

prisoners, recalled the exiles, gave free access to all suitors, restored the confiscated lands, and gradually abolished all the obnoxious restrictions by which commerce had been restricted, as also the heavy taxes and tributes exacted by his father. In the first year of his reign an insurrection was spiritedly suppressed in Gujerat, and in the second he led an army into the Deccan, to chastise Harpul, who there had raised the standard of independence, and, having been unsuccessful, was put to death with severities worthy of the son of Alla-ood-Deen. The elevation of his low minions to power did more perhaps than the excesses in which he shamelessly indulged, and his outrages of all decency, to alienate the respect and attachment of his subjects. His especial favourite was Mullik Khosrow, a Hindoo renegade of the lowest caste, whom he even honoured with the ensigns of royalty, and had raised to the government of Gujerat. In fact, Khosrow had become the source of all honours and promotions, and, from his many acts of cruelty, an object of universal abhorrence. From the date of his elevation he was a traitor at heart; and though reports were made of his treason to his master, such was his influence, that no attention was paid to them, and he enjoyed unbounded confidence, and even slept in the king's apartment. The palace was filled with his creatures, and every facility was thus, imprudently, afforded for the execution of his design. The king and his palace being in the hands of the conspirators, his projected fate was a subject of common conversation in the city, but, knowing the influence of the favourite, none dared to communicate the danger but one, and that was Kazi, his tutor when a youth. He gained access, honestly and plainly revealed the plot, assured him of its notoriety, and recommended immediate measures for the apprehension of the traitor. At this identical moment Khosrow, who had been a listener to the conversation, entered in female apparel, with all the assumed airs of a coquettish girl. The infatuated prince,

yielding to his affection, stood up and embraced him, and dismissed the warning from his mind. The following night Kazi, still apprehensive of the danger, could not rest. He went out at midnight to see whether the guards were on the alert. In his rounds, he met with Khosrow's uncle, who engaged him in conversation; with a sabre cut from behind he was brought to the ground, leaving him only strength enough to cry out, "Treason! Treason! Murder and treason are on foot!" His attendants fled and gave the alarm, proclaiming the assassination of their master. The guards started up in confusion, but before they could act, were attacked by the conspirators and massacred. The king, alarmed by the tumult, asked Khosrow, who lay in his apartment, the cause. The villain arose as if to inquire. By some feigned explanation he diverted his attention till the conspirators approached the royal apartment, and slew the chamber attendants. Hearing the clash of armour and the groans of dying men, Mobarik sprang up in great alarm, and ran towards the harem by a private passage. At this moment Khosrow, fearing he might escape, pursued him, seized him by the hair, and the deed of blood was completed by the other conspirators; with a stroke of a scimitar, his head was severed from his body, and flung ignominiously into the courtyard: and thus says Ferishta, "the vengeance of God overtook and exterminated the race of Alla-ood-Deen, for his ingratitude to his uncle Feroze, and for the streams of innocent blood which flowed from his hands."

Khosrow seized the sceptre, and endeavoured by promotions and promises to win over the chief men to his side; with some he succeeded, while others fled to enrol themselves under the command of Ghazi Beg Toghluk, governor of Lahore, Depalpoore, and the Punjaub, who marched to Delhi, and after having defeated the usurper, who was dragged from a tomb in which he had sought an asylum and put to death, was proclaimed king, A.D. 1321.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE DYNASTY OF TOGHLUK.—INVASION OF TAMERLANE.—THE DYNASTIES OF SYUD AND LODI.

THE ancestry of the Toghluks dynasty has not been recorded, but Ferishta states when he was at Lahore, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, there was a tradition that the father of the first of this line was the son of a Turkish slave. When Gheias-ood-Deen Toghluks had succeeded in dethroning Khosrow, he assured the people that he would support the object of their selection. As might be expected, apparent moderation was an additional stimulant to bestow on him the vacant throne, to which, by his services, he was best entitled, as the last monster had extirpated every member of the royal family, old and young. Toghluks's administrative capacity soon restored to order the anarchy and confusion which were prevalent. He repaired the neglected fortifications, encouraged commerce, invited men of learning to his court. A code of laws was instituted, founded upon the Koran, and, his historians say, conformable to the ancient usages of the Delhi monarchy. His immediate relatives, as a safeguard to the yet new and infirm government, were entrusted with the highest offices of the state. The next measures were ones of defence. Troops were stationed along the frontiers of Cabul, and forts erected, and strongly garrisoned, to repel the incursions of the Moguls. Such was the wisdom with which these measures were conceived, planned, and executed, that during the whole of his reign he was released from those incursions, the constant irritants of many of his predecessors, and the total ruin of a successor.

