwithstanding their high-sounding titles, the Portuguese had but a precarious tenure, even of the land on which their few forts and factories were erected. A useful, though not creditable ally, Timojee, a Hindoo pirate, directed his attention to Goa, then comprehended in the kingdom of Beejapoor. The city was taken by surprise in the early part of 1510; recaptured a few months later by Yusuf Adil Shah, in person; and finally conquered by Albuquerque, at the close of the same year. The contest was prolonged and sanguinary; and the after-slaughter must have been terrific,—since, according to Sousa, "not one Moor was left alive in the island."* The Hindoos were treated very differently; for Albuquerque, with a politic view to the consolidation of his newly-acquired power, confirmed them in their possessions, and promoted the intermarriage of their women with the Portuguese by handsome dowries, at the same time proving his confidence in his new subjects, by employing them in both civil and military capacities. A large quantity of cannon and military stores were captured in Goa, and probably assisted in furnishing the fortifications raised by him in that city; and also in fitting out an armament, comprising 800 Portuguese and 600 Indians, with which Albuquerque proceeded to attack Malacca. This kingdom was then of great importance, being what Singapore is now—namely, the chief mart of the commerce carried on between Hindoostan, China, and the eastern islands. The inhabitants made a vigorous resistance with cannon and floats of wild-fire, and defended their streets by mining with gunpowder; but they were overpowered by the Portuguese, who gained complete possession of the city, and immediately began to erect a strong fort from the ruins of the shattered palaces, and take other measures for the permanent establishment of their supremacy. Negotiations were opened with Siam, Java, and Sumatra; and friendly embassies are even asserted to have been dispatched from these countries in return. The restless sword of Albuquerque next found employment in the defence of Goa, where tranquillity was no sooner restored, than he resumed his plans of distant conquest; and after two unsuccessful attempts upon Aden, assembled 1,500 European and 600 Asiatic troops, in pursuit of the darling object of his ambition—the conquest of Ormuz, the famous emporium of the Persian Gulf. This he appears to have accomplished with little difficulty, by working upon the fears and weakness of the sovereign, who felt quite incapable of combating a formidable force, led by a commander whose ability was more than equalled by his ruthless severity;† and Ormuz, notwithstanding the counter-

* *Portuguese Asia*, vol. i., p. 172.

† After making large allowance for the barbarities common to his age and nation, Albuquerque seems to have been more than usually cruel in his punishments. Among many instances, may be cited that of his sending Portuguese renegades back to their country with their ears, noses, right-hands, and thumbs of the left hand cut off. His passions were

intrigues of the Persian ambassador, fell an easy prize into the hands of the Portuguese. Albuquerque, delighted with his success, prepared to return to Goa, there to superintend the consolidation of the dominion he had gained, and at the same time recruit his own strength, after toils calculated to increase the burden of advancing years. These anticipations were suddenly dashed to the ground by tidings which reached him while sailing along the coast of Cambay. He who had superseded Almeida, was now himself to be ignominiously displaced by a new governor—Lope Soarez, who, to make the blow more galling, was his personal and bitter foe. There was no letter, nor any mark of respect or sympathy from the king, and no reason assigned for his removal; probably none existed beyond the malice of his foes, in suggesting that the powerful viceroy might not long continue a subject. New officers were nominated to the chief vessels and forts, selected from the party known to be hostile to his interests; and even men whom he had sent home prisoners for heinous crimes, returned with high appointments. The adherents of Albuquerque rallied round him, and strove to induce him to follow the example of many Asiatic governors, by asserting his independence; but he rejected the temptation, declaring that the only course now left him consistent with his honour, which through life had been his first care, was to die. Then giving way to profound melancholy, and refusing food or medicine, he soon found the death he ardently desired, expiring upon the bar of Goa (which he had called his land of promise) in December, 1515, in the sixty-third year of his age. While writhing under the torment of a wounded spirit, he was prevailed upon to address a few proud and pathetic lines of farewell to his sovereign, commending to his favour the son whom he had left in Portugal. "As for the affairs of India," he added, "they will speak for themselves and me." This was no empty boast; for in five years, Albuquerque had raised the maritime power of his nation in the East, to a point which, in spite of many changes and conflicts, it never far surpassed. The prize thus acquired was little less than the monopoly of commerce between Europe and India, which was maintained for upwards of a century. Faria y Sousa, indeed, boasts that the empire of his countrymen stretched from the Cape of Good Hope to the frontier of China, and comprehended a coast 12,000 miles in extent; but this simply signifies, that upon this immense sea-line, they alone, of the nations of Europe, had established factories. Of these there were, in all, about thirty—in some cases 1,000 miles apart; and of the surrounding country they rarely possessed anything beyond that which their walls encircled. In India, Goa was the great seat of their influence: they there obtained possession of an area, extending, at a subsequent period, over above 1,000 square miles. The town of Cochin may be said to have been under their control, and probably also that of Cananore; but both these small states continued to retain their native rajahs. Peace had been concluded with Calicut in 1513, and a fortified factory erected there: they possibly, also, established a few insignificant trading depôts on other parts of the coast. Had the management of affairs continued to be entrusted to such men as Albuquerque, it is probable that the struggle, already commenced with the Mohammedans by the seizure of Goa, would have continued until the Portuguese had really acquired extensive territorial sovereignty; but as it was, the high-sounding title of the viceroy or governor-general of India, was quite inconsistent with his actual position as ruler of a few scattered settlements, held at all times on a very precarious tenure.

Lope Soarez, the new governor, presented a strong contrast to his predecessor. Albuquerque was a man of middle stature, with a long white beard, which, for a characteristic reason, had been suffered to grow until it reached his girdle, where he wore it knotted.* When not clouded by fierce and too frequent paroxysms of passion, his countenance was pleasing, and his manner

unrestrained, after his nephew, Antonio de Noronha, was slain in action; this youth having, according to Faria y Sousa, exercised a very salutary influence over his temper through his affections.

* When on his way to supersede Almeida, he attacked Ormuz, and there committed great cruelties, such as cutting off the hands, ears, and noses of persons carrying provisions into the city. Being compelled to raise the siege by the valour of Khojeh Atar, the governor or regent for the young king, the enraged Albuquerque swore, that his beard should never be cut, until he should sit, for that purpose, on the back of his adversary. The opportunity never appears to have arrived (for the name of Khojeh Atar is not even mentioned in the account of the eventual seizure of Goa); and Albuquerque carried to his grave a mortifying memorial of the folly of rash vows.—(*Faria y Sousa*, vol. i., p. 178.)

frank and courteous: to the native princes especially he maintained a respectful demeanour, which rendered him popular even with those who had little real cause for regarding him with a friendly eye. Soarez, according to Faria y Sousa, "was a comely man, with very red hair," and a haughty and repulsive bearing. His covetous and grasping conduct set an example which was speedily followed; and the whole body of the military began to trade, or rather plunder, each one on his own account, with an utter disregard for the public service. The main-spring of the mischief was in Portugal, where, instead of selecting men of tried ability and rectitude, birth or patronage became the first requisite for an office, in which the formula of installation required from the successful candidate a solemn asseveration, that he had made no interest to procure that employment. "How needless the question!" exclaims Faria y Sousa, "how false the oath!" Even if a good governor were appointed by a happy accident, or in a moment of urgent necessity, he could hope to effect little permanent reform; for in the event of his sending home officers charged with the most outrageous offences, they, if men of wealth, however acquired, were sure of a favourable hearing at court, and their representations would probably succeed even in procuring the downfall of their more righteous accuser.

It is quite unnecessary to follow in detail the hostilities in which the Portuguese became involved with the natives of every place where they had established themselves, being, in some cases, completely expelled; in others, barely tolerated: thus fulfilling the prophecy of one of the despised Hindoos,—that "whatever they gained as courageous soldiers, they would lose as covetous merchants;"* and it might with truth have been added, as persecuting bigots: for the injunctions given to the eight Franciscan friars attached to Cabral's expedition, to "carry fire and the sword into every country which should refuse to listen to their preaching,"† were not neglected by their successors.

The administration of Soarez, though generally disastrous,‡ was distinguished by the erection of a fort and factory in the territory of the king of Columbo, in Ceylon (A.D. 1517), from whom, though he had from the first traded amicably with them, the Portuguese now exacted a yearly tribute of 1,200 quintals of cinnamon, twelve rings of rubies and sapphires, and six elephants. It is probable this payment could not be enforced, as the fort itself was abandoned, in 1524, as not worth the keeping, by Vasco de Gama, who was sent out as viceroy in that year. His tenure of office lasted but three months, being terminated by death on Christmas Eve. Sousa describes De Gama as a man of "middle size, somewhat gross, and of a ruddy complexion;" of a dauntless disposition; capable of enduring extraordinary fatigue; prompt and resolute in the execution of justice. Even during his mortal sickness the veteran discoverer zealously exerted himself to put down piracy by sea and peculation by land, preparatory to the execution of greater designs; but the temporary check given to long-permitted malpractices was soon over-stepped; and the dissensions arising from the unbridled lust and avarice of the Portuguese reached such a height, that had the natives combined together against them, their total expulsion would seem to have been very practicable. The zamorin succeeded in driving them from Calicut, which they quitted after performing the humiliating task of destroying their own fortifications.

Nuno da Cunha was sent out in 1529. He was then forty-two years of age, tall, and well-proportioned, with a fair complexion and black beard, but disfigured by the loss of an eye. His reputation for justice and moderation, though probably deserved, so far as his countrymen were concerned, ill accords with the character of his foreign policy; for during his administration a series of unprovoked outrages of the most disgraceful character were committed on the territories of neighbouring rulers. The coast of Guzerat was ravaged in 1530; towns and villages, including Surat,§ Damaun, and others of note, were plundered and burned; the adjacent land bereft of every semblance of cultivation; and the wretched inhabitants carried off as slaves.‖

* Sousa adds, "Who was most barbarous—he that said this, or they who did what he said?"

† *De Barros* and *Faria y Sousa*, vol. i. p. 53.

‡ The wrath excited by the piratical seizure of two ships, caused the expulsion of the Portuguese from Bengal, where they wished to establish factories.

§ Surat (according to Sousa), when attacked in 1530, contained "ten thousand families, mostly handicrafts, and all of no courage:" it was taken almost without resistance, "and nothing left in it that had life, or was of value. Then the city, and some ships that lay in the arsenal, were burnt."

‖ The result of a single incursion on the coast of Diu was "the obtainment of 4,000 slaves and an

In the two following years an expedition was carried out, which, though unsuccessful in its main object—the taking of Diu—resulted in the capture of the strong island of Beth, seven leagues distant: the whole of the towns on the Maharashtra coast, from Chicklee Tarapoor to Bassein, were burned, and contributions levied from Tanna and Bombay. The contest between Bahadur Shah and the Moguls, drove the former into a compromise with his European foes, whose assistance against the emperor, Humayun, he purchased by granting the long-desired permission to build a fort at Diu,* and by the cession of Bassein in perpetuity, with authority to levy duties on the trade with the Red Sea. The circumstances connected with the assassination of Bahadur by the Portuguese have been already repeatedly mentioned.† The immediate consequence was their occupation of Diu, where they obtained some treasure and an extraordinary amount of cannon and military stores.

In September, 1538, a determined attempt to recover Diu was made by a force levied in Guzerat, through the exertions of a Moorish chief, named Khojeh Zofar, and supported by a squadron dispatched by the Grand Seignior, under the command of Soliman Pasha, the governor of Cairo. The small and sickly garrison of the fort defended themselves with desperate valour; and the women, incited by the enthusiasm of Donna Isabella de Vega (the wife of the governor), and others, bore their part in the danger and fatigue, by taking upon themselves the task of repairing the works shattered by the incessant fire of the batteries. Attempts to carry the fortress by storm were continued during two months, and the besieged were well nigh exhausted, only forty men remaining fit for duty, when, to their joyful surprise, want of union in the camp of the enemy, added probably to ignorance of the straits to which they were reduced, led Solyman to abandon the enterprise on the very eve of success. During his way to Egypt he committed great cruelties on the Portuguese whom he found at different Arabian ports, putting 140 of them to death, and causing their heads, ears, and noses to be salted, and so preserved for the gratification of the Grand Turk. This at least is the story told by Sousa, who departs from his usual moderation in describing this formidable foe to his nation, representing him as ill-favoured, short and corpulent —"more like a beast than a man." Although eighty years of age, and unable to rise without the assistance of four servants, he obtained the command of the recent expedition, by reason of the enormous wealth gathered by oppression, which enabled him to furnish the shipping at his own cost. At length a career of crime was terminated by suicide, committed in a paroxysm of envy and wounded pride.

The reason of succour not having been dispatched from Goa to Diu, was the unsettled state of affairs occasioned by the recall of Nuno da Cunha, whose ten years' administration was brought to a close as abrupt and humiliating as that of Albuquerque. His aggressive policy is quite unjustifiable; but as King John III. was little disposed to be critical on that account, the perfect disinterestedness and energy of the governor had merited honour rather than disgrace.

Like many other of the world's great men, who have thought to serve their country at the expense of duty to God and the common rights of mankind, Nuno discovered his error too late: he fell sick, and died on the voyage to Portugal, the body being committed to the deep, in compliance with the command of the disappointed statesman, that his ungrateful country should not have his bones.

The next memorable epoch in Indo-Portuguese annals, is formed by the administration of Martin Alonzo de Sousa, which commenced in 1542, and lasted about three years, during which brief period, his fierce, bigotted, and grasping conduct completely neutralised the beneficial effect of the efforts of his immediate predecessor, Stephen de Gama,‡ War again commenced with the neigheduring rulers: cities were destroyed,

infinite booty." The fleet, as reviewed in 1531, consisted of "above four hundred sail, many large, more indifferent, and the greatest number small; several of them were only sutlers, fitted out by the natives for private gain," and manned by 3,600 soldiers, 1,450 Portuguese seamen, 2,000 Malabars and Canarese, 8,000 slaves, and 5,000 seamen.—(*Sousa*, vol. i. p. 347.) Nuno is also described as employing as sailors "1,000 Lascarines of the country."

* Sousa relates a feat, performed on this occasion by a Portuguese, named Botello, who, hoping to regain the favour of King John by being the first to communicate the welcome news, set out from India with five Europeans and some slaves, in a barque, 16 feet long, 9 broad, and 4½ deep. The slaves mutinied, and were all slain; the Europeans held on their course without sailors or pilot, and after enduring great hardships, arrived at Lisbon.

† *Vide* preceding section, pp. 85—103.

‡ The son of Vasco held sway during two years. In evidence of his disinterestedness, it is said that he left India 40,000 crowns poorer than he entered it.

together with every living thing they contained;* temples were despoiled, and cruelty and corruption reigned undisguised. Francois Xavier, one of the earliest Jesuits, had come to India with De Sousa. He exerted himself strenuously in representing the impolicy of the course pursued, which, if not checked, threatened to cause the downfall of Portuguese power throughout Asia; but his arguments appear to have been unheeded. The king of Guzerat, forced into a renewal of hostilities, co-operated with his old ally Khojeh Zofar, who again besieged the fort of Diu, A.D. 1545. The blockade lasted eight months, and was carried on after the death of Khojeh Zofar (whose head and hand were carried away by a cannon-ball) by his son, entitled Rumi Khan. Provisions became so scarce, that nauseous vermin were used for food; while "a crow taken upon the dead bodies was a dainty for the sick, and sold for five crowns." The ammunition was almost spent, and the soldiers exhausted with fatigue. The women displayed the same determination as on a previous occasion, and the fort was maintained until the new governor, Don Juan de Castro, arrived to its relief. On his way he captured several ships in the vicinity of Damaun, and "cutting the Moors that were in them in pieces, threw them into the mouths of the rivers, that the tide carrying them up, they might strike a terror in all that coast." Ansote and other towns were destroyed, and "the finest women of the Brahmins and Banians slaughtered." In fact, these butchers spared neither youth nor beauty, age nor infirmity; the sanctity of cast, nor the innocence of childhood. After raising the siege of the fort, the city of Diu became the scene of a fierce conflict, in which, when the Portuguese wavered, the favourite expedient was resorted to of holding up a crucifix as an incitement to renewed exertion. The sword was a favourite means of conversion with Romish missionaries; priestly robes and warlike weapons were quite compatible; and, on the present occasion, one Fra Antonio played a leading part. The result is best told in the words of the historian above quoted, and may serve to illustrate the manner in which hostilities were conducted by his countrymen, under the personal leadership of a governor whose administration is generally considered one of peculiar prosperity and honour. An arm of the desecrated symbol was shattered in the contest, upon which "the priest, calling upon the men to revenge that sacrilege, they fell on with such fury, that having done incredible execution, they drove the enemy to the city, who still gave way, facing us. The first that entered the city with them was Don Juan, then Don Alvaro and Don Emanuel de Lima, and the governor, all several ways, making the streets and houses run with blood. The women escaped not the fate of the men, and children were slain at their mothers' breasts, one stroke taking away two lives. The first part of the booty was precious stones, pearls, gold and silver; other things, though of value, were slighted as cumbersome. * * * Of the Portuguese, 100 were killed; others say only thirty-four: of the enemy, 5,000 [including Rumi Khan and others of note.] Free plunder was allowed. * * * There were taken many colours, forty pieces of cannon of an extraordinary bigness, which, with the lesser, made up 200, and a vast quantity of ammunition."†

After this "glorious victory," thirty ships were sent to devastate the Cambay coast: the people fled in alarm from the burning towns and villages, and took refuge in the mountain caves. The inhabitants of a city, called Goga, while sleeping in imagined security, a league distant from their ruined homes, were surprised at night, and all put to the sword. The cattle in the fields were either killed or ham-strung. In the various vessels captured along the coast of Baroach, the same system of general massacre was carried out; and the groves of palm-trees, which afford, in many places, the sole article of subsistence, were systematically destroyed.