Hoping for impunity in the first unstable stages of an upstart house, the Hindoos—who always loathed the intrusive stranger, however long located, and detested the Mussulman and his sword-taught creed—thought this a favourable opportunity to strike again for independence. The rajahs of Wurrungole and Dewgur had refused to send tribute, having become disaffected. Sudder Dew, the Rajah of Wurrungole, opposed the Moslems with spirit, but was at length driven under shelter of his walls. The siege, conducted by the son of Toghluks, was carried on with severe loss to both sides. The town had been recently so strongly fortified, the assailants could make no breach; indeed, the followers of Mohammed were never skilled in siege operations. A malignant distemper, the effect of hot winds, broke out in the camp of the besiegers, which swept away hundreds every

day. They were at length obliged to desist. Their retreat was disastrous; thousands perished by pestilence and the sword; and of all the many thousands who formed that army, only three thousand returned to Delhi. In a short time a more numerous army beleaguered Wurrungole, and compelled it to surrender. Expeditions were also sent against Jagnuggur and Tirhoot. In the midst of these successes, Toghluks lost his life by the fall of a temporary erection prepared for his reception by his son, Aluf Khan, who succeeded him, after a reign of four years, A.D. 1325.

This prince assumed the title of Mohammed Toghluks, and such was the joy of the people on his succession, that in his progress through Delhi the streets were strewn with flowers, and every demonstration of joy was exhibited; his munificence had no limit but his means; he not only patronized literary men, but shone eminently among them; and his letters, both in Arabic and Persian, are said to display so much taste, elegance, and good sense, that they are still studied as models of purity. Many other accomplishments are ascribed to him. There is one stain on his character which blots all these amiable traits,—he was without mercy or compunction, and so little did he hesitate to spill human blood, that one might have supposed his object was to exterminate his species. The Mogul incursions, by the absence of which the reign of his father was so happily distinguished, were again renewed. Before his government was settled, a Mogul chief of great fame invaded Hindostan, at the head of a vast army, with the design of subjugating the entire peninsula. He overran Lumghan, Mooltan, the northern provinces, and advanced rapidly on Delhi. Mohammed, unable to oppose this overwhelming force, sued for peace. He secured a temporary respite by the payment of a ransom nearly equivalent to the value of the empire. This disaster did not subdue Mohammed's passion for appropriation. He so completely subjected the distant provinces of Dwar-Sumoodra, Maabir, Kumpila, Wurrungole, Lucknow, Chittagong, and Soonnargam, that they were as effectively incorporated with the empire as the suburban villages of Delhi. He likewise conquered the Carnatic to the shores of "Oman's dark waters." Brief was his hold upon them. In the succeeding storm which shook his hereditary empire

to its deepest foundations he was obliged to relax his grasp of all these conquests, with the exception of Gujerat. The drains made upon the finances of the country to meet his extravagance, and for the equipment of his extensive armaments, were to be met some way. The booty collected from the plundered conquests were inadequate to the requirements. The repeated predatory excursions of his predecessors had dissipated many of the royal treasures, the accumulation of a succession of ages. There remained to him only one resource, the last a prodigal monarch has to fly to,—the plunder of his own subjects under the name and form of law: an expedient, too, which has been fraught with the most disastrous results to those who have hazarded it. The heavy taxes levied on the inhabitants of the Doab* and other provinces, the substitution of copper money for silver by public decree, the exaction of half a million of horses for his campaigns, the indiscriminate massacre of Mohammedans and Hindoos, produced general discontent, which soon ripened into disaffection; public credit was destroyed, and famine and pestilence aggravated the mischief. The copper money, for want of proper regulations, produced evils of equal magnitude. A curious passage occurs on the latter cause of grievance in Ferishta, which is here extracted; not so much in elucidation of the financial derangement in the kingdom of Delhi, at this remote period, as to place within the reach of the money-mongers a precedent for a paper currency, which, it appears, could not have been known to the bank historians, Gilbert, Lawson, and Francis. This expedient is far older than “the bills of exchange,” the wonderful invention of the early Italian merchants, the Lombards, who came over and established themselves in London in the street which bears their name; and than “the receipts the goldsmiths issued,” in the days of the protectorate,† “for the money lodged at their houses, which circulated from hand to hand, and were known by the name of goldsmiths’ notes, which may be considered the first kind of notes issued in England.”‡