The governor returned in triumph to Goa, crowned with laurel, preceded by Fra Antonio and his crucifix, and followed by 600 prisoners in chains, the royal standard of Cambay sweeping the ground. The streets were hung and carpeted with silk, scattered over with gold and silver leaves. The ladies threw flowers at the feet of the conqueror, and sprinkled sweet-scented waters as he passed their windows. This ovation, whether designed to gratify individual vanity,

* The rani, or queen of a small raj or kingdom, situated on the Canarese coast, having refused to pay tribute to the Portuguese, was punished by the destruction of her capital, Batecala. "The city," says Faria y Sousa, "ran with the blood of all living creatures before it was burnt; then the country was laid waste, and all the woods cut down."—(Vol ii., p. 74.) Other small Hindoo states are mentioned by Sousa as personally defended by female sovereigns.

† *Faria y Sousa*, vol. ii., pp. 110 to 113.

or with the idea of making an impression on the natives, was rendered the more unseemly by the fact, that Don Fernando, the son of the governor, had perished during the siege of Diu. The sway of De Castro lasted only from 1545 to 1548. Notwithstanding his sanguinary proceedings, he appears to have been solicitous for the interests of commerce, and perfectly disinterested; for, instead of having amassed wealth, like many other governors of equally short standing, he was so poor, that in his last illness provision was made for him out of the public revenue.* The cause of his death, at forty-seven years of age, is said by Faria y Sousa to have been "grief for the miserable estate to which India was reduced"—a statement reconcilable with other accounts of this period, only by supposing that amid seeming prosperity, De Castro foresaw the end of an oppressive and corrupt system.

The invasion of Sinde, in 1556, under the administration of Francisco Barreto, is alleged to have been provoked by the fickleness of its ruler, who first solicited and then refused Portuguese co-operation, thus affording a pretext for his intended auxiliaries to pillage his capital (Tatta), kill 8,000 persons, and destroy by fire "to the value of above two millions of gold," after loading their vessels with one of the richest booties they had ever taken in India. Eight days were spent in ravaging the country on both sides of the Indus, after which the fleet returned, having, it would appear, scarcely lost a man. The next exploit was the burning of Dabul and the neighbouring villages, in revenge for the hostility of the king of Beejapoor.

Religious persecution, which seems to have slumbered for a time, awoke with renewed ferocity, and was directed rather against what the Romish priests chose to call heresy, than absolute paganism. An account of the alleged mission of St. Thomas the apostle, and of the Christian church spoken of by Cosmas,† in the sixth century, properly belongs to the section on the religious condition of India. In this place it is sufficient to say, that both on the Malabar coast and in the kingdom of Ethiopia—including the state whose ruler attained such extraordinary celebrity under the name of Prester John—the Portuguese found Christian communities who steadily refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the pope; rejected the use of images, together with all dogmas regarding transubstantiation, extreme unction, celibacy of priests, &c., and asked for blessings, whether temporal or eternal, only in the name of the one mediator, Jesus Christ. These "ancient Christians," says Sousa, "disturbed such as were converted from paganism" by Zavier and his fellow-labourers: the Jews also proved a stumbling-block. In 1544, Jerome Diaz, a Portuguese physician of Jewish extraction, was burnt for heresy; and probably many others of less note shared his fate. In 1560, the first archbishop of Goa was sent from Lisbon, accompanied by the first inquisitors, for the suppression of Jews and heretics. Throughout the existence of this horrible tribunal, crimes of the most fearful character were perpetrated; and in the minds alike of the denounced schismatics and of pagans, a deep loathing was excited against their persecutors. The overthrow of the Hindoo kingdom of Beejanuggur, in 1564, by the combined efforts of the four Mohammedan Deccani states, left these latter at liberty to turn their attention more fully towards their European foes; and in 1571, a league was formed against the Portuguese by the kings of Beejapoor and Ahmednuggur. The zamorin of Calicut likewise joined them; but from some distrust in his own mind, long withheld his personal co-operation. Ali Adil Shah besieged Goa, sustained great loss, and after ten months was compelled to withdraw without having accomplished anything. Mortezza Nizam Shah sustained a mortifying defeat at Choul, and was glad to make peace with the triumphant Portuguese. The zamorin, though last in the field, had the best success, obtaining the surrender of the fort Chale (a few miles from Calicut) from Don George de Castro, who, although eighty years of age, was beheaded at Goa by orders from Portugal, on the ground of having surrendered his charge without sufficient reason.

A change was made in 1571 in the duties of the governor, by the division of authority over Portuguese affairs in Asia into three parts: the first, that of *India*, being made to comprise their possessions situated between Cape Guardafui and Ceylon;‡ the

* He died in the arms of François Xavier. "In his private cabinet was found a bloody discipline (? a scourge) and three royals, which was all his treasure."—(*Faria y Sousa*, vol. ii., p. 129.)

† Surnamed *Indicopleustes*, or the Indian voyager.

‡ The proceedings of the Portuguese in Ceylon are purposely omitted here: they will be narrated in the history of that island.

second, styled *Monomotapa*, extending from Cape Corrientes to Guardafui; the third, or *Malacca*, from Pegu to China. The sway of Portugal was now, however, nearly ended; she had misused the trust committed to her care, and was punished by the suspension of her independence, after maintaining it 500 years. King Sebastian fell in Africa, in 1578, and about two years later, Philip II. of Spain procured the reannexation of Portugal, to which he laid claim in right of his mother, Isabella. In India, the change was only from bad to worse: the furnace of persecution was heated seven times hotter than before. The Syrian Christians of Malabar were cruelly persecuted, their bishop seized and sent to Lisbon, and their churches pillaged; their books, including ancient copies of the Scriptures, burned, while Archbishop Menezes marched, singing a hymn, round the flames (1599.) The Inquisition increased in power; and, perhaps, among all the impious and hateful sacrifices offered up by men given over to dark delusions, never yet did idolatrous pagan, or professed devil-worshipper, pollute this fair earth by any crime of so deep a dye as the hideous *Auto da Fé*, usually celebrated on the first Sundays in Advent.* Dellon, a French physician, who languished two years in the dungeons of Goa, has given a life-like picture of the horrible ceremonials of which he was an eye-witness; and describes his "extreme joy" at learning that his sentence was not to be burnt, but to be a galley-slave for five years.† He speaks of himself as having heard every morning, for many weeks, the shrieks of unfortunate victims undergoing the *question;* and he judged that the number of prisoners must be very large, because the profound silence which reigned within the walls of the building, enabled him to count the number of doors opened at the hours of meals. At the appointed time, the captives were assembled by their black-robed jailors, and clothed in the *san benito*, a garb of yellow cloth, with the cross of St. Andrew before and behind. The relapsed heretics were dressed in the *samarra*, a grey robe, with the portrait of the doomed wearer painted upon it, surrounded by burning torches, flames, and demons; and on their heads were placed sugar-loaf-shaped caps, called *carrochas*, on which devils and flames were also depicted. The bell of the cathedral began to ring a little before sunrise, and the gloomy procession commenced—men and women indiscriminately mixed, walking with bleeding feet over the sharp stones, and eagerly gazed on by innumerable crowds assembled from all parts of India to behold this "act of faith" of a European nation. Sentence was pronounced before the altar in the church of St. Francis, the grand inquisitor and his counsellors sitting on one side, the viceroy and his court on the other; and each victim received the final intimation of his doom by a slight blow upon the breast from the alcaide. Then followed their immolation, the viceroy and court still looking on while the prisoners were bound to the stake in the midst of the faggots, and hearing, as a periodical occurrence, the shrieks and groans of these unhappy creatures. The vengeance of the Inquisition ceased not even here: the day after the execution, the portraits of the murdered men were carried to the church of the Dominicans, and there kept in memory of their fate; and the bones of such as had died in prison, were likewise preserved in small chests painted over with flames and demons.‡

These are dark deeds which none aspiring to the pure and holy name of Christian can record without a feeling of deep humiliation; but they may not be shrouded in oblivion, since they furnish abundant reason why the mutilated gospel preached by Romish priests made so little permanent impression in India; and, moreover, afford enduring evidence that England, and every other protesting nation, had solid grounds for severance from the polluted and rotten branch which produced such fruit as "the holy Inquisition." In Europe, as in Asia, a light had been thrown on the true nature of the iron yoke, with which an ambitious priesthood had dared to fetter nations in the name of the Divine Master, whose precepts their deeds of pride and cruelty so flagrantly belied. The Reformation, faulty as were some of the instruments concerned in its establishment, had yet taught men to look to the written gospel for those laws of liberty and love which nations and individuals are

* The portion of the gospel read on that day mentions the last judgment; and the Inquisition pretended, by the ceremony, to exhibit an emblem of that awful event.—Wallace's *Memoirs of India*, p. 394.

† Dellon was accused of heresy for having spoken disparagingly of the adoration of images. He had also grievously offended by calling the inquisitors fallible men, and the "holy office" a fearful tribunal which France had acted wisely in rejecting.

‡ Hough's *Christianity in India*, vol. i., chap. iv

alike bound to observe. Unhappily, this great lesson was but imperfectly learned; for although withheld rights have ever formed a popular theme, the responsibilities those rights involve cannot be expected to commend themselves, save to conscientious and enlightened minds. Thus it proved easier to renounce the dogmas of popery, than to root out the vices it had fostered or permitted; and the very people who had most cause for gratitude in being delivered from the oppressive and arrogant dominion of Spain, became themselves examples of an equally selfish and short-sighted policy.

At this period there were many signs in the commercial horizon, that neither papal bulls, nor the more reasonable respect paid to the claims of discovery and preoccupation, could any longer preserve the monopoly of the Indian trade to Spain and Portugal. Several causes combined for its destruction. The conquest and settlement of America afforded full employment for the ambition and ferocity of Philip II.; and his Asiatic territories were left in the hands of rulers, who, for the most part, thought of nothing but the gratification of their own passions, and the accumulation of wealth;—which latter, by pillage of every description, and by the shameless sale of all offices and positions, they usually contrived to do in the period of two to three years,* which formed the average duration of their tenure of office. It may be readily imagined that the measures of his predecessor were rarely carried out by any governor; but all seem to have agreed in conniving at the most notorious infraction of the general rule which forbade any Portuguese to traffic on his own account, as an unpardonable infringement on the exclusive rights of his sovereign. Corruption, mismanagement, and the growing aversion of the natives, gradually diminished the trade, until the average annual arrival in Lisbon of ships from India was reduced from five to about three; and the annual value of the cargoes decreased in proportion to about a million crowns. Thus, notwithstanding the royal monopoly of spices, Philip soon found that the expense of maintaining the various Indian governments† exceeded the commercial profits: he therefore made over the exclusive privilege of trading to India, in the year 1587, to a company of Portuguese merchants, on consideration of a certain annual payment; reserving, however, the appointment of governors, the command of the army, and every description of territorial revenue and power. This change in the state of affairs created great excitement and dissatisfaction at Goa. It was evident that the company, if able and willing to enforce the rights bestowed upon them, would reduce the profits of the various officials to their legitimate bounds; and the very thought was intolerable to a community who, "from the viceroy to the private soldier, were all illicit traders, and occasionally pirates."‡ The general disorganisation was increased, in 1594, by the arrival of a papal bull and royal command for the forcible conversion of infidels; which was in effect, free leave and license to every member of the Romish communion to torture and destroy all who differed from them on doctrinal points, and to pillage pagodas or churches, public or private dwellings, at pleasure. Such a course of proceeding could scarcely fail to bring about its own termination; and the strong grasp of tyranny and persecution, though more fierce, was yet rapidly growing weaker, and would probably have been shaken off by the natives themselves, even in the absence of the European rivals who now appeared on the scene. England, under the fostering care of Elizabeth, had already manifested something of the energy which, under the Divine blessing, was to secure to her the supremacy of the ocean; to extend her sway over ancient and populous nations; and to lay the foundation of the greatest colonial empire the world ever saw. This puissance was still in the embryo, and England a little kingdom with a limited trade, when her soldiers and merchants began the

* From the arrival of Almeida in 1505, to 1640 (the period at which Sousa terminates his history), there were some fifty viceroys or governors, of whom a very large proportion (about one-third) died in India or on their voyage home.

† The possessions of Spain and Portugal, at this time, were the forts of Diul (on the Indus) and of Diu; a fortified factory at Damaun; the town and castle of Choul; a factory at Dabul; the city of Bassein; the island of North Salsette, and the town of Tanna; the island of Bombay; the city and fort of Goa; and factories at Onore, Barcelore, Mangalore, Cananore, Calicut, Cranganore, and Quiloa; stations at Negapatam and St. Thomas, or Meliapoor, (on the Coromandel coast); and several commercial posts in Bengal. They had also the port of Cochin; factories, or liberty to trade at Pegu, Martaban, and Junkseylon; held the strongly-fortified town of Malacca, and had, moreover, established themselves at several commanding points in the island of Ceylon. (Bruce's *Annals of East India Company*, vol. i. p. 24.)

‡ Macpherson's *Commerce with India*, p. 32.

struggle with the combined forces of Spain and Portugal, in alliance with a people whose newly-acquired independence had originated in the reaction caused by the corruption and cruelty of the Spanish government, represented by such men as the Duke of Alva, and the bigotry of Rome, represented by such institutions as the Inquisition.*

Rise of Dutch Power.—It was only in the year 1579 that the Netherlanders ventured to defy the power of Philip, and formed themselves into a separate government, which they did not establish without a desperate and prolonged conflict, aided zealously by Elizabeth. Their after-progress was marvellous; and before neighbouring countries had well learned to recognise their new position, the "poor distressed people of Holland" had changed that designation for the "High and Mighty States, the United Provinces." The course that materially aided their rapid advancement was forced upon them by the arbitrary policy of Philip. Having very little land, they had ever mainly depended for subsistence on fisheries, trade, and navigation. While Portugal was a separate kingdom they resorted thither for East India produce, of which they became the carriers to all the northern nations of Europe; and after the annexation of that kingdom to Spain, their ships continued to sail to Lisbon under neutral colours, at which the Portuguese gladly connived. But Philip, hoping to lay the axe to the root of the mercantile prosperity which enabled his former subjects to sustain a costly and sanguinary contest with his mighty armies, compelled the Portuguese to renounce this profitable intercourse,—laid an embargo on all Dutch ships, seized the cargoes, imprisoned the merchants and ship-masters, or delivered them over as heretics to the tender mercies of the Inquisition, and even forced the mariners and others into his hated service. The Dutch, driven to desperation by an enemy from whom they had all to fear and nothing to hope, incited by the able counsel of Prince Maurice, resolved to attempt procuring the necessary supplies of spices direct from Asia.

With the double inducement of avoiding the fleets which guarded the approach to the Indian seas, and of finding a much shorter route, the Dutch (following the example of various English navigators) strove to discover a north-eastern passage to India,† and in the years 1594,–'5, and '6, sent three expeditions for this purpose. All failed, and the last adventurers were compelled to winter on the dreary shores of Nova Zembla. In the meantime some Dutch merchants, not caring to wait the doubtful issue of these attempts, formed themselves into a company, and resolved to brave the opposition of Philip, by commencing a private trade with India *vid* the Cape of Good Hope. Four ships were dispatched for this purpose, under the direction of Cornelius Houtman,‡ a Dutch merchant or navigator, well acquainted with the nature and conduct of the existing Indian traffic; and the coast of Bantam (Java) was reached without hindrance, save from the elements.§ Having obtained cargoes, partly by purchase from the natives, but chiefly by plunder from the Portuguese, Houtman returned to the Texel, where, notwithstanding the loss of one of the vessels—a very frequent occurrence in those days,‖—the safe arrival of

* Before the people rose against their oppressors, 100,000 of them were judicially slaughtered—the men by fire and sword, and the women by being buried alive.—(*Grotii Annal. Belg.* pp. 15—17.)

† Along the shores of Norway, Russia, and Tartary, to China, and thence into the Indian Ocean.

‡ The manner in which he acquired this knowledge is variously related:—by Savary, as obtained in the Portuguese service; by other authorities, during a long imprisonment at Lisbon; Raynal says for debt; Sallengre, in consequence of the suspicions excited by his inquiries on commercial subjects. His freedom was procured by payment of a heavy fine, subscribed on his behalf by Dutch merchants. (*See* different accounts, commented on in Macpherson's *European Commerce with India*, note to p. 45.)

§ Two of the vessels were 400 tons burthen, carrying each eighty-four men, six large brass cannon, fourteen lesser guns, four great "patereroes" and eight little ones, with "muskers" and small guns in proportion; the third, of 200 tons, had fifty-nine men, six large cannon, with lesser ones in proportion; the fourth, of thirty tons, with twenty-four men and cannon: the whole carrying 249 mariners. The fleet sailed from the Texel the 2nd of April, 1595; reached Teneriffe on the 19th; St. Jago on the 26th; crossed the equator on the 14th of June; on the 2nd of August doubled the Cape of Good Hope (seamen in great distress with scurvy), and remained some days on the coast: in September, October, and November, the ships were at different parts of Madagascar, and sailed thence on the 1st of December towards Java, which was reached in the middle of January, 1596; thus terminating the first Dutch voyage to the Indian seas.—(See *Collection of Voyages undertaken by Dutch East India Company.* London translation, 1808.)

‖ Linschoten says, that almost every year one or two Portuguese East-Indiamen were lost. Faria y Sousa gives an account of 956 vessels, which sailed from Portugal for India, from 1412 (when Prince Henry first attempted the discovery of a passage by

the remainder was welcomed as an auspicious commencement of the undertaking. Several new companies were formed;—the number of ships annually increased,* and succeeded in obtaining cargoes, notwithstanding the opposition of the Portuguese, who strove, but for the most part ineffectually, to prejudice the natives against their rivals; their own proceedings having been so outrageous, that any prospect of a check or counteraction seemed rather to be courted than avoided. In 1600, not five years after the first expedition under Houtman, forty vessels, of from 400 to 600 tons, were fitted out by the Dutch. Hitherto the Spanish monarch had made no effort to intercept their fleet; but in the following year he dispatched an armament of thirty ships of war, by which eight outward-bound vessels, under the command of Spilbergen, were attacked near the Cape Verd Islands. The skill and bravery of the defendants enabled them to offer effectual resistance, and they succeeded in making their way to India without any serious loss. Philip did not again attempt a naval contest, but made military force the basis of his subsequent efforts for their subjugation; prohibiting them, under pain of corporal punishment, from trading with the Spanish possessions, either in the East or West Indies. These threats proved only an incitement to more determined efforts; and it being evident that the combination of the several Dutch companies would tend to strengthen them against the common foe, they were united, in 1602, by the States-General, and received a charter bestowing on them, for a term of twenty-one years, the exclusive right of trade with India, together with authority to commission all functionaries, civil and military, to form what establishments they pleased, and make war or peace in all countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope. From regard to the claims of the proprietors of the minor associations, the new company was divided into six chambers or boards of management, of which Amsterdam and Middleburg were the chief, their share in the funds subscribed being proportionably represented by twenty-five and twelve directors; the remaining chambers of Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn, and Enkhuysen having each seven directors: making a total of sixty-five persons, with a capital of 6,440,200 guilders, or (taking the guilder at 1*s.* 8*d.*) about £536,600. The project was popular, and brought both money and a valuable class of emigrants into Holland, many opulent merchants of the Spanish provinces in the Netherlands, and of other places, removing with their effects into the Dutch territory. No time was lost in fitting out a fleet of fourteen large ships, well manned, and furnished with soldiers and the necessary military and other stores requisite for the carrying out of the aggressive policy henceforth to be adopted against the national enemies, whom the Dutch had previously shunned rather than courted encountering in their foreign possessions.† The same power, whose co-operation had so materially contributed to the success of their European struggles, now came equally opportunely to their assistance in Asia; for in this same year (1602) the first ships of the first English East India Company appeared in the Indian seas. It may be useful to pause here, and briefly review the circumstances that led to the formation of a body, which, after long years of trial and vicissitude, attained such unexampled and strangely-constituted greatness.

Rise of English Power.—Before the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, England, like other northern European nations, had been supplied from the Adriatic with Eastern products. A ship of great bulk usually arrived every year from Venice, laden with spice (chiefly pepper) and some other Asiatic commodities, which the traders necessarily sold at high prices, owing to the circuitous route they were compelled to traverse. This state of things terminated with the close of the fifteenth century, by reason of the successful voyage of Vasco de Gama, which gave to Portugal the monopoly of the Asiatic trade. At that very time, the English, stimulated by a strong desire for the extension of com-

sea) to 1640: of these, 150 were lost, and with them he estimates not less than 100,000 persons—a not improbable number, considering the great size of many of the vessels, which carried 800 or 900 men.

* In 1598, two fleets, consisting of eight vessels, were sent by the Amsterdam merchants from the Texel, and five from Rotterdam, which were followed up by successive fleets in subsequent years, as the trade gave twenty to seventy-five per cent. of profit on the adventures.—(*Voyages of Dutch Company.*)

† The Dutch at first resorted to Sumatra and Java, where the Portuguese do not appear to have had any considerable establishments. Houtman formed a factory at Bantam in 1595.

The spice trade was opened with Amboyna, Ternate, and the Bandas, in 1598; with Sumatra and China, in 1599; with Ceylon, in 1600.

merce, and likewise by curiosity regarding the far-famed country, then called Cathay (China), were themselves attempting the discovery of a sea-passage to India; and in May, 1497, two months before the departure of Vasco, from Lisbon, an expedition comprising two ships fitted out by Henry VII. and some vessels freighted by the merchants of Bristol, left England, under the guidance of an enterprising Venetian navigator, named Giovanni Gavotta, *anglicé*, John Cabot. On reaching 67° 30′ N. lat., Cabot was compelled, by the mutinous conduct of his crew, to stand to the southward; and in the course of the homeward voyage he fell in with Newfoundland and the continent of North America. Notwithstanding the dissensions which characterised the concluding portion of the reign of Henry VII., and that of his son and successor Henry VIII., several commissions of discovery were issued by them,* but were attended with no important results. The commerce with the Levant appears to have commenced about the year 1511;† in 1513, a consul was stationed at Scio for its protection; and in process of time, the Levant or Turkey merchants came to be looked upon as the true East India traders. Factories were established by them at Alexandria, Aleppo, Damascus, and the different ports of Egypt and the Turkish dominions. Their growing importance did not however extinguish, but rather increased the general desire for more direct communication with India and China; and in 1549, Sebastian Cabot, the son of John Cabot, who had accompanied his father in the expedition of 1497, and had since attempted the discovery of the much-desired line of route, persuaded a number of London merchants to raise a capital of £6,000 in shares of £25 each, for the prosecution of a new voyage of discovery and trading adventure. The young king Edward VI., to whose notice Sebastian had been previously introduced by the protector Somerset, had bestowed on him an annual pension of £166, and made him grand pilot of England. He now gave every encouragement to the infant association. No time was lost in fitting out three vessels, which were dispatched under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, in May, 1553, and furnished with "Letters Missive" from King Edward to the sovereigns of northern Europe, bespeaking their protection for his subjects in their peaceful but perilous enterprise.‡ The court, then at Greenwich, assembled to witness the departure of the little squadron: vast crowds of people lined the shore; and the roar of cannon, and the

* Robert Thorne, an English merchant, having during a long residence at Seville acquired considerable knowledge of the benefits derived by Portugal from the Indian trade, memorialised Henry VIII. on the subject, urging the advantages which England might attain from the same source, and suggesting three courses to be pursued;—either by the north-east, which he imagined would lead them to "the regions of all the Tartarians that extend toward the midday," and thence "to the land of the Chinas and the land of Cathaio Orientall;" from which, if they continued their navigation, they might "fall in with Malacca" and return to England by the Cape of Good Hope. The second course, to the north-west, would lead them, he said, "by the back of the Newfound-land, which of late was discovered by your grace's subjects," and pursuing which they might return through the Straits of Magellan (discovered six years before.) The third course lay over the North Pole, after passing which he suggested that they should "goe right toward the Pole Antarctike, and then decline towards the lands and islands situated between the tropikes and under the equinoctiall;" and "without doubt they shall find there the richest lands and islands of the world of gold, precious stones, balmes, spices, and other things that we here esteem most."—(Hakluyt, vol. i., p. 235.) The consequence of this memorial was the sending of two vessels by private merchants in 1527, which returned very shortly without success (Hakluyt, iii., 167), and two by the king in the same year, of which one was lost off the north coast of Newfoundland, and the other effected nothing.—(Purchas' *Pilgrims*, iii., 809.)

† Hakluyt states, that between 1511 and 1534, "divers tall ships of London, Southampton, and Bristol had an ordinary and usual trade" to Sicily, Candia, Chios, and somewhiles to Cyprus; as also to Tripoli and Beyrout, in Syria. The exports, as proved by the ledgers of Locke, Bowyer, Gresham and other merchants, were "fine kersies of divers colours, coarse kersies, &c.;" the imports, silks, camlets, rhubarb, malmsey, muscatel, &c. Foreign as well as English vessels were employed, "namely, Candiots, Raguseans, Genouezes, Venetian galliases, Spanish and Portugall ships." (ii., 207.)

‡ The religious spirit in which the project was conceived is forcibly evidenced by the instructions drawn up by Cabot, for what Fuller truly remarks "may be termed the first reformed fleet which had English prayers and preaching therein." (*Worthies of England, Derbyshire*, of which county Willoughby was a native.) Swearing and gambling were made punishable offences, and "morning and evening prayer, with other common services appointed by the king's majesty and laws of this realm to be read and said in every ship daily by the minister in the *Admiral* [flag-ship], and the merchant, or some other person learned in other ships; and the Bible or paraphrases to be read devoutly and Christianly to God's honour, and for his grace to be obtained, and had by humble and hearty prayer of the navigants accordingly."—(Hakluyt, i., 254.) This daily prayer on board ship was long an acknowledged duty; and in 1580, in the directions of the Russian company, the mariners are enjoined, as a matter of course, "to observe good order in your daily service and pray unto God; so shall you prosper the better."

shouts of the mariners, filled the air: yet the ceremony seemed inauspicious; for the youthful monarch, on whom the eyes of Protestant Christendom waited hopefully, and who felt so deep an interest in the whole proceeding, lay prostrate in an advanced stage of that insidious disease, which then as now, yearly robbed England of many of her noblest sons and fairest daughters. Sir Hugh, and the whole ship's company of the *Buona Ventura*, were frozen to death near Lapland;* Captain Chancelor, the second in command, reached a Russian port (where Archangel was afterwards built), and proceeded thence to Moscow. The czar, Ivan Vasilivich, received him with great kindness, and furnished him with letters to Edward VI., bearing proposals for the establishment of commercial relations between the two countries. These were gladly accepted by Mary, who had in the interim ascended the throne; and a ratification of the charter promised by Edward to the company was granted by the queen and her ill-chosen consort, in 1554.† Chancelor was again sent out in the following year with agents and factors, and on his return, an ambassador accompanied him to England, in saving whose life in a storm off the Scottish coast, Chancelor lost his own.‡ This is an exceptional instance of encouragement given by the Crown to commercial enterprise during this short and sanguinary reign; nor, indeed, could Mary, as the wife of the bigotted Philip of Spain, herself a stanch and unscrupulous adherent of the Romish creed, be expected to patronize any adventure likely to trench upon the monopoly which the pope had assumed to himself the power of bestowing on her husband: the only cause for surprise is, that her signature should ever have been obtained to the charter of the Russian company, though probably it was a concession granted to the leading Protestant nobles, whose support she had secured at a critical moment by her promise (soon shamelessly broken) of making no attempt for the re-establishment of a dominant priesthood in England.

It was reserved for her sister and successor Elizabeth, alike free from the trammels of Rome and the alliance of Spain, to encourage and aid her subjects in that course of maritime and commercial enterprise, whose importance she so justly appreciated. The early part of her reign abounded with political and social difficulties;—foes abroad, rebellion in Ireland, discord at home, gave full and arduous employment to the ministers, whose energy and ability best evidenced the wisdom of the mistress who selected and retained such servants. The finances of the nation did not warrant any large expenditure which should necessitate the imposition of increased taxation for an uncertain result: it was therefore from private persons, either individually or in societies, that commercial adventures were to be expected. The Russian company renewed their efforts for the discovery of a north-east passage, and records of several voyages undertaken under their auspices are still extant; but it does not appear that

* When the extreme cold ceased, the peasants of the country found the body of Sir Hugh in his cabin, seated as if in the act of writing his journal, which, with his will, lay before him, and testified his having been alive in January, 1554.

† The Russian company, probably the first chartered joint-stock association on record, extended to a recent period.

‡ The Russian ambassador, Osep Napea, returned to his own country in the last year of Mary's reign, and was accompanied by Anthony Jenkinson, who represented the company, and was instructed to attempt the extension of their trade through Russia to Persia and Bactria. By permission of the czar, Jenkinson quitted Moscow in April, 1558, and proceeded by Novogorod and the Volga river to Astracan on the north of the Caspian: he then crossed that sea, and on its southern shores joined a caravan of Tartars, with which he travelled along the banks of the Oxus to Bokhara, and having there obtained much valuable information for his employers, returned to England (by Moscow) in 1560. In the following year. Queen Elizabeth dispatched him with letters to the Suffavi or Sophi, king of Persia (Shah Abbas I.), requesting his sanction for her subjects to open a trade in his dominions for the sale of their goods, and the purchase of raw silk and other commodities. The jealousy and intrigues of some Turkish agents, who were then engaged in concluding a treaty with the Shah at the fortified city of Casvin (where the Persian court then was), frustrated the mission of the English envoy, and even endangered his life; so that he was glad to make his escape through the friendly interposition of the king of Hyrcania, who furnished him with credentials granting various commercial privileges to such English as might desire to traffic in, or traverse his dominions on the southern shore of the Caspian. In 1566, another agent, named Arthur Edwards, was sent to Persia, and succeeded in obtaining from the czar permission for Englishmen to trade in his dominions with immunity from tolls or customs on their merchandise, and protection for their persons and property. In the same year the Russian company obtained from Elizabeth a charter with additional privileges, in reward for their explorations in the Caspian Sea, Armenia, Media, Hyrcania (Astrabad), and Persia, which it was hoped might lead to the ultimate discovery of "the country of Cathaia."—(Hakluyt, i., 414—418.)

either queen or people cared to defy the fleets of Spain by sailing round the Cape of Good Hope, until Sir Francis Drake, in 1577, having fitted out five ships at his own expense, left England and sailed through the straits of Magellan, into the south seas,* where he acquired immense booty from the Spaniards. The news reaching Europe, a strong force was sent to intercept him, but information of the danger enabled him to avoid it by changing his route, and after visiting Ternate (one of the Moluccas), forming a treaty with the king, and taking part in some hostilities between the natives and the Portuguese, Drake shipped a large quantity of cloves, and proceeded round the Cape to England, where he arrived at the close of 1580, with a single shattered vessel, having been the first of his nation to circumnavigate the globe.

The *Turkey Company*, established by charter in 1581, sent four representatives to India, through Syria, Bagdad, and Ormuz, whence they carried some cloths, tin, and other goods to Goa, and proceeded to visit Lahore, Agra, Bengal, Pegu, and Malacca, meeting everywhere with kindness from the natives, and opposition from the Portuguese. Of the envoys, Fitch alone returned to England (in 1591);† Newberry died in the Punjaub; Leades, a jeweller by profession, entered the service of the Emperor Akbar; and Storey became a monk at Goa. In 1586, Captain Cavendish commenced his voyage round the globe, and on the way, scrupled not to seize and plunder whenever he had the opportunity, either by sea or land. He returned home in less than two years flushed with success, and some years after attempted a similar privateering expedition (for it was little better), from which he never returned, but died at sea, worn out by a succession of disasters. The voyages of Drake and Cavendish had brought matters to a crisis: the Spanish government complained of the infringement of their exclusive rights of navigating the Indian seas;‡ to which Elizabeth replied—"It is as lawful for my subjects to do this as the Spaniards, since the sea and air are common to all men." The defeat of the so-called Invincible Armada, in 1588, rendered the English and their brave queen more than ever unwilling to give place to the arrogant pretensions of their foes; and in 1591, some London merchants dispatched three vessels to India by the Cape of Good Hope, under the command of Captains Raymond and Lancaster. A contest with some Portuguese ships, though successful, eventually ruined the expedition by the delay it occasioned; one of the vessels was compelled to put back in consequence of the sickness of the crew and the difficulties encountered in weathering the "Cape of Storms;"—the second, under Raymond, is supposed to have perished;—the third, under Lancaster, reached Sumatra and Ceylon, and obtained a cargo of pepper and other spiceries, but was subsequently lost in a storm at Mona, one of the West India isles. The captain and the survivors of the ship's company were rescued by a French vessel bound to San Domingo, and reached England in May, 1594. In the meanwhile, mercantile enterprise had received a fresh stimulus by the capture of a Portuguese carrack, profanely called *Madre de Dios*, of 1,600 tons burden, with thirty-six brass cannons mounted. This vessel, the largest yet seen in England, was taken by Sir John Burroughs, after an obstinate contest near the Azores, and brought into Dartmouth. The cargo, consisting of spices, calicoes, silks, gold, pearls, drugs, china-ware, &c., was valued by the lowest estimate at £150,000. This display of oriental wealth incited Sir Robert Dudley and some other gentlemen to fit out three ships, which sailed for China in 1596, bearing royal credentials addressed to the sovereign of that country, vouching for the probity of the adventurers, and offering the fullest protection to such Chinese subjects as might be disposed to open a trade in any English port. This expedition proved even more disastrous than the preceding one. After capturing three Portuguese vessels, the English crews became so fearfully reduced by disease, that out of three ships' companies, only four men remained alive.

* He anchored in a bay (supposed to be that now called Port San Francisco) on the coast of California, and landing, took possession of the country in the name of Queen Elizabeth, calling it "Nova Albion."

† Fitch published a narrative of his adventures, which greatly stimulated public curiosity on the subject; and this feeling was increased by the accounts sent from India by an Englishman, named Stevens, who had proceeded thither in a Portuguese vessel from Lisbon. According to Camden, a Portuguese carrack, captured by Drake off the Azores in 1587, and brought to England, contained various documents regarding the nature and value of the India trade, which first inspired English merchants with a desire to prosecute it on their own account.

‡ By the union of Spain and Portugal, the papal grants of eastern and western discoveries centred in one crown.