“The king,” says Ferishta, “unfortunately for his people, adopted his ideas upon currency from a Chinese custom of using paper on the emperor’s credit, with the royal seal appended, in lieu of ready money. Mohammed, instead of stamped paper, struck a copper coin, which he issued at an imaginary value, and caused it to pass current by a

decree throughout Hindostan. The mint was under bad regulations. Bankers acquired fortunes by coinage. Foreign merchants made their payments in copper to the home manufacturers, though they themselves received in exchange solid silver and gold in foreign markets. There was so much corruption practised in the mint, that for a premium to those persons who had the management of it, merchants had their coin struck considerably below the value, and these abuses were connived at by the government. The great calamity, however, consequent upon this debasement of the coin, arose from the known instability of the government. How could the people in the remote provinces receive for money the base representative of a treasury that so often changed its master?”* Such was the popular fermentation, that the king was obliged to call in the copper currency, the treasury was emptied, and there still remained a large balance due. This debt the king struck off, and thousands were ruined. The scheme terminated in the exhaustion of the treasury, and bankers and merchants were enriched at the expense of their sovereign and the people. The armies levied for grand projects of further conquests—indeed, nothing less than all Persia and Tartary—were in arrears, and breaking up into independent bands, carried ruin and destruction through the length and breadth of the land. A project was conceived, by the king and his advisers, as wild as any that animated the adventurous speculators of the concluding part of the seventeenth, and beginning of the eighteenth century, nearer home. This was nothing less than the conquest of China. An early intercourse had existed between the two countries, and a vast number of the Indians were united with them as fellow disciples of Buddha. Mohammed had heard of its great wealth, and already possessed it in imagination. This ideal wealth, like an enchanter’s spell, he fondly hoped would resolve all his difficulties, and realize the dreams of his ambition. One obstacle intervened, and that was the hardy mountaineers of Nepaul, which lay on the confines of both empires. To overcome this was the first step: one hundred thousand cavalry were sent on this service, and when the Indians came in sight of the promised land, wearied by their toilsome journey, and with numbers considerably reduced, a large army was ready to receive them. To add to their hardships, the commissariat was in an impoverished state, the rainy season, so detrimental to Indian campaigning, was at hand, and their country was at a great distance; the troops decided on

* A district situated between two rivers.

† Francis’s *History of the Bank of England*, vol. i. p. 10.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

* Ferishta, vol. i. p. 414.

retreat. The mountaineers seized their baggage, and the Chinese hung on their rear. Hemmed in on all sides, they perished in the defiles; scarcely a man returned to relate their fate.

The king was so much pleased with the situation and strength of Dewgur, and its more central position, that he translated thither the seat of his government, and evacuated Delhi, then the envy of the East. Men, women, and children, were driven to remove, with all their portable possessions: on this project much wealth was foolishly lavished.

A series of revolts followed, in which the royal troops generally were victorious. The one exception was a revolt in the Deccan, excited by apprehensions that preparations were being made by the Moslems for the massacre of all the natives—the Hindoos. The result was that the former were expelled from the entire country, except the capital, the late residence of the court. The revolt of the king's troops in this province quickly followed, and in rapid succession an insurrection in Malwa, and another in Gujarat; previous to this the Punjaub had been invaded by the fierce Affghans, and immediately after by the Gukkurs. But the most formidable of all the wars, one which occupied him to the close of his life, was that into which, by his impolitic proceedings, he forced the Ameer Judeeda.* On his march to punish the Rajah of Scinde for his protection to these, he terminated his eventful life by having surfeited himself with fish (A. D. 1351), after a reign of twenty-seven years.