These unfortunates were cast on shore on a small island near Puerto Rico, where three of them were murdered by a party of Spaniards, for the sake of the treasure they had with them, and only one survived to divulge the crime to the Spanish officers of justice, soon after which he was poisoned by the same robbers who had murdered his shipmates. The public enthusiasm was somewhat damped by the dense cloud which long shrouded the calamitous issue of this expedition; but the successful adventures of the Dutch (*see* p. 196), and their grasping policy in raising the price of pepper from three to six and eight shillings per lb. (the cost in India being two to three pence), induced the merchants of London—headed by the lord mayor and aldermen—to hold a meeting at Founders'-hall, on the 22nd of September, 1599,* which resulted in the formation of a company, for the purpose of setting on foot a voyage to the East Indies.† The stock embarked, then considered a large one, of £30,133 6*s.* 8*d.*, was divided into 101 shares or adventures, the subscriptions of individuals varying from £100 to £3,000. The queen was ever zealous in promoting similar projects, but in this instance there was need of deliberation. Elizabeth well knew the value of peace to a trading nation, and delayed granting the charter of incorporation solicited by the company, until it should be proved how far their interests could be prudently consulted in the course of the friendly negotiations newly opened by Spain through the mediation of France. The treaty however soon fell to the ground, in consequence of a disputed question of precedency between the English and Spanish commissioners at Boulogne. The discussion of the East India question was eagerly resumed both in the city and at court; and on the last day of the 16th century, Elizabeth signed a charter on behalf of about 220 gentlemen, merchants, and other individuals of repute, constituting them "one bodie-corporate and politique indeed," by the name of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies."‡

A petition was addressed to the Privy Council for their sanction that "the voyage might be proceeded upon without any hindrance, notwithstanding the treaty:" but they "declined granting such a warrant, as deeming it more beneficial for the general state of merchandise to entertain a peace, than that the same should be hindered by standing with the Spanish commissioners for the maintenance of this trade, and thereby forego the opportunity of concluding the peace."§

It was a fitting conclusion for a century of extraordinary progress, and also for a reign, characterised throughout by measures of unrivalled political sagacity. The ablest sovereign (perhaps excepting Alfred) the realm had ever known, was soon to be taken away under very melancholy circumstances. The death of Lord Burleigh, and the rebellion of Essex, were trials which the failing strength and over-taxed energies of the queen could ill withstand; and she died in November, 1603, a powerful and beloved

* At the commencement of this year a merchant, named John Mildenhall, was dispatched (by way of Constantinople) to the Great Mogul, to solicit, in the name of his sovereign, certain trading privileges for his countrymen. He did not reach Agra till the year 1603, and was there long delayed and put to great expense by the machinations of the Jesuits then residing at the court of the Great Mogul, aided by two Italian (probably Venetian) merchants; but he eventually succeeded in obtaining from Jehangeer the desired grant in 1606.

† At a subsequent meeting, a committee of fifteen persons was appointed to present a petition to the lords of the Privy Council, setting forth that, "stimulated by the success which has attended the voyage to the East Indies by the Dutch, and finding the Dutch are projecting another voyage, for which they have bought ships in England, the merchants having the same regard to the welfare of this kingdom, that the Dutch have to their commonwealth, have resolved upon making a voyage of adventure, and for this purpose entreat her Majesty will grant them letters patent of incorporation, succession, &c., for that the trade being so far remote from hence, cannot be managed but by a joint and united stock."

‡ Thomas Smith, alderman of London, and an active member of the Turkey company, was declared first governor. Among the other names mentioned in the charter are those of George, Earl of Cumberland; Sirs—John Hart, John Spencer, Edward Michelborne, Richard Staper, and ten other citizens and aldermen of London, and two hundred and six individuals of repute, who petitioned for the "royal assent and license to be granted unto them, that they, at their own adventures, costs, and charges, as well as for the honour of this our realm of England, as for the increase of our navigation and advancement of trade of merchandise within our said realms and the dominions of the same, might set forth one or more voyages, with convenient number of ships and pinnaces, by way of traffic and merchandise to the East Indies and countries of Asia and Africa, and to as many of the islands, ports and cities, towns and places thereabouts, as where trade and traffic may by all likelihood be discovered, established or had, divers of which countries and many of the islands, cities, and ports thereof have long since been discovered by others of our subjects, albeit not frequented in trade of merchandise." —(*See* quarto vol. of *Charters granted to the East India Company from* 1601, &c., pp. 4, 5.)

§ Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, vol. i., p. 4.

ruler, but a broken-hearted woman. As yet the commercial and colonial enterprises, commenced under her auspices, had produced no tangible results, so far as territorial aggrandisement was concerned. English merchants had, it is true, even then become "the honourable of the earth;" and English ships had compassed the world, bearing their part manfully in the perilous voyages of the age, in the icy straits of Greenland and Labrador, uplifting the national flag on the shores of Virginia and Newfoundland,* amid the isles of the West Indies,† and the coasts of Brazil, Guiana, and Peru. The straits of Magellan, the broad expanse of the Pacific and Indian Oceans, had mirrored that standard on their waves; and for a brief season it had floated upon the Caspian Sea, and been carried along the banks of the Oxus. In the ports and marts of the Adriatic, the Archipelago, the Levant, and the southern coasts of the Mediterranean, it became a familiar visitant, as it had long been to the traffickers of the Canary Isles, and dwellers on the shores of Guinea and Benin;‡ and lastly, pursuing its way to the isles and continents of the East, it floated hopefully past the Southern Cape of Africa.§ The initiatory measures are ever those which most severely task the weakness and selfishness of human nature: energy, forethought, patience—all these qualities, and many more, are essential ingredients in the characters of those who aspire to lay the foundation of an edifice, which future generations must be left to bring to perfection. In the history of the world, such "master builders" are comparatively few: more commonly, we find men carrying on the structure of national progress with scarcely a thought beyond their individual interests, each one labouring for himself, like the coral insects, who live and die unconscious of the mighty results of their puny labours. Nor is this blindness on the part of the majority to be regretted, while the minority—those on whom the steering of the vessel of the state more or less evidently devolves—afford such constant illustrations of the fallible and unsatisfactory character of human policy. Thus, even in attributing to Elizabeth the pre-eminence in patriotism and statesmanship, in zeal for religious truth and liberty;—the excellence ascribed is at best only comparative, since her administration was deeply stained by the besetting sin of civilised governments—"clever diplomacy," or, in plain words, that constant readiness to take advantage of the weakness or ignorance of other nations, which, among individuals, would be stigmatised as grasping, overreaching, and unjust, even by those who do not profess to judge actions by any loftier standard than the ordinary customs and opinions of society. This admixture of unworthy motives is probably often the cause of the failure of many well-devised schemes: it may account, to some minds, for the career of Elizabeth terminating when the projects she had cherished were on the eve of development; when England was about to enter on a course of annually increasing territorial, commercial, and maritime prosperity, often, however, checked rather than encouraged, by the weakness, selfishness, or prejudice of her rulers.

The original charter bestowed on the East India Company manifested a prudent regard for the prevention of disputes with other European powers, or with previously incorporated English companies, and reserved to the Crown the power of accommodating the Indian trade to the contingencies of foreign politics, or of the trade carried on by its subjects with neighbouring countries. The charter was granted for fifteen years; but if the exclusive privileges thereby conferred should be found disadvantageous to the general interests of the country, it might be revoked upon two years' notice: if, on the

* *North American Possessions*, vol. i., pp. 292–3.

† *West Indian Possessions*, vol. iv. (div. viii.), p. 15. The Rev. James Anderson, in enumerating the exploratory proceedings of England, truly remarks, that "the foundations of her future greatness were laid in the very efforts which had appeared so fruitless."—(*History of the Colonial Church*, vol. i., p. 123.)

‡ Repeated efforts were made for the extension of commerce with Africa. In 1572, a treaty between England and Portugal provided for the better adjustment of the intercourse of their respective subjects with the western shores of Africa; in 1585, the queen granted a patent to Robert, Earl of Leicester, for the management of the trade with Barbary and Morocco: and in 1588, and 1592, some merchants of Exeter and Taunton were empowered to traffic with Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast. In 1597, we find the indefatigable Elizabeth seeking commercial privileges from "the most invincible and puissant king of the Abassens (Abyssinians), the mightie emperor of Ethiopia, the higher and the lower."

§ The Russian company desired, by an overland trade, to connect the imports from Persia with those from the Baltic; the Levant company, which traded with the Mediterranean ports, brought thence, among its assortments, a proportion of Indian produce, the value of which might be affected by the imports brought into England or for the European market, by the direct intercourse, though circuitous routes, of the company.—(Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*)

contrary, the result should prove of public benefit, new letters patent were to be granted at the expiration of the first period, for other fifteen years.* With these needful limitations, great encouragement was given to the association; notwithstanding which, the delay occasioned by the Spanish negotiation had so far damped the enterprise of some of the individual adventurers, that they refused to pay their proffered subscriptions; and the directors, acting under the charter (in which no amount of capital was prescribed, as in the case of modern documents of a similar character), appear to have wanted power to compel them to do so, or else to have deemed its exercise imprudent. The consequence was, the formation of a subordinate association, endued with authority to adventure on their own account, providing the funds, and either bearing the whole loss, or reaping the whole profit of the voyage. A new body of speculators was thus admitted, by whom £68,373 were subscribed, and five vessels† equipped, manned by 500 men, provisioned for twenty months, at a cost of £6,600, and furnished with bullion and various staples and manufactures wherewith to try the Indian market. The command was entrusted to Captain James Lancaster, who received from the queen general letters of introduction addressed to the rulers of the ports to which he might resort. The fleet sailed from Torbay on April 22, 1601, and proceeded direct to Acheen,‡ which they reached on June 5, 1602; a voyage now usually accomplished in ninety days.

Captain Lancaster, on his arrival, delivered the queen's letter to the king or chief of Acheen, who received him with much pomp and courtesy, and accorded permission to establish a factory, with free exports and imports, protection to trade, power of bequeathing property by will, and other privileges of an independent community. But

* Under the charter, the plan which they had already adopted for the management of their affairs, by a committee of twenty-four and a chairman, both to be chosen annually, was confirmed and rendered obligatory. The chief permissive clauses were as follow :—the company were empowered to make bye-laws for the regulation of their business, and of the people in their employment, whose offences they might punish by imprisonment or fine;—to export goods for four voyages duty free, and duties afterwards paid on goods lost at sea to be deducted from dues payable on next shipment;—six months' credit to be allowed on custom dues of half imports, and twelve months for the remainder, with free exportation for thirteen months (by English merchants in English vessels);—liberty to transport Spanish and other foreign silver coin and bullion to the value of £30,000, of which £6,000 was to be coined at the Tower, and the same sum in any subsequent voyage during fifteen years, or the continuance of their privileges, provided that within six months after every voyage except the first, gold and silver equal in value to the exported silver should be duly imported, and entered at the ports of London, Dartmouth and Plymouth, where alone the bullion was to be shipped. The monopoly of the company was confirmed by a clause enacting, that interlopers in the East India trade should be subject to the forfeiture of their ships and cargoes, one-half to go to the Crown, the other to the company, and to suffer imprisonment and such other punishment as might be decreed by the Crown, until they should have signed a bond engaging, under a penalty of £1,000 at the least, "not to sail or traffic into any of the said East Indies" without special license from the company. Another clause affords evidence of the condition of the state by guaranteeing, that "in any time of restraint," six good ships and as many pinnaces, well-armed and manned with 500 English sailors, should be permitted to depart "without any stay or contradiction," unless the urgent necessities of the kingdom, in the event of war, should require their detention, in which case three months' notice would be given to the company.—(*Charters of East India Company*, p. 21.)

† The *Dragon*, *Hector*, *Ascension*, *Susan*, and *Guest*, of 600, 300, 260, 240, and 100 tons respectively, the smallest serving as a victualler; the others are described by Sir William Monson as "four of the best merchant ships in the kingdom." According to the same authority, there were not in England, at this period, more than four vessels of 400 tons each. In 1580, the total number of vessels in the navy was 150, of which only forty belonged to the Crown: a like number was employed in trade with different countries, the average burden being 150 tons. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, it appears that wars with Spain, and losses by capture, had reduced both shipping and seamen one-third. The small English squadron seemed insufficient to enter on a traffic in which the Portuguese had long been in the habit of employing vessels of 1,200 to 1,500 tons burden: in its equipment £39,771 were expended, the cargoes were estimated at £28,742 in bullion, and £6,860 in various goods, including iron and tin wrought and unwrought, lead, eighty pieces of broad-cloth of all colours, eighty pieces of Devonshire kersies, 100 pieces of Norwich stuffs, with various smaller articles, including glass, quicksilver, Muscovy hides, and other things intended as presents for different local functionaries. Factors and supercargoes were nominated, and divided into four classes: all gave security for fidelity and abstinence from private trade in proportionate sums of £500 downwards. Three of the principal factors were allowed £100 each as equipment, and £200 for an "adventure;" and four of each of the other classes smaller sums. The salary of each commander was £100, and £200 on credit for an adventure. If the profits of the voyage yielded two for one, they were to be allowed £500; if three for one, £1,000; if four for one, £1,500; and if five for one, £2,000.—(Bruce's *Annals*, vol. i. p. 129.)

‡ Situate on the N.W. extremity of the large island of Sumatra.

the crop of pepper having failed in the preceding season, a sufficient quantity could not be obtained in that port; and Lancaster, impressed with a conviction of the influence the pecuniary results of the first voyage would have upon the future prosecution of the trade, concerted measures with the commander of a Dutch ship, then at Acheen, for hostilities against their joint foe, the Portuguese.* A carrack of 900 tons was captured, and her cargo, consisting of calicoes and other Indian manufactures, having been divided between the conquering vessels, the Portuguese crew were left in possession of their rifled ship, and the Dutch and English commanders went their way. Lancaster proceeded to Bantam, in Java, where, after delivering his credentials and presents, he completed his lading with spices, and leaving the remaining portion of his merchandise for sale in charge of some agents, sailed homewards, arriving off the Downs in September, 1603.

The company awaited his return with extreme anxiety. They delayed making preparations for a fresh voyage until the result of the first venture should appear, and persisted in this resolve, notwithstanding the representations of the privy council, and even of the queen, who considered their delay an infraction of the terms on which the charter had been granted, and reminded them of the energy and patriotism of the Dutch, who annually formed their equipments and extended their commerce by unceasing exertion. The safe return of the fleet, though at an inopportune moment,† put an end to all incertitude regarding the feasibility of the projected trade; and notwithstanding the difficulties occasioned by the encouragement given by the king to the attempts of private adventurers, in violation of the fifteen years' monopoly promised by the charter,‡ and the enmity of the Portuguese,—to which the tacit and afterwards open opposition of the Dutch was soon added,—the company continued to fit out separate expeditions on the same terms as the first, until the year 1614, when the twelfth was undertaken by a single ship, chiefly for the purpose of carrying out Sir Robert Shirley, who had been sent as ambassador to the English sovereign by Shah Abbas of Persia. The total capital expended in these voyages was £464,284; of which £263,246 had been invested in shipping and stores, £138,127 in bullion, and £62,411 in merchandise. Notwithstanding losses (including a disastrous expedition in 1607, in which both vessels perished), the general result was prosperous, the total profit reaching 138 per cent.; but it must be remembered that a period of six or seven years and upwards elapsed before the proceeds of a voyage could be finally adjusted, and that the receipts included the profits of a shipbuilder and purveyor, or "ship's husband," as well as of a merchant.

In 1613, it was deemed advisable to renounce all separate adventures, and continue the trade on a joint-stock account; this, however, being itself an experiment, was

* What authority Captain Lancaster possessed for this proceeding does not appear, but it is probable that he acted according to permission granted for a similar conjuncture; because the queen, being unable to retaliate the attack of the Armada on her own behalf, by reason of the condition of the treasury, permitted private adventurers to fit out expeditions against the national foe both by sea and land. Such was the squadron of about 100 vessels, 1,500 sailors, and 11,000 soldiers, under Sir F. Drake and Sir John Norris, in 1589, which ravaged and plundered the coasts of Spain and Portugal; and that of several ships under the personal command of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, in the same year, to the Azores or Western Isles, where much booty was obtained. From this period may be dated English "privateering," which soon degenerated into "buccaneering;" and which James I. deserves much praise for his endeavours to check.

† Elizabeth was dead, and London afflicted with the plague; everybody who could leave it, had taken refuge in the country; and in the general disorder it was next to impossible to raise money either by borrowing or by sales of merchandise.

‡ In 1604, King James granted a license to Sir Edward Michelborne and others to trade with China and various East Indian ports. The undertaking was little better than a series of petty piracies, committed upon Chinese junks and small Indian vessels encountered in cruising among the Asiatic islands; but is memorable as marking the appearance of the *interlopers* or *private traders*, whose disputes with the company afterwards ran so high. This very Michelborne had been recommended by the lord-treasurer for employment to the company; but although then petitioning for a charter, the directors rejected the application, and requested that they might "be allowed to sort their business with men of their own qualitye, lest the suspicion of the employment of gentlemen being taken hold of by the generalitie, do dryve a great number of the adventurers to withdraw their contributions."—(Bruce's *Annals of the East India Company*, vol. i., p. 128.) The same determined spirit was evinced on the present occasion; and they succeeded in obtaining another charter in 1609, in which, departing from the cautious policy of his predecessor, the king confirmed the exclusive privileges of the company, not for a limited term of years, but *for ever*, provided however that the trade should prove beneficial to the realm, otherwise the charter was to be annulled, on giving three years' notice.—(*Idem*, p. 157.)

fixed for the term of only four years; during which time, the stipulated capital of £429,000 was to be paid up in equal annual proportions. This union was generally beneficial in its effects, by preventing the international competition resulting from the clashing interests of parties concerned in the different voyages, whether in the Indian market or in England, where the imports were either sold by public auction, or divided among the adventurers in kind, as was best suited to the interests of the leading persons in the separate concerns; and it often happened that private accommodation was studied at the expense of the general good. Besides these inconveniences, it was necessary that some specific line of policy should be adopted, for the general direction of the trade and the control and guidance of individual commanders; since it was evident that the interested and impolitic conduct of one expedition might seriously impede the success of subsequent voyages.

The proceedings of Sir Henry Middleton will illustrate this. Up to 1609, the intercourse of the English had been exclusively with Sumatra, Java, and Amboyna; an attempt was then made to open a trade with woollens, metals, and other British commodities, in barter for spices and drugs, in the ports of the Red Sea, Cambay, and Surat. At Aden and Mocha, they were opposed by the Turks, and Middleton with seventy men made prisoners. They succeeded in effecting their escape, and proceeded to Surat, where a forcible landing was effected, in defiance of the Portuguese, who, however, induced the Moguls to prevent their attempts at commerce. About this time, the envoy (Hawkins) dispatched by the company to seek the imperial confirmation of the trading privileges promised to Mildenhall, threw up his suit in despair, and quitted Agra, after a residence of more than two years. Middleton returned to the Red Sea, and there seized upon several Mogul ships (including one of 1,500 tons, fitted out by the mother of Jehangeer for the use of pilgrims), and obliged them to pay a ransom equivalent to his estimate of the loss occasioned by the frustration of his voyage. After lading two of his vessels with pepper at Bantam, he prepared to return homewards; but his chief ship, the newly-built *Trade's Increase*,* overset in Bantam roads, and was totally destroyed; which so affected her commander, that he soon after died of vexation: the voyage, nevertheless, afforded £121 per cent. profit on the capital employed. The unwarrantable aggression committed in the Red Sea had roused the indignation and alarm of the emperor; but the discretion of Captain Best† was successfully exerted in obtaining permission to trade, through the intervention of the governor of Ahmedabad, whose concessions were ratified by an imperial firman, which arrived in January, 1613, authorising the establishment of English factories at Surat, Ahmedabad, Cambay, and Goga, with protection for life and property, on condition of the payment of a custom duty of three-and-a-half per cent. The Portuguese did not quietly witness the progress of this arrangement, but attacked the two vessels of Cap-

* The company, finding themselves unable to charter vessels of sufficient burden either in England or elsewhere, formed a dockyard at Deptford; and in 1609 launched, in the words of Sir William Monson, "the goodliest and greatest ship [1,100 tons] that was ever framed in this kingdom." King James, with his son (afterwards Charles I.), presided at the launch, named the vessel the *Trade's Increase*, and partook of a sumptuous banquet served on China-ware, then considered a rare mark of eastern magnificence. From this period may be dated the increase of large ships; for the king about this time caused a man-of-war to be constructed of 1,400 tons burden, carrying sixty-four guns, called the *Prince*. From 1609 to 1640 the company continued to exercise the now separate vocations of ship-builders, purveyors, &c. In their yards at Deptford and Blackwall, not only were vessels constructed of 700, 800, 900, and in one instance (the *Royal James*) of 1,200 tons burden, but their masts, yards, anchors, sails, cordage, and entire outfit were prepared; the bread was baked, the meat salted and casked, and the various departments which, by the present improved system, are subdivided into many distinct branches of labour, were then brought to a considerable degree of perfection by the combined efforts of skill and capital possessed by the East India Company. As trade increased, ship-building became a distinct and profitable business; and in 1640 and subsequent years, the company were enabled to hire vessels at £20 to £25 per ton freight, whereas their own cost £31 per ton: thenceforth the commerce was carried on partly by their own and partly by hired ships; and eventually the dockyards were sold for private enterprise.

† Captain Best visited Acheen in 1615, and as the bearer of a royal letter, formed a new treaty with its ruler, and obtained permission to establish a factory at Tikoo or Ticoo (in Sumatra), on condition of paying seven per cent. import and export duty. The monarch, who is represented as very fierce and sanguinary, replied to the communication of the English sovereign with a request, that he would send him one of his countrywomen for a wife, promising to make her eldest son "king of all the pepper countries." No English lady appears to have taken advantage of this offer; and whether from disappointment or avarice, the king of Acheen

tain Best, at Swally, near Surat, with a squadron of four galleons, and a number of smaller vessels without cannon, intended to assist in boarding, for which, however, they found no opportunity, being driven off with considerable loss, after a struggle of more than a month's duration.*

The chief events which marked the four years' existence of the first joint-stock company, was the embassy of Sir Thomas Roe,† who succeeded in obtaining from Jehangeer liberty of trade for his countrymen throughout the empire;‡ the formation of a treaty with the zamorin for the expulsion of the Portuguese from Cochin, which when conquered was to be ceded to the English; and lastly, hostilities with the Dutch, which entailed losses and expense, whereby the total profits of the four voyages were reduced to eighty-seven per cent. This decreased dividend did not, however, prevent a new subscription being favourably received by the public: dukes, earls, and knights, judges and privy counsellors, countesses and ladies, "widows and virgins," doctors of divinity and physic, merchants and tradesmen, are all classified in the list of the 954 individuals, by whom a sum of no less than £1,629,040 (averaging £1,700 for each person) was furnished in 1616 for a new series of ventures, comprising three distinct voyages, to be undertaken in the four following years. Surat and Bantam were to be the chief seats of trade, with factories at Ceylon, Siam, Japan, Maccassar, and Banda. A proposition had previously been made by the Dutch for a union of trade with the English, that common cause might be made against the Spanish-Portuguese, and a monopoly secured to the combined companies. This offer was repeated in 1617, on the plea of the rivalry about to arise from the formation of an East India association in France§, and likewise in Denmark;‖ but

impeded the trade of the Europeans by exactions; and at length, in 1621, expelled both the Dutch and English factors; but the intercourse was subsequently resumed and carried on at intervals.

* From 22nd of October to the 27th November, 1812.—(Wilson's note on Mill's *India*, vol. i., p. 29.)

† The mission of Sir Thomas Roe to Jehangeer has been already narrated (p. 123.) The incidents of his journey from Surat to Ajmeer evidence a comparative state of order in the country traversed: whereas, the adventures which befel Withington, one of the company's agents, who set out from Ahmedabad to Laribunda, the port of Sinde, where three English ships had arrived, afford a far less favourable picture of the condition of the portion of India through which his route of about 500 miles lay. The caravan with which he travelled was attacked in the night of the third stage, and "the next day he met the Mogul's officer returning with 250 heads of the Coolies," whom Mr. Orme sweepingly terms, "a nation of robbers;" and who in the opinion of Jehangeer seem to have merited nothing less than extermination. Many days were spent in crossing the desert, but no molestation occurred until the peopled country was reached, and the caravan separated; after which, Withington and his sixteen companions (four servants, two merchants with five servants, and five drivers to their ten camels) hired an escort for the march to Gundaiwa, which saved them from a band of robbers. Twice afterwards they were attacked, and compelled to purchase immunity from plunder by a small present. They next reached the residence of a Rajpoot chief, who had recently escaped from the hands of the Moguls, by whom he had been blinded. His son agreed to escort Withington to Tatta, a distance of only thirty miles, but fraught with danger; and it would appear, from mere covetousness, acted in a manner quite contrary to the usual fidelity of a Hindoo, and especially of a Rajpoot guide, by treacherously delivering over the travellers to a party of marauders, who strangled the two Hindoo merchants and their five servants; and binding Withington and his attendants, marched them forty miles to a mountain stronghold, whence they were sent to Parker, and thence on to Radenpore: their clothes were stolen from them on the way, and they subsisted by begging, until their wants were relieved by the charity of a Banian, whom Withington had known at Ahmedabad, which place he reached, "after a distressful absence of 111 days."—(Orme's *Origin of the English Establishment, and of the Company's trade at Surat and Broach*, p. 334.)

‡ *Vide* pp. 123–4.

§ The French are said to have made an unsuccessful endeavour to double the Cape of Good Hope as early as 1503: in 1601 a small commercial association was formed in Bretagne. Two vessels were fitted out and dispatched to the East Indies: both were wrecked amid the Maldive Archipelago near Ceylon; and the commander, Pyrard de Laval, did not return home for ten years. In 1615, "The Molucca Company" was formed, with exclusive privileges to trade for twelve years. This new source of competition alarmed the Dutch, and their constant hostility, together with the alleged exactions of the king of Acheen, obliged the French company to relinquish their enterprise. In 1619-'20, a French ship was burnt at Bantam with a cargo valued at 500,000 crowns, "apparently by the Dutch."—(Macpherson's *Commerce*, p. 256.) Merchants of St. Malo and Dieppe sent vessels to India at various times in 1622, and the former had an agent settled at Bantam.

‖ A Danish company was formed at Copenhagen in 1612, and six vessels (three belonging to the king, Christian IV., and three to the company) were sent out under a commander named Boschower, who had formerly been in the service of the Dutch in Ceylon, and had come to Europe with an appeal from the natives against the cruelties of the Spanish-Portuguese. Boschower first applied to the Dutch, and conceiving himself neglected, proceeded to Denmark, where he obtained the desired assistance, and sailed for Ceylon, but died on the voyage. His second in command became involved in disputes with the rajah he came to befriend, and sailed for Tanjore, where, by means of presents and the promise of a yearly tribute of £700, he obtained from

again rejected.* To guard against the antagonism of the Dutch, and likewise to defeat the attempts of English interlopers, who had taken both to trading and privateering on their own account, it was deemed necessary to send out a fleet of nine ships, of which six were of considerable size, under the command of Sir Thomas Dale, who was commissioned by the king, and empowered to seize the ships of illicit traders, and to declare martial law in case of necessity. Hostilities were seldom long intermitted: even while the nations at home were in alliance, their subjects in the Indies were more or less openly at strife, unless indeed their joint influence was needed against the Portuguese, whose powers of aggression and even defence were now, however, almost neutralised by their disorganised condition.

The Lisbon company to whom the exclusive claims of the Spanish crown had been made over, was unable to furnish the stipulated payments; and the king, finding himself impoverished instead of enriched by his Indian possessions, sent an order to Azevedo, the viceroy, to make the government support itself, by selling every office to the highest bidder. This had already been done to a great extent; but the royal order for so disgraceful a proceeding annihilated the few remaining relics of a better system; and the Moors and Hindoos, instead of humbly suing these former lords of the Indian seas for a passport (which, even when obtained, often failed to secure their vessels against the rapacity of Portuguese cruisers), now in turn became the assailants, thus materially aiding the aggressive policy of the Dutch.

The English did not often come in contact with the Portuguese, their head-quarters being at Surat; but about the time of their establishment in that place, the Dutch attempted to trade with the Malabar coasts, and in 1603, made an ineffectual endeavour to dislodge the Portuguese from Mozambique and Goa; opened a communication with Ceylon; succeeded in expelling them from the islands of Amboyna and Tidore, and by degrees engrossed the whole trade of the Spice Islands; their large equipments and considerable proportion of military force, under able commanders, enabling them to conquer the Moluccas and Bandas.† The reinforcements of the Portuguese grew scanty and insufficient; their Spanish ruler finding full employment for his forces in maintaining the struggle in the Low Countries, and, at the same time, guarding his dominions in the West Indies and South America; the Dutch were therefore enabled by degrees to fix factories at Pulicat, Masulipatam, and Negapatam, on the Coromandel coast; in Ceylon; at Cranganore, Cananore, and Cochin, in Malabar; and thence pushed their commercial agencies to Bussora and the shores of the Persian Gulf. The Amsterdam company also formed establishments in Sumatra and Java.

The twelve years' truce, entered upon between Spain and Holland in 1609, checked open hostility in the Indies; but the Dutch covertly continued their opposition; and in 1611, succeeded in opening a trade with the islands of Japan, despite the exclusive pretensions of the Spanish-Portuguese. The growing naval strength of England justly gave them more uneasiness than the decaying power of a nation whose yoke they had thrown off; and they already found the English, competitors for the spice trade, of

the rajah a cession of territory, on which the settlement of Tranquebar and the fortress of Dansburg were established. By justice and kindness the Danes acquired the goodwill of the natives: their trade extended to the Moluccas and China; they had factories at Bantam and on the Malabar coast; gained possession of the Nicobar islands in the Bay of Bengal (of which they could make nothing); and built a neat town called Serampore, fifteen miles above Calcutta, on the Hooghly river. All these stations were under the direction of Tanjore; and matters went on favourably until the rajah became involved in a long and sanguinary war, which prevented the Danes from procuring cargoes with any certainty, and proved an obstacle to their commerce which all their economy and perseverance never enabled them to surmount.—(Anderson's *Commerce.*)

* An attempt was likewise made for the establishment of a Scottish East India Company, and a royal patent granted in 1618 to Sir James Cunningham, but withdrawn in consequence of the interference of the London company, who made compensation for the expenses incurred. The king, in return for this concession, and with a view of sustaining the Russian company, which had long been in a precarious state, prevailed on the East India Company to unite with them in carrying on a joint trade, each party advancing £30,000 per annum during the continuance of their respective charters; but the experiment failing after a trial of two seasons, the connexion was dissolved at the termination of the year 1619; the loss of the East India Company being estimated at £40,000—(Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, p. 16.)

† Their traffic seems from the first to have been always lucrative, though fluctuating. The dividends to the shareholders *in each year*, from 1604 to 1613 inclusive, were at the rate of 125, 55, 75, 40, 20, 25, 50, and 37 per cent. Numerous strong squadrons were equipped: in 1613–'14, no less than twenty-seven ships were dispatched to India.—(*Voyages undertaken by Dutch East India Company*. published in London, 1703.)

which a complete monopoly was their especial desire. The islands of Polaroon and Rosengin* were fortified by the English, with the permission of the natives, about the year 1617. This the Dutch resented, on the ground that they were already possessed of authority over the whole of the Bandas by reason of their occupation of the more important islands in the group. They attacked Polaroon and were driven off, but seized two English ships, and declared their intention of retaining them until the English should consent to surrender all rights and claims on Polaroon and the Spice Islands. Considering the general, though unjust, ideas then entertained regarding the rights obtained in newly-discovered countries by priority of occupancy, without regard to the will of the natives, the Dutch had some plausible pretext for maintaining their claims to the exclusive advantage of trade with the Moluccas, as obtained by conquest from the Spanish-Portuguese; but with regard to the settlement in Java, they could not urge that plea, since they had at first welcomed the arrival and alliance of the English, and made no opposition to their establishment in that island, now sanctioned by time. Their own notions of the case are set forth in a memorial addressed to King James in 1618, complaining of the encroachments of his subjects, and praying him to restrain their further aggressions: the London company, on their part, vindicated their conduct, and enumerated a long series of losses and injuries entailed upon them by the jealous enmity of the Dutch. The governments of the respective companies resolved to make an arrangement for the regulation of the East India trade; and after repeated conferences, a treaty was signed in London, in 1619, by which amnesty for all past excesses was decreed, and a mutual restitution of ships and property. The pepper trade at Java was to be equally divided. The English were to have a free trade at Pulicat on the Coromandel coast, on paying half the expenses of the garrison, and one-third of the trade of the Moluccas and Bandas, bearing an equal proportion of the garrison expenses; joint exertions to be made for the reduction of the customs and duties claimed by the native governments at different ports; the trade of both the contracting parties to be free to the extent of the specified funds respectively employed; each company to furnish ten ships, not to be used in the European trade, but only for mutual defence, and in carrying goods from one port of India to another. Finally, a Council of Defence, composed of four members on either side, who were to preside each alternate month, was established for the local superintendence of the treaty, which was to remain in force twenty years.

Some months before these arrangements were concluded, the fleet under Sir Thomas Dale combined with the king of Bantam† for the expulsion of the Dutch from Jaccatra; which being accomplished, the place was left in the possession of its native owners; but shortly afterwards again seized from the Javanese by their former conquerors, who thereupon laid the foundation of a regular fortified city, on which was bestowed the ancient name of Holland, "Batavia," and which became, and still remains, the seat of their government and the centre of their trade.

The scheme of making the two companies politically equal, and commercially unequal, was soon found to be impracticable; and before the *Council of Defence* had been well established in Jaccatra, the domineering conduct of the Dutch clearly proved their determination to take an unjust advantage of their superior capital and fleet. Considerable exertions were, however, made by the English company, and ten large ships sent out, with £62,490 in money, and £28,508 in goods. Nine of these vessels were detained in the East Indies; but one returned home freighted with a cargo which realised £108,887; and had the Dutch acted up to the spirit or letter of their agreement, the returns would have been immense. Instead of this, they gradually laid aside the flimsy veil which they had at first cast over their intentions, and at length ceased to attempt disguising their continued determination to monopolise the spice-trade. In framing the treaty, no distinction had been made between past and future expenses: the English intended only to bind themselves for the future; the Dutch demanded from them a

* Two small islands in the Banda archipelago, chiefly producing nutmegs and other spices.

† *Bantam*, which attracted so much attention in the early periods of European intercourse with the East, is situated near the north-west point of Java (lat. 5° 52′; long. 106° 2′), at the bottom of a large bay, between the branches of a shallow river. A factory, it will be remembered, had been formed there by the English, under Captain Lancaster, in 1602, and this had been burned by the Dutch, who had also attacked the palace of the king of Bantam, with whom they were constantly at variance.

share of the past, and carried themselves in so overbearing a manner, that the English commissioners soon reported the worse than uselessness of maintaining a connexion which involved the company in a heavy outlay, without adequate remuneration. In the circle of which the ancient city of Surat* was the centre, affairs were proceeding more prosperously. A treaty of trade and friendship had been concluded with Persia, in 1620, on very advantageous terms for the English, to whom permission had been accorded to build a fort at Jask; but an expedition sent there in the following year found the port blockaded by a Portuguese fleet, consisting of five large and fifteen small vessels. The English having but two ships, did not attempt to cope with so disproportionate a force, but sailed back to Surat, where, being joined by two other vessels, they returned to Jask, and succeeded in forcing an entrance into the harbour. The Portuguese retired to Ormuz,† and after refitting, made a desperate attack upon the English, who gained a decisive victory over a much superior force. This event produced a deep impression on the minds of the Persians, who urged the victors to unite with them for the expulsion of the Portuguese from the island of Ormuz; and, although it was against the royal instructions to attack the subjects of the king of Spain, the previous provocation and the urgent solicitation of the Shah was supposed to justify a further breach of the peace. A joint assault was made, and the town and castle captured in 1622, the English having the chief conduct of affairs, and receiving in return a proportion of the plunder, and a grant of the moiety of the customs at the port of Gombroon,‡ which was regularly paid till about 1680, when the company, being unable to keep the gulf free from pirates, the Persian monarch withheld their dues. Notwithstanding the favourable result of this enterprise, the four representatives of the English East India Company at Jaccatra, who bore the title of "President and Council," blamed the co-operation with the Persians as a rash and ill-advised measure, because the pepper§ investment had been lost, from the company's vessels not arriving at Acheen as expected; beside which the general interest had suffered, from the shipping intended for the Java and Sumatra trade being detained by the factors at Sumatra.‖ Probably the English members of the Council of Defence felt the necessity for the concentration of their force as a guard against the Dutch; but for this the whole was far too little. The expiration of the truce between Spain and Holland, in 1621, gave the signal for the

* *Surat*, already repeatedly mentioned in connection with the Moguls, Portuguese, and Mahrattas, is the present capital of Guzerat, situated on the bank of the Taptee river, about twenty miles above its junction with the sea, in 21° 11′ N. lat., 73° 7′ E. long. On the establishment of European intercourse with India, different nations resorted thither, as it had long been a commercial emporium, and was deemed "one of the gates of Mecca," from the number of pilgrims who embarked there on their way to visit the tomb of Mohammed. The Dutch did not visit Surat until 1617, and then only by accident, being shipwrecked off the coast, and kindly treated by the English, who aided them in disposing of their cargoes at Surat, by which means they learned the importance of this ancient emporium, of which they were not slow to take advantage.

† *Ormuz*, six miles long by four miles broad, is situated at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, in 27° 12′ N., within seven miles of the main land. When first visited by the Portuguese, under Albuquerque, in 1508, it was a place of considerable trade; there were then 30,000 men on the island, and in the harbour 400 vessels, sixty of them of large size, and having 2,500 men on board. The place was captured by the Portuguese in 1514, and it remained in their possession for 120 years, during which time the fortifications were increased, noble mansions built, and the town advanced in wealth and splendour, until it grew to be regarded as the richest spot in the world. The share of the customs granted to the English at Gombroon, soon resulted in the transfer of the trade to that port; and in the hands of the Persians, Ormuz degenerated into a heap of ruins.

‡ *Gombroon* lies nearly opposite to Ormuz, in 27° 10′ N. lat., 54° 45′ E. long., on the mainland of Persia. The English were permitted to establish a factory here in 1613, and the Dutch in 1620. After the expulsion of the Portuguese from Ormuz, many Persian merchants removed to Gombroon, which was then strongly fortified, and adorned with fine structures. When the interests of the E. I. Cy. became concentrated on the continent of India, their distant factories were neglected. The French seized Gombroon in 1759: it was reoccupied by the English, but eventually abandoned from its unhealthiness.

§ The stress laid on pepper and other spices, as primary articles in the East India trade, can only be explained by remembering, that in those days (while homœopathy was unknown) both cordials and viands were flavoured to a degree which, when the cost of spices diminished, proved itself a fashion rather than a want, by falling into comparative disuse.

‖ A share of the prize-money taken at Ormuz and elsewhere was demanded by the king, in right of the Crown, and by the Duke of Buckingham, as Lord High Admiral. The company admitted the former, but denied the latter claim, upon which the duke stopped at Tilbury the seven out-going ships for the season, 1823-'4, and obtained £10,000 as a compromise. The same sum was required by the king, but there is no direct evidence that he ever received it. The total prize-money was stated at 240,000 rials, or £100,000.—(Bruce's *Annals* vol. i., p. 242.)

renewal of undisguised hostility on the part of the Dutch towards the settlements of the Spanish-Portuguese; and the large armaments their lucrative trade enabled them to equip, rendered them strong enough to brave the vengeance both of their ancient foes and of their allies the English. Upon the plea that there had been a prior agreement with the natives of the Bandas, who had placed themselves under the sovereignty of the States-General, the Dutch governor, Van Coens, proceeded to the islands of Polaroon, Rosengin, and Lantore, and took possession of the factories, treating the few Englishmen he found there with the most barbarous cruelty, and executing great numbers of the natives on pretence of a conspiracy. The successor of Van Coens, Peter Carpentier, openly asserted the right of sovereignty over the countries in which the Dutch trade was situated, and declared that the English had only a title by the treaty as subordinate traders. The English factory at Bantam had been removed to Batavia on the faith of the Dutch performance of their treaty; but they soon found their mistake, and desired to return to Bantam, where, by favour of the king, their old ally, they doubted not that ten ships of 800 tons might be annually filled with pepper, provided the Javanese were allowed to bring it in without obstruction;* but to this measure the Dutch would not consent, lest the progress of their newly-erected and neighbouring sovereignty at Batavia should be thereby impeded. The English had no force wherewith to oppose the tyranny of their pretended coadjutors, but real foes; and at length tired of remonstrance, urged the company to use every exertion to procure from the king the annulment of a treaty, whose ambiguity enabled the stronger party at will to oppress the weaker. The commercial efforts of the factors stationed at Amboyna† had proved equally unsatisfactory; they were therefore ordered by the English president and council to leave the station with their property and come to Batavia.‡ It was at this crisis that those barbarous proceedings were instituted which rendered the conduct of the Dutch at Amboyna a synonyme for cruelty.

The local government, on the plea of the formation of a plot for its expulsion, seized ten Javanese about the middle of February, 1623, and by subjecting them to excessive and repeated torture, extorted a declaration that they had been parties in a conspiracy which the English agent (Captain Towerson), with thirteen of his countrymen and one Portuguese sailor, had formed to seize on the castle of Amboyna, and exterminate the Dutch. That such a conspiracy should have been formed against an overpowering force, by a few trading agents who had no ambitious motives to prompt so daring an attempt, is highly improbable;§ but the savage persecution of the Dutch governor can hardly be accounted for, except by supposing that he and his associates were hurried on by a desire to revenge a supposed wrong; or else, that having resolved to be rid of their troublesome competitors, they first brought forward an accusation invented for the purpose, and then wrung from them,

* A frequent complaint urged against the Dutch, in the *Annals of the E. I. Cy.* is, that they sought "to bear down the merchants of every other country by raising the price, so as to render the trade unproductive to all other nations."—(Bruce, vol. i., p. 231.) But if the Dutch company, by good management of their funds, could afford to purchase pepper from the natives at so high a price as to "bear down" all competition, the means employed would seem perfectly legitimate.

† Amboyna, to the south of Ceram, is the largest of the Clove Islands: Fort Victoria, the capital, lies in 3° 42′ S. lat., 128° 11′ E. long. The Portuguese discovered this island in 1511, and occupied it in 1564, in consequence of its valuable spices; but were driven out by the Dutch in 1607, who, as also the English, formed factories here; and by the treaty of 1619, both nations were to occupy Amboyna in common.

‡ The factories at Siam and Potania were withdrawn about the same time, also those in Japan, upon which island the Dutch had been driven during a storm in 1600: and through the influence subsequently acquired by their English pilot, "old William Adams," over the mind of the emperor, had obtained, in 1609, permission to send two ships annually to the port of Firando. Adams, on learning the establishment of his countrymen at Bantam (which the Dutch strove to conceal from him), sent a letter to advise their opening intercourse with Japan. In June, 1613, the *Clove*, Captain Saris, with a letter from King James I., and presents in charge of a superintendent or factor, arrived. The king or governor of Firando sent Captain Saris to Jedo, the capital, where he was well received; a friendly answer returned to the royal letter, and a very liberal charter of privileges granted to the E. I. Cy. The Dutch soon instituted hostilities against the factory; plundered the ships, wounded and killed several of the English, and compelled the rest to flee for their lives, which would probably have been sacrificed as at Amboyna, but for the interference of the Japanese, who, for several years after their departure, guarded the deserted factories from plunder, in constant expectation of their return.

§ There were four strong forts, garrisoned by about 200 Dutchmen, with some 300 or 400 native troops; the English, in all, numbered about twenty men, including a surgeon and tailor, who were among the sufferers.

by intolerable anguish, a confession of guilt, the falsity of which none knew better than those who extorted it. The motives remain a mystery—as those of great public crimes often do; the cause assigned being insufficient to account for the fiend-like cruelty with which Captain Towerson and his miserable companions were by turn subjected (as the natives had previously been) to the agonies which, by the aid of those two powerful agents, fire and water, the wicked invention and pitiless will of man can inflict upon his fellow.* By the Dutch code, as by the codes of all the other continental nations of Europe, evidence obtained by torture afforded sufficient ground for legal condemnation: the English, it was alleged, were living under Dutch sovereignty, established before their arrival in the island; and on these grounds, the whole of the accused were condemned to death, and with four exceptions, beheaded on the 27th of the same month in which they were first seized—all of them protesting, with their latest breath, their entire innocence of the crime with which they were charged.† Besides the above-named persons who were reprieved, four others remained in Amboyna, whose absence at the time of the alleged conspiracy had procured their safety. The survivors were sent for by the English president and council to Batavia, so soon as the terrible end of their companions was known there, and gladly made their escape, leaving their oppressors to seize the factories and stores, and to commit all manner of cruelties on the wretched Javanese, who were shipped off in large numbers, as slaves, to different islands. The English sufferers were dispatched to London, where they arrived in August, 1624. Their representations of the horrible outrage committed in Amboyna, seconded by the protestations of innocence, written in a Bible and other books belonging to their unhappy countrymen, were sedulously circulated, and the effect heightened by the exhibition of a picture, in which the victims were represented upon the rack, writhing in agony. The press teemed with publications, enlarging upon the same subject; and the tide of popular feeling rose so high, that in default of ability to reach the true criminals, it had well nigh found vent on the heads of the unoffending Dutch residents in London, who urgently appealed to the Privy Council for protection, and complained of the conduct of the East India directors, whose proceedings, though probably not uninfluenced by views of miscalled policy, would yet be very excusable, when viewed on the ground of indignation at the unjust and cruel sufferings inflicted on their servants.

A commission of inquiry was instituted by the king; application made to the Dutch government for signal reparation; and an order issued for intercepting and detaining the Dutch East India fleets, till an accommodation should be arranged. The evasive answer of the States was evidently framed with a view of gaining time to let the fierce but short-lived tumult of popular rage pass away, before coming to any definite arrangement. The only concession offered, deemed worth accepting, was permission for the English to retire from the Dutch settlements without paying any duties; and even this was accompanied by an unqualified assumption of the sovereign and exclusive rights of the Dutch over the Moluccas, Bandas, and Amboyna,—the very point so long contested.

King James manifested considerable energy on this occasion; but his foreign and domestic policy had acquired a reputation for weakness and vacillation, which probably militated against the success of the measures instituted in the last few months of his reign, which terminated in March, 1625. His ill-fated son succeeded to a regal inheritance heavily burdened with debt, war, and faction; which required, at least humanly speaking, the governance of one gifted with a powerful and unprejudiced intellect, and judgment wherewith to guide the helm of state—by that best rudder, the power of distinguishing the cry of faction from the desire of a nation. Had Charles I. been thus endowed, even a turbulent parliament could not have driven him to alienate the affections of his subjects by the expedients (irregular loans and ship-money) to which he had recourse. As it was, the failing power of the Crown diminished the hope of redress entertained by the company, and subjected them to danger from the

* These proceedings are narrated at length in Hall's *Cruelties of the Dutch in the East Indies*, 8vo., London, 1712: they were continued during several days, including a Sunday, and are too horrible for quotation: it must, therefore, suffice to say, that each victim was placed on the rack, and compelled to inhale water at every attempt to draw breath, until his body became inflated and he swooned, was recovered, and the same horrible process repeated. The fire was applied by means of lighted candles, held to the elbows and other sensitive parts of the body, and relit when extinguished by the heavy sweat of agony.—(Pp. 18 to 32.)

† This fact rests on Dutch authority.

feeling against monopolies, which was evidently gaining ground in the House of Commons, stimulated by the complaints of the private traders, or interlopers, who pleaded the severities exercised against them in the Indian seas. The charter of the company was the gift of the Crown, from which they had recently received a new and important prerogative; namely—authority to punish their subjects abroad by common and martial law:* nor does the sanction of parliament appear to have been deemed necessary for the delegation of so important a trust. But a change was rapidly taking place; and the company, alarmed for the continuance of their monopoly, paid homage to the rising sun, by presenting a memorial to the Commons, in which they represented the national importance of a traffic employing shipping of 10,000 tons burden, and 2,500 men; and urged that the Dutch should be pressed to make compensation for past injuries, and discontinue their oppressive conduct in monopolising the spice-trade, which was felt the more sensibly by the English from the difficulty they experienced in opening a trade for woven goods on the coast of Coromandel. The precise condition of their finances at this period is not recorded; but it was certainly far from being a prosperous one:† nor could they foresee the issue of the efforts which their expulsion from the Indian islands compelled them to direct to the formation of settlements on the great peninsula itself. In the interim, many difficulties were to be encountered. The company's Persian trade languished under the caprice and extortions of local magistrates. Their agents, soon after the catastrophe at Amboyna, had quitted Java and retired to Lagundy, in the Straits of Sunda. In less than a year, the extreme unhealthiness of the island rendered them anxious to abandon it; but of 250 men, 130 were sick, and they had not a crew sufficient to navigate a ship to any of the English factories. In this emergency the Dutch assisted them, by aiding their return to Batavia; and through the steady friendship of the *Pangran*, or king of Bantam, they obtained the re-establishment of their factory there, in 1629, without opposition on the part of the Dutch, who were then actively employed in defending Batavia against the *Materam*, or emperor of Java, who unsuccessfully besieged it with 80,000 men.

In 1628–'9, the station at Armegaun, on the Coromandel coast (established on a piece of ground purchased from the *Naig*, or local chief, shortly before) was fortified; twelve pieces of cannon being mounted round the factory, with a guard of twenty-three factors and soldiers. The centre of the company's trade was the presidency of Surat, where, however, they had to sustain the commercial rivalry of the Dutch, whose larger capital, and, according to Mill, more economical management,‡ enabled them to outbid the English, both in purchase and sale. The Spanish-Portuguese made an effort to retain their vanishing power; and in 1630, the viceroy of Goa having received a reinforcement from Europe of nine ships and 2,000 soldiers, projected the recovery of Ormuz, and made unsuccessful overtures to the Mogul governor of Surat to obtain the exclusive trade. He then attacked five English vessels as they entered the port of Swally; but after a short, though indecisive

* Captain Hamilton asserts, that before this time (1624), the servants of the company, having no power to inflict capital punishment by the legal mode of hanging, except for piracy, had recourse to whipping or starvation for the same end. It is very possible, that in the general license and disorder attendant on the formation, whether of factories or colonies, by men suddenly removed beyond the pale of conventional propriety, and unguided by a deeply-rooted principle of duty, that many violent deeds were committed in the profaned name of justice. Nevertheless, so serious and sweeping a charge as the above, requires some stronger confirmation than any adduced by Mr. Hamilton, who did not enter India until sixty years after the period of which he writes so freely, and who, by his own admission, has recorded much hearsay information, through the medium of what he describes as "a weak and treacherous memory." The date of the facts are in some measure a criterion how far they may be relied on. His description of scenes, in which he had been an actor, bear the stamp of truthfulness: though, so far as the company is concerned, they are often tinctured with prejudice; for the writer was himself an "interloper."—(Vide *New Account of the East Indies*, or "Observations and Remarks of Captain Hamilton, made from the year 1688 to 1723.")

† In 1627, Sir Robert Shirley, before mentioned as Persian ambassador, and one of the two brothers who so strangely ingratiated themselves with Shah Abbas, applied to the king and council to order the E. I. Cy. to pay him £2,000 as compensation for his exertions and services in procuring them a trade with Persia. The directors denied the alleged service, and moreover stated, that having "been obliged to contract so large a debt as £200,000, their paramount duty was, in the first instance, to liquidate this debt, that they might raise the price of the stock, which had sunk so low as eighty per cent.—(Bruce, vol. i., p. 272.)

‡ Mill's *History of British India*, edited by Professor Horace Hayman Wilson, vol. i., p. 64.

action, followed by several minor skirmishes, and one great effort to destroy their fleet by fire, the English gained the victory, and succeeded in landing their cargoes.

In 1631–'2, a subscription, amounting to £420,700, was opened for a third joint-stock fund. Its results have not been very accurately chronicled;* neither if they had would they afford matter of sufficient interest to occupy space already so limited, that the author is frequently compelled to crowd into a note that which he would otherwise have gladly woven into the text.

The Dutch were now the paramount maritime power in India: they annually sent from Holland thirty-four to forty-one ships, receiving in return from twenty-five to thirty-four rich cargoes;† and the occasional squadrons still dispatched by the Spanish-Portuguese, opposed their formidable enemy with even less success than did the brave sailors who manned the "ventures" of English, French, and Danish companies.

The revolution in Portugal, in 1640, by which, in less than a week, that kingdom regained its independence, had not its expected effect in restoring the national influence in India. The Dutch continued their conquering course; and having previously expelled the Portuguese from the Spice Islands, and Formosa in the China Seas, drove them from Malacca in 1640, Japan in 1641, and terminated a long and severe struggle by expelling them from Ceylon in 1656. The fortified stations on the Malabar coast—Cochin, Cananore, Cranganore, Coulan, and others of minor importance, likewise changed hands;‡ but the Portuguese, on their side, had wherewith to balance, at least in part, the success of their opponents in the East Indies, by their own acquisitions in South America (the Brazils); and in 1661, a treaty was formed between Portugal and Holland, on the basis of the *Uti posseditis*—each party agreeing to be content with their reciprocal losses and advantages.

The English company, meanwhile, found it difficult to maintain even a feeble and interrupted trade; and the more so from the unfaithful conduct of their own agents at Surat.§ In 1634, permission was granted by the emperor for trade with the province of Bengal, with the restriction that the English ships were to resort only to the port of Piplee, in Orissa; and in the following year, a friendly convention was entered into with the Portuguese. This latter arrangement becoming known in England, excited hopes of extraordinary profit, and induced a number of gentlemen, headed by Sir William Courten, to form a new association for trade with India. By the intervention of Endymion Porter, a gentleman of the bed-chamber, Charles I. was prevailed upon to sanction, and even to

* The effect of the company's proceedings had been for several years a subject of parliamentary discussion; and some valuable statistics regarding their early condition have come down to us in the form of documents laid before the House. It appears that from 1600 to 1621 inclusive, 86 ships were sent to India, of which 36 returned with cargoes, 9 were lost, 3 worn out in trading from port to port, 11 captured by the Dutch, and 25 accounted for as engaged in India or on their voyage home. During this time, the exports had amounted to £613,681 in bullion, and £319,211 in woollens, lead, iron, tin, and other wares, making a total of £932,892, or about £45,000 per annum: the imports realised £2,004,600, the cost of lading having been £375,288. Another paper, drawn up by order of the Commons in 1625, states, that between March, 1620, and March, 1623, 26 ships were equipped, and furnished with bullion to the amount of £205,710, and goods worth £58,806; total, £264,516. The imports during the same time, including raw silk from China and Persia, and a sum of £80,000 paid by the Dutch in accordance with the treaty of 1619, realised £1,255,444, or on an average, £313,861 per annum, and would have been much greater but for the hostilities with the Dutch. The principal objections urged on public grounds against the company were, that the exportation of specie impoverished the realm, and that the navigation of the southern seas was destructive both to the mariners and vessels employed. In reply to these charges it was urged, that the company exported not English, but foreign coin; and that the quantity had always fallen far short of the sum authorised by the charter, and was expected to decrease yearly: with regard to the injurious results alleged to be produced on the English marine by the East India trade, the best answer was its greatly increased inefficiency.—(Monson's *Naval Tracts* in Churchill's *Voyages*—Bruce and Macpherson.) The *pro's* and *con's* of the question as urged by the political economists of that day are very curious. What would have been their surprise, could they have been forewarned of the wealth England was to receive from India; or been told that the country whose currency could, they considered, ill bear a yearly drain of specie to the amount of £30,000, would, eventually, be found capable of exporting many millions sterling.

† Macpherson's *Commerce with India*, p. 49.

‡ "When will you return to India?" said a Dutch to a Portuguese officer, who was embarking for Europe after the surrender of a fortress to his antagonist.—"*When your crimes are greater than ours*," was the instructive reply.—(*Memoirs of India*, by R. G. Wallace: London, 1824, p. 198.)

§ Instead of attending to the company's affairs, the president and council carried on a private trade, until, quarrelling among themselves, they betrayed one another, and were obliged to solicit the leniency of their far-distant employers.—(Bruce, i., 325.)

accept a share in the proposed adventure. The preamble to the license, which was granted for a term of five years, alleges that the East India Company had neglected to establish fortified factories or seats of trade, to which the king's subjects could resort with safety; that they had broken the conditions on which their charter had been granted; and had generally accomplished nothing for the good of the nation, in proportion to the great privileges they had enjoyed, or even to the funds of which they had disposed. These allegations, were they true, could not justify the breach of faith now committed: had the monopoly been clearly proved injurious to the nation, nothing beyond the stipulated three years' notice was necessary to its legal abrogation. The company remonstrated and petitioned without success: and one Captain Weddel, who had been previously engaged in their service, proceeded to the East Indies with six ships, and there occasioned the agents of his former employers great inconvenience, both by interfering with their trade, and by drawing upon them the hostility of the natives, who naturally suspected actual collusion, hid beneath the apparent rivalry of men of the same nation. In 1637–'8, several of Courten's ships returned with cargoes, which produced an ample profit to the association; and a new license was conceded, continuing their privileges for five years. The old company, who had never ceased complaining and petitioning against the Dutch, had now a second source of anxiety, to which a third was soon added; for the king, in his distress for funds wherewith to carry on the Scottish war, compelled them to make over to him, on credit, the whole of the pepper they had in store, and then disposed of it at a reduced price for ready money.* Lord Cottington and others became sureties for the king, who, when they were pressed for its repayment, exerted himself for their relief and the liquidation of the debt; but his power soon ceased; and what (if any) portion of their claim the company eventually recovered, is not known. It was while matters were in their worst state of distress and embarrassment at home, that the first English stations destined to prove of permanent importance in India were formed.† The position of Armegaun had been found inconvenient for providing the "piece-goods"‡ which constituted the principal item of exportation from the Coromandel coast; the permission of Sree Ranga Raya, the rajah of Chandragiri,§ granted in 1640, for the establishment of a settlement at Madras (sixty-six miles south of Armegaun) was therefore eagerly embraced, and the erection of *Fort St. George* immediately commenced by the chief local agent, Mr. Day. The court, or executive committee in London, deemed the enterprise hazardous, and inclined to its abandonment; but by the advice of the president and council of Surat, the defences were continued, though on a very limited scale. Madras remained subordinate to the distant station of Bantam until 1653; but was then raised to a presidency. Lest its importance should be over-rated, it may be well to add, that the garrison of the fort at this latter period amounted only to twenty-six English soldiers, and, in 1654–'5, was ordered to be diminished to a guard of ten, and the civil establishment to two factors.

The settlement of a trading post at Hooghly forms another early and important link in the chain of circumstances, that from slender beginnings, under a policy of the most irregular and uncertain character, has terminated in the formation of that extraordinary power, called by some

* The king bought 607,522 bags of pepper, at 2*s.* 1*d.* per lb.=£63,283 11*s.* 6*d.*: and sold it at 1*s.* 8*d.* = £50,626 17*s.* 1*d.*—(Bruce, vol. i., p. 371.)

† The affairs of the third joint-stock were wound up in 1640, and the original capital divided, with a profit, in eleven years, of only thirty-five per cent—little more than three per cent. per annum. In the following year, £67,500 were subscribed for a single voyage; and in 1643, about £105,000 were raised for a fourth joint-stock. The attempts made, with this small sum, were very unfortunate: one ship, valued at £35,000, was wrecked; and another, with a cargo worth £20,000, was carried into Bristol by her commander (Captain Macknel), and delivered over for the king's use, during the civil war in which the nation was then involved. The company borrowed money both at home and abroad; and, in 1646, their debts, in England, amounted to £122,000. Their effects are stated as follows:—"Quick stock at Surat, £83,600; at Bantam, £60,731; in shipping and stores, £31,180; and customs at Gombroon, estimated at £5,000: forming a total of £180,511."—(Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, vol. i., p. 27.)

‡ The general term applied to the muslins and wove-goods of India and China.

§ A descendant of Venkatadri, brother of the famous Rama Rajah, the last sovereign of Beejanuggur (*see* p. 97.) In compliment to the naik, or local governor, who first invited the English to change their settlement, the new station was named after his father, Chenna-patam, and is still so called by the natives, though Europeans use an abbreviation of its previous designation—Madras-patam. The territory granted extended five miles along-shore and one mile inland.—(Hamilton's *Gazetteer*, and Orme's *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*, p. 229.)

an empire of chance, but really an empire of Providence. Jehanara, the favourite daughter of Shah Jehan, in retiring one night from the imperial presence to her own apartments, set her dress on fire in passing one of the lamps which lit the corridor, and fearful of calling for assistance while the male guards of the palace were within hearing, rushed into the harem all on fire, and was fearfully burned before the flames could be extinguished. The most famous physicians were summoned from different parts of the empire, and the surgeons of the English East-Indiamen having obtained considerable repute for cures performed on some Mogul nobles, an express was sent to Surat for one of them. Mr. Gabriel Boughton was selected for the important office, and having been instrumental in aiding the recovery of the princess, was desired by Shah Jehan to name his reward. With rare disinterestedness, Boughton asked exclusively for benefits to the company he served; and in return for this and subsequent attendance on the household of the emperor and Prince Shuja, the governor of Bengal, he obtained a licence for unlimited trade throughout the empire, with freedom from custom-dues in all places except Surat, and permission to erect factories, which was availed of by their establishment at several places, especially Hooghly, from whence the Portuguese had been expelled in 1633.* Authorities agree with regard to the leading facts of the above occurrences, with one important exception—the date, which is variously stated as 1636,† 1640,‡ and 1651–'2. Bruce, the careful annalist of the E. I. Cy., fixes the latter period for the formation of the Hooghly factory, but his notice of Boughton is scanty and unsatisfactory, probably from the character of the data on which it was founded; for the "cautious mercantile silence"§ observed by the company extended to their records; and while striving to make the most of their claims upon the country at large, and to represent at its highest value the "dead stock" acquired in India, in the shape of trading licences, forts, factories, &c., they were naturally by no means anxious to set forth the easy terms on which some of their most important privileges had been obtained. During the concluding years of the reign of Charles I., they maintained a struggling and fitful commerce. In 1647–'8, when the king was a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, and the power of the parliament supreme, a new subscription was set on foot, and strenuous endeavours made to induce members of the legislature to subscribe, in the hope that the English, like the Dutch company, might ensure the protection of the state, through the influence of its chief counsellors. This project seems to have failed; and in 1649–'50, attempts to form another joint-stock were renewed, and carried out by means of a junction with Courten's association, now designated the "Assada Merchants," in consequence of their having formed a settlement on an island called by that name, near Madagascar.

The establishment of the Commonwealth changed the direction, but not the character of the solicitations of the company. They now appealed to Cromwell and his Council for redress from the Dutch, and the renewal of their charter. The first claim met with immediate attention, and formed a leading feature in the national grievances urged against Holland. The famous Navigation Act, prohibiting the importation of any foreign commodities, except in English vessels, or those of the countries wherein they were produced, though, under the peculiar circumstances of the time, absolutely requisite for the encouragement of the British navy, was felt by the Dutch as a measure peculiarly levelled against the carrying trade, so important to their national prosperity; and ambassadors were sent to Cromwell to solicit its repeal. The war which followed his refusal, involved the feeble settlements of the English in India in great danger, and almost suspended their coasting-trade; but the success of their countrymen in Europe, soon delivered them from this peril. Cromwell reduced the Dutch to the necessity of accepting peace on terms of his dictation; and a treaty was concluded at Westminster, in 1654, in which a clause was inserted for the appointment of a commission, composed

* They had settled there subsequent to the termination of Faria y Sousa's history, in 1640: for an account of their expulsion by Shah Jehan, see p. 131.

† Malcolm's *Political India*, vol. i., p. 18.

‡ Stewart states that Boughton was sent to the imperial camp, in the Deccan, in 1636; and that factories were established at Balasore and Hooghly, in 1640.—(*History of Bengal*, p. 252.) Dow mentions the accident of the princess as occurring in 1643, but does not name Boughton.—(*Hindoostan*, vol. iii., p. 190.) It appears that no firman was issued, but only a "nishan," or order from Prince Shuja, with warrants from the local governors; but, in 1680, Aurungzebe confirmed the grant of Shah Jehan.

§ Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy., from* 1600 *to Union of London and English Cos., in* 1707-'8, i., 426.

of four Dutch and four English members, to examine into and decide upon the claims of their respective nations, and to award punishment to all survivors concerned in the perpetration of the cruelties at Amboyna, in 1623.* In the event of the commissioners being unable to come to a decision, within a specified time, their differences of opinion were to be submitted to the arbitration of the Protestant Swiss cantons.

The claims of both parties, as might be expected from the circumstances of the case, bear evident marks of exaggeration, though to what degree it would be difficult to judge. The English company estimated their damages, as ascertained by a series of accounts from 1611 to 1652, at £2,695,999 15*s.*; the Dutch, at £2,919,861 13*s.* 6*d.* The award of the commissioners set aside the balance claimed by the latter, and allotted to the English the sum of £85,000, and £3,615 to the heirs or executors of those who had suffered at Amboyna. Polaroon was likewise to be ceded by the Dutch; but they long endeavoured to evade compliance with this stipulation; and when, after the lapse of many years, the island was at length surrendered,† the nutmeg plantations, which had constituted its chief value, were found to have been all purposely destroyed.

The English company were not well pleased with the amount adjudged to them, and their dissatisfaction was greatly increased by Cromwell's proposition to borrow the £85,000 in question, until its distribution should be arranged. The directors asserted that the different stocks were £50,000 in debt, and many of the proprietors in difficult circumstances;‡ but that they would consent to spare £50,000, to be repaid by instalments in eighteen months, provided the remaining £35,000 were immediately assigned them to relieve their more pressing liabilities, and make a dividend to the shareholders.

The application of the company for a confirmation, under the republic, of the exclusive privileges granted under the monarchy, was not equally successful. It is not necessary to enter into the question of whether the well-grounded aversion entertained by the public towards the monopolies of soap, wine, leather, salt, &c., bestowed by the Crown on individuals, extended to the charters granted for special purposes to large associated bodies; the fact remains, that so far from obtaining a confirmation of their privileges, the E. I. Cy., in 1654, beheld with dismay their virtual abrogation in the licences granted by Cromwell to separate undertakings. The rivalry of disconnected traders was unimportant in comparison with that of the so-called Merchant Adventurers, who were proprietors of the united stock formed in 1649, and who now took their chance, in common with other speculators. By their exertions, four ships were equipped for the Indian trade, under the management of a committee. The news of these events created great excitement in Holland; and instead of rejoicing over the downfall of an old rival, the Dutch company appear to have been filled with consternation, either fearing that the example might lead to the destruction of their monopoly, or else that it would open the door to more dangerous competition from the English at large. The experiment of open trade with India was, however, of too brief continuance to afford conclusive evidence regarding the permanent effects it was calculated to produce on British commerce;§ for in 1657, the Protector and Council of State decided upon the management of a corporate body vested with exclusive privileges, as the most efficacious method of carrying on the Indian traffic. A new charter was accorded, and a coalition effected

* It does not appear that this latter part of the agreement was ever fulfilled.

† In 1665: Damm, an island near Banda, was occupied by the English in the same year; but they were driven out by a Dutch force, on the plea of a prior right. The war between England and Holland gave the Dutch an opportunity for regaining Polaroon; and by the pacification of Breda in 1667, the British government tacitly surrendered both Polaroon and Damm, in consideration of more important objects gained by that treaty.

‡ "At the same time," says Mill, "it is matter of curious uncertainty who these directors were, whom they represented, by what set or sets of proprietors they were chosen, or to whom they were responsible."—(Vol. i., p. 861.)

§ Numerous pamphlets, published during the paper war which raged towards the latter part of the seventeenth century, are still extant. On one side, it was argued, that the cheapness and abundance of Indian products (especially indigo and calico), which resulted from the open trade, attested its beneficial influence on the nation; but the advocates of the company, in reply, asserted that this was merely a temporary excitement, sure to produce a reaction. With regard to the adventurers themselves, it has been alleged, that they were eminently successful; but Anderson remarks, "it is generally said that even the interlopers, or separate traders, were losers in the end;" and he adds, "so difficult is it to come at the real truth where interest is nearly concerned on both sides."—(Vol. ii., p. 444.)

between the E. I. Cy. and the Merchant Adventurers. By their united efforts a subscription was raised, amounting to £786,000, and arrangements, already too long delayed, entered into with the owners of the preceding funds; all the forts, privileges, and immunities obtained in India and Persia being made over to the new association, in full right, for the sum of £20,000, and the ships or merchandise similarly transferred at a valuation. Thus the directors had henceforth a single fund to manage, and a single interest to pursue; but, unfortunately for them, the joint-stock was not as yet a definite and invariable sum placed beyond the power of resumption, the shares only transferable by purchase and sale in the market. On the contrary, their capital was variable and fluctuating,—formed by the sums which, on the occasion of each voyage, the individuals who were free of the company chose to pay into their hands, receiving credit for the amount in the company's books, and proportional dividends on the profits of the voyage. Of this stock, £500 entitled a proprietor to a vote in the general courts; and the shares were transferable even to such as were not free of the company, on payment of an admission-fee of £5. A defective system, and inadequate resources, together with the hostility of the Dutch, and the disturbed state of the Deccan during the long reign of Aurungzebe, combined to render the operations of the company in India languid and inconsiderable. Yet, during this period of depression, several events occurred which had an important bearing on their after-history: in the words of Robert Grant, "amidst the storms under which it was bending,—if we may not rather say from the very effects of them,—the British authority silently struck some deep roots into the eastern continent."*

The death of Cromwell, and the restoration of monarchy under Charles II., proved fortunate events to the corporation; for the Protector, notwithstanding his decision in their favour, had shown a continued inclination to sanction private adventure, at least in exceptional cases;† while the king evinced no desire to question or infringe their exclusive claims, but confirmed them in the fullest manner in April, 1661, and empowered them to make peace or war with any prince or people not Christians; and to seize unlicensed persons within their limits, and send them to England. These two privileges, added to the administration of justice, consigned almost the whole powers of government over "all plantations, forts, fortifications, factories, or colonies" already or hereafter to be acquired by the company, to the discretion of the directors and their servants—not for a stated term, but in perpetuity, with, however, the usual condition of termination after three years' notice, if found injurious to the sovereign or the public.‡ Two months after the renewal of the charter, Charles married the Infanta Catherine, and received, as a portion of her dowry, a grant of the island of Bombay from the crown of Portugal. The Earl of Marlborough, with 500 troops, commanded by Sir Abraham Shipman, were dispatched to India on the king's behalf, to demand possession of the island and its dependencies (Salsette and Tanna.)§ The Portuguese governor took advantage of the indefinite wording of the treaty, and refused to deliver over any territory beyond Bombay itself; and even that he delayed to surrender till further instructions, on the pretext that the letters or patent produced did not accord with the usages of Portugal. The troops were dying day by day, in consequence of long confinement on board ship, and their commander requested the president of Surat (Sir George Oxenden), to make arrangements for their reception, but was refused, on the ground that such a proceeding might excite the anger of the Mogul government. In this emergency, the Earl of Marlborough returned to England, and Sir Abraham Shipman proceeded to the little island of Anjediva, twelve leagues distant from Goa, where, being cooped up in an

* *Sketch of the History of the E. I. Cy.*, page 20.

† Shortly before his death, Cromwell licensed a Mr. Rolt to export three mortars and 20,000 shells, to be disposed of to Aurungzebe, then engaged in rebellion against his father. The company directed the Surat presidency to seize on these articles as illicit; and the more effectually to frustrate the speculation, sent large quantities of ordnance, mortars, shells, &c., desiring the different presidencies to dispose of them at the best price to either of the four rival princes who should first apply for them, preserving meanwhile a strict neutrality.—(Bruce, i., 39.)

‡ A clause in this charter confirmed to the company the possession of St. Helena, which they had taken possession of in 1651, as a convenient station for the refreshment of homeward-bound vessels, the Dutch having previously abandoned it for the Cape of Good Hope. Here, as in Bombay, they were empowered to frame and execute laws "as near as might be" conformable to the constitution of England; a direction not sufficiently observed.

§ He urged that the cession of these isles could not have been intended, since it would lay the important station of Bassein open to the English.

unhealthy position, and distressed for provisions, he offered to cede the rights of the English Crown to the representatives of the company at Surat. The proposition was rejected, for the two-fold reason that it was unauthorised, and that the presidency had not a sufficient force to occupy and maintain the island. At length, after Sir Abraham and the majority of the soldiers had perished, the survivors, about 100 in number, were suffered to take possession of Bombay, in December, 1664,* on terms prescribed by the Portuguese. The governmental expenses being found to exceed the revenue of the island, it was transferred to the E. I. Cy. in 1668;† "to be held of the king in free and common socage, as of the manor of East Greenwich, on the payment of the annual rent of ten pounds in gold," and with the place itself was conveyed authority to exercise all political powers necessary to its defence and government.‡

Bombay, from its insular position, proved a very important acquisition, especially to the presidency of Surat, from which it was situated within a sail of 200 miles,—a very practicable distance considered with respect to the extensive range of the Indo-British establishments. The fortifications were diligently enlarged and strengthened; and in about six years the ordnance of the garrison, which, at the time of the cession, consisted of twenty-one pieces of cannon, was augmented to 100. Every encouragement was held out, both to European and native settlers. A remission of customs was proclaimed for five years, looms were provided, houses built, and a system of administration framed with especial regard to the opinions and customs of the motley population, comprising English and Germans,§ Hindoos, Mohammedans, and Parsees. In 1675–'6, the revenues were nearly doubled, having increased from £6,490 (75,000 xeraphins) to £12,037 sterling.—(Grant's *Sketch*, p. 87.) Letters-patent were granted by Charles II., in 1676, for the establishment of a mint at Bombay for the coinage of rupees and pice,‖ to pass current in all the dependencies of the company. A system was adopted, about the same time, for the general regulation of the service on the principle of seniority ever after maintained; the gradations of apprentices, writers, factors, merchants, and senior merchants being then established.

The position of the company at this period was a very critical one: in England, notwithstanding the decided patronage of the Crown, their severe treatment of interlopers produced fierce altercations between the two houses of parliament,¶ and their pecuniary involvements induced them to direct their

* This date is memorable for the first importation of tea into England by the E. I. Cy., a small quantity being brought as a present for the king. No public order was given for its purchase until 1667; when the agent at Bantam was desired "to send home by these ships 100 lbs. weight of the best tey that you can gett."—(Bruce, ii., 211.) This article became the chief item in the trade with China, to be described under the head of *Hong-Kong*.

† Probably it was intended thereby to recompense the company for the annulment of their claims to Polaroon and Damm, mentioned in a previous note; and also for the cession of their possessions on the coast of Africa (obtained through their junction with the Assada merchants), to the company formed by the Duke of York, for the hateful slave-trade.

‡ The question of the proprietorship of the land at Bombay is nowhere very definitely stated as regards the native owners. The Jesuits claimed considerable portions, as appertaining to their college at Bundera, and vainly strove to establish their pretensions by force.—(*Annals*, ii., 214.) Authority was subsequently given for the purchase of lands in the vicinity of the fort to the extent of £1,500. A subsequent record states that the inhabitants had paid the King of Portugal one-fourth of the profit of their lands as a quit-rent, which President Aungier commuted for an annual sum of 20,000 xeraphins, reserving to the company the right of military service.—(iii., 105.)

§ The sobriety and regularity of the German recruits are particularly praised in the communications of 1676-'7, and a request made, that a proportion should be annually embarked to supply the frequent vacancies caused by the climate. A militia was formed, and in 1672-'3, on an alarm from the Dutch, the assistance of 500 Rajpoots was requested.

‖ The rupee was then valued at about three shillings: a pice, at a halfpenny.—(Bruce's *Annals*.)

¶ A memorable instance of this strife occurred in the case of a merchant, named Skinner, who applied to government for redress against the E. I. Cy., for having seized his ship and merchandise in India, in 1658. His complaint was referred by the king to the Privy Council, and thence to the House of Peers, by whom the directors were ordered to answer at the bar the charge brought against them. They refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Peers, and appealed to the Commons against this infraction of their chartered privileges. The Lords decreed judgment, by awarding £5,000 damages to Skinner, upon which the Commons passed some condemnatory resolutions regarding the Upper House, and seizing the successful petitioner, sent him to the Tower. The Lords, in reprisal for Skinner's incarceration, ordered Sir Samuel Barnadiston and three other leading members of the contumacious company into confinement, and declared their memorial false and scandalous: while the Lower House in turn, resolved, that whoever should execute the sentence of the Lords in favour of Skinner, would prove himself a betrayer of the rights and liberties of the Commons of England. To such a height did these contentions proceed, that the king prorogued parliament seven times on this account; and at length, in 1670, when, after some intermission, the controversy again revived, he sent for the members of both

servants in India to borrow the money necessary for procuring investments or cargoes for Europe, "without being limited either in the amount, or the rate of interest."* In the year 1673–'4, the president of Surat stated that the Indian debts amounted to £100,000, exclusive of the rapid accumulation of them by the payment of high interest;† and for the liquidation of these sums, the only source as yet available was the balance of trade. Nor was it always practicable to raise loans on any terms; for the native bankers and dealers, called Shroffs and Banians, who took off the imports of European traders in large quantities, and advanced money when the supply sent out was insufficient to provide cargoes for the expected shipping, were themselves constantly exposed to the arbitrary exactions of their own government, which they strove to escape by calling in their capital, and burying it till better times enabled them to employ it with impunity. These difficulties induced the president and council to urge that money should be borrowed in England at four per cent., rather than taken up in India at double the cost, or, as frequently happened, no funds being available to provide investments, the ships kept waiting for return cargoes until the arrival of a fresh supply of bullion. Territorial revenue began to be looked to as the remedy for these evils, and political influence courted as a means of commercial prosperity. There was no established power under whose protection foreign traders could place themselves, and to whose legitimate authority they could offer, in return, hearty and undivided allegiance. Their earliest territorial suzerain, the rajah of Chandragiri, had been overpowered by Meer Jumla, the general of the King of Golconda, about the year 1656, and Mohammedan rule extended over the territory in which Madras was situated. The English suffered no inconvenience from the change; but were, on the contrary, especially favoured by the usurping sovereign, who suffered their money to pass current, and conferred upon them several valuable privileges. They continued to pay him an annual quit-rent of 1,200 pagodas, until about 1687–'8, when his power being considerably weakened by the aggressions of Aurungzebe, they appear to have taken advantage of some flimsy pretext to withhold their tribute. By the Great Mogul the English were likewise well treated; and had he possessed unquestioned supremacy over the places in which their trade was situated, their policy would have been comparatively plain and easy, and their difficulties would have consisted almost exclusively in the rivalry of the Portuguese, Dutch, and Danes, to which list the French‡ had been recently added. But the rise of

houses to Whitehall, and by personal persuasion, induced them to erase from their journals all their votes, resolutions, and other acts relating to the subject. The company came off victors; for Skinner, it would appear, never got any portion of the compensation adjudged to him.—(Anderson, ii., 461.)

* Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, ii., 202. † *Idem*, 342.

‡ The ministers of Louis XIV., Cardinal Richelieu and the great Colbert, had directed their attention to the commercial and naval interests of France. Colbert, especially, laboured in this cause with extraordinary zeal and success. In 1642, a settlement was made in Madagascar, preparatory to the extension of French power in the Eastern seas; but the adventurers, through their wanton cruelty, became involved in contests with the brave natives (Malagash), and notwithstanding repeated attempts, were unable to secure a footing in this rich island. In 1664, Colbert formed an E. I. Cy. on the model of that of Holland, with a very privileged charter for fifty years, and a stock of £625,000, partly raised by loan. Four ships were sent to Madagascar; and in 1668 a factory was commenced at Surat, then the general resort of European nations. But the French soon looked to political rather than to commercial prospects; and under the direction of an experienced man, named Caron (who, disgusted with the ill-treatment received from the Dutch after long and valuable service, had quitted their employ), surveyed the coasts of India for an eligible site whereon to lay the foundation of French power. The fine harbour of Trincomalee, in Ceylon, was judiciously selected, and taken possession of by a French squadron, under La Haye: hostilities ensued between the French and Dutch E. I. Companies; but the former losing many men by sickness, were soon expelled, and proceeded to the coast of Coromandel, where they captured St. Thomas, or Meliapoor. The Dutch co-operated with the King of Golconda, and the French garrison being reduced to the extremity of famine, were compelled to surrender. The survivors, under the guidance of a Mr. Martin, who, like Caron, had previously been in the service of the Dutch company, purchased from the King of Beejapoor, a village upon the coast called Pondicherry, with a small adjacent territory, and there formed the settlement eventually of so much importance. By his prudent measures the place became rapidly populous, and being desirous to put it in a state of defence during the disturbed state of the country, he obtained permission for the erection of fortifications, notwithstanding the opposition of the Dutch, who endeavoured to bribe the King of Beejapoor to withdraw his protection, and permit them to expel the new settlers; but the firm reply was, "The French have fairly purchased the place; I shall not be so unjust as to take it from them."—(Macpherson's *Commerce with India*, p. 260.) The Beejapoor monarchy was overthrown by Aurungzebe in 1686. The Dutch overpowered the French garrison, and drove them out in 1693; then, desirous to secure their conquest, immediately improved and strengthened the

the Mahrattas, under Sevajee—a native power under a native leader—greatly changed the state of affairs. At first, the English were disposed to follow the example of their imperial patron, and treat the new leader as a mere marauder—a captain of banditti—whose attempts at friendly communication were to be evaded, without however, unnecessarily provoking a foe whose anger and alliance were both to be avoided.

When Sevajee advanced against Surat in 1664, the terror of his name had already taken such deep root, that the governor shut himself up in the castle, and the inhabitants fled from the city. The Dutch and English remained in their factories; and the latter, calling in the ships' crews to their aid, by courage and determination succeeded in preserving their own property, and that of their immediate neighbours, from pillage. Aurungzebe rewarded this service by a firmaun, conceding one per cent. out of his three per cent. custom duties, and a total exemption from all transit charges. In 1670, the place was again approached by Sevajee. The French, who had established a factory there, preserved it by paying a contribution:* the Dutch station being without the town, was not attacked: the English, having transported the greater part of their goods on board ship to Swally, prepared to guard the remainder at all hazards. The factory was assailed, but successfully defended by the English, though several lives were lost, as well as some property in detached warehouses. The Mahrattas then threatened to set the factory on fire; but Sevajee was unwilling to proceed to extremities, being desirous to induce them to return as traders to Rajapoor, which they had quitted on account of his exactions. A complimentary present offered to Sevajee, was very gratifying to him. He extended his hand to the English deputies, with an assurance that he would do them no wrong; and on several subsequent occasions negotiations were set on foot, which, however, the English endeavoured to evade bringing to any definite conclusion, by demanding compensation for the injuries received from the Mahrattas at Surat and elsewhere. This stipulation was conceded in 1674, and a treaty formed, by which 10,000 pagodas were promised to the aggrieved party, and the long-maintained right deemed inherent in the sovereign over all wrecks on the shores of his territory, relinquished in favour of English vessels. The enthronement of Sevajee took place at this time, and the envoy beheld with amazement a portion of the magnificent ceremonial, with its costly and characteristic feature,—the weighing of the person of the new sovereign against gold coin to be distributed among the Brahmins, as an act of reverence to their order, accompanied by the performance of many munificent acts of charity.† The Mogul government watched with jealous distrust this growing intercourse, and the English found great difficulty in maintaining a neutral position. In 1677–'8, the directors of the E. I. Cy., or, as they were then termed, the Court of Committees, "recommended temporising expedients to their servants as the rule of their proceedings with the Mogul, with Sevajee, and with the petty rajahs," as the means of obtaining compliance with the various firmauns and grants already acquired; and desired them to endeavour, by their conduct, to impress the natives with an opinion of their commercial probity. "At the same time," says Bruce, "they gave to President Aungier and his council [at Surat] discretionary powers to employ armed vessels to enforce the observance of treaties and grants: in this way the court shifted from themselves the responsibility of commencing hostilities, that they might be able, in any questions which might arise between the king and the company, to refer such hostilities to the errors of their servants."‡ This writer is too intimately acquainted with the company's proceedings, and too decidedly their champion, to be accused of putting an unfair construction on any of their directions. It was evidently necessary that considerable latitude should be given by masters so far removed from the scene of action; but subsequent events indicate that plans of terri-

works: but their labour proved ill-bestowed; for the place was restored to its rightful owners by the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697.—(Raynal's *E. and W. Indies.*)

* Wilson's note on Mill, vol. i., p. 99. Grant Duff says, "the French purchased an ignominious neutrality, by permitting the Mahrattas to pass through their factory to attack an unfortunate Tartar prince who was on his return from a pilgrimage to Mecca, and whose property [including a vast treasure in gold, silver, and plate, a gold bed and other rich furniture], became part of Sevajee's boasted spoils on this occasion."—(*History of Mahrattas*, i., 247.)

† Dr. Fryer mentions that he weighed about 16,000 pagodas, equal to about ten stone. The titles assumed by Sevajee were,—*the head ornament of the Cshatriya race, his majesty, the rajah Seva, possessor or lord of the royal umbrella.*

‡ Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, ii., 406–'7.

torial aggrandisement, to be carried out by force of arms, were already entertained.

The governmental expenses of Bombay (civil and military) were found to be very heavy; and as a means of meeting them, taxes were raised and salaries diminished; that of the deputy-governor, the second in rank in the service, being reduced to £120 per annum. Great dissatisfaction was created by these changes, especially by the diminution of the garrison; soon after which the trade of the place was menaced by two sterile isles in the neighbourhood (Henery and Kenery) being taken possession of respectively by Sevajee and his opponent, the Siddee, or Abyssinian leader, who held the position of admiral of the Mogul fleet.* The English were obliged to conclude a humiliating truce with both parties, and thus purchase freedom from interruption to their trade, until the abandonment of these barren rocks relieved them from alarm on that score.

The death of Sevajee, in 1680; the appointment of Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Child as president of Surat, with a council of eight members, in 1681; the erection of an independent agency in Bengal, in 1682; and the expulsion, in the same year, of the English from Bantam,† were rapidly followed by other important events. The system of injudicious retrenchment attempted at Madras and Surat, and persevered in at Bombay,‡ ended in producing a revolt in that island. Captain Keigwin, the commander of the garrison, which comprised 150 English soldiers and 200 topasses (natives), seized the deputy-governor, with such of the council as adhered to him, assembled the militia and inhabitants, and being by them appointed governor of the island, issued a proclamation declaring the authority of the company to be annulled in Bombay, and that of the Crown substituted in its place. President Child had no force wherewith to compel the submission of the insurgents; and his attempts at negotiation were decidedly rejected, on the plea that the measures which had led to the rebellion, had originated solely in the selfish policy of himself and his brother, Sir Josiah Child, the chairman of the Court of Committees.

The king was appealed to by both parties; and in November, 1684, the island was delivered up by Keigwin to Sir Thomas Grantham, as the representative of the Crown, on condition of a free pardon for himself and all concerned. To prevent the recurrence of a similar disturbance, the seat of government was removed from Surat to Bombay; and for the suppression of the interlopers, who were believed to have been intimately concerned in the late revolt, admiralty jurisdiction was established in India, by virtue of letters-patent granted by James II., in 1686. Sir John Child was appointed captain-general and admiral of the forces of the E. I. Cy., both by sea and land, in the northern parts of India, from Cape Comorin to the Gulf of Persia, and he was likewise entrusted with supreme authority over all the settlements. The weapons thus furnished were used with an unhesitating determination, which has rendered the conduct of the plenary representative of the powers delegated to the company a subject of unqualified panegyric, and of equally exaggerated blame. The truth probably lies between these extremes. The brothers Child were men of considerable ability, and deeply interested in the fortunes of the company, whose affairs devolved chiefly on their management. They were led, by a very natural process, to contrast the flourishing state of the Dutch trade with their own depressed condition, and to seek for the cause of the comparative, if not complete exemption of the rival company from the unlicensed competition of their countrymen,

* Siddee, or Seedee, is a corruption of an Arabic term, signifying a lord; but in the common language of the Deccan, it came to be applied indiscriminately to all natives of Africa. The Siddees of Jinjeera took their name from a small fortified island in the Concan, where a colony had been formed on a jaghire, granted, it appears, in the first instance, to an Abyssinian officer, by the king of Ahmednuggur, on condition of the maintenance of a marine for the protection of trade, and the conveyance of pilgrims to the Red Sea. The hostility of Sevajee induced the Siddee, or chief, to seek favour with Aurungzebe, by whom he was made admiral of the Mogul fleet, with an annual salary of four lacs of rupees (£40,000) for convoying pilgrims to Judda and Mocha. The emperor himself sent an annual donation to Mecca of three lacs.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, Bruce, and Orme.)

† In 1677, the principal agents at Bantam were assassinated by some of the natives, on what ground, or by what (if any) instigation, does not appear. The company persevered, nevertheless, in endeavouring to maintain commercial intercourse; and friendly embassies, accompanied by presents of tea on the part of the King of Bantam, and of gunpowder on the part of the English sovereign, were continually dispatched, until a civil war, instigated by the Dutch, terminated in the deposal of the old king by his son, who, in obedience to his domineering allies, expelled the English from their factory in 1682, and never permitted their re-establishment in his territories.

‡ In 1682-'3, the European garrison, reduced to at least 100 men, "were daily murmuring at the price of provisions, which their pay could not afford." —(Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, ii., 489.)