His cousin Feroze, who was fortunately in the camp, was proclaimed king by the army, and by the dying injunction of the late king. The Mogul portion of the troops had risen, and plundered the royal treasury. The first care of Feroze was to inflict punishment on the Mogul auxiliaries. Ambassadors were received at his court from Bengal and the Deccan, which had thrown off the yoke, and whose treasons had not been punished in consequence of the occupation which other quarters had given the king. This reception was an official acknowledgment of the independence of these provinces of the kingdom of Delhi; the only fealty which they henceforth (1356) exhibited, was the payment of a very small tribute. In 1358 the Moguls

* Ameer-Judeeda—new officers—was a name conferred on the newly-converted Moguls and their descendants, who, having invaded India, had embraced the Mohammedan religion, and the service of the kings of Delhi, at the same time. Being foreigners, without local partialities, they were considered to be the best instruments for carrying into effect the orders of a despotic prince. They were bold, spirited, and soon shook off their allegiance. See Briggs's *Perishta*.

made an incursion as far as Depalpore; but before an army dispatched to oppose them arrived, they had retired, laden with spoils. In the year 1359 Feroze marched in the direction of Lucknow. In his progress he reduced to terms the governor of Jektulla, laid waste the territories of Songhur and Jagnuggur, and then returned to Delhi. He subsequently marched towards the mountains of Nagrakote, where he punished the rajah, but left him in possession of his territories. A singular anecdote is recorded of this visit by the Mohammedans. They relate that the inhabitants informed Feroze that the idol which the Hindoos worshipped in the temple of Nagrakote was the image of Now Shaba, the wife of Alexander the Great. In this temple they also relate was a library of Hindoo books, consisting of one thousand three hundred volumes—a large collection, considering they were all manuscript. He then proceeded down the Indus to Tutta, to check a rebellion. Wearied by age, and the cares of state, he surrendered his sceptre to his son, in 1387.

There survive many testimonials of the attention which this prince paid to the development of the natural resources of the country, and particularly to extend its water intercourse. He constructed a canal from the Sutlej to the Kugur; another between the hills of Mundvy and Surmore, from the Jumna, into which he conducted seven minor streams, which all uniting flowed through Hansi, and thence to Raiseen,* where he built a strong fort, which he called Hissar Feroza; he conveyed an aqueduct from the Kugur over the river Soorsutty to the village of Pery Kerah, where he founded the city of Ferozabad. He cut another canal from the Jumna, which filled a large lake, which he constructed at Hissar Feroza. In the vicinity of the city of Perwar, there was a hill, out of which ran a stream that discharged itself into the Sutlej, and beyond it a smaller one,—named respectively the Soorsutty and the Sulima,—and between them a mound, which, if cut through, the water of the former would flow into the latter, and then to Soonam, through Sirhind and Munsoorpore, which would not fail at any season of water. To effect this desirable object, he set fifty thousand men to the task, in the execution of which "they exhumed the bones of elephants—more probably mastodons—and men. The bones of the human forearm," says Ferishta, "measured three guz (five feet two inches); some were petrified, and some retained the appearance of bone;"† a fort was built there, still called Ferozepore; nine hundred of his public

* There is a town of this name in Malwa also.

† Briggs's *Perishta*, vol. i. p. 453.

works are enumerated. Such details as these, though not so thrilling as the neigh of war steeds, clash of armour, or groans of men, are the true materials of history, and the genuine records of greatness.

Feroze, who had resigned in favour of his son Mohammed, in consequence of that prince's misconduct was obliged to resume the reins of government, which in a short time he delivered into the hands of his grandson, Futteh Khan. The old king died in the ninetieth year of his age (1388).

Futteh Khan, on ascending the throne, assumed the title of Gheias-ood-Deen Toghluk. This young prince soon abandoned himself to sensual indulgences. When these have "withered up the feeling," the other animal passions luxuriate unchecked; his jealousy was soon awakened and developed, his brother and other relations were its victims; at length, deserted by those whom nature had bound to him, he fell a victim to the vengeance of his enemies, after a reign of five months.

His immediate successor was his cousin, Prince Zuffur, though his uncle, by whose imprudence he himself had mounted the throne, was living, but in exile. The reign of this young prince, who assumed the title of Aboo-Bukhr Toghluk, was also cut short. The Ameer Judeeda of Samana had assassinated their chief, Mullik Sultan, and sent his head to prince Mohammed, the son of Feroze, who had forfeited his father's respect, and then the throne, by his vices. At the same time they earnestly entreated him to come and assert his rights. He complied with their invitation, proclaimed himself king, and at the head of an army marched on Delhi. Mohammed, having sustained some repulses, was at length successful, and made the ruling prince prisoner, in the year 1390, after a reign of one year and six months.

Nasir-ood-Deen Mohammed Toghluk II. first, as has been said, ascended the throne in his father's lifetime. He had been scarcely reinstated when an insurrection broke out in Gujerat. The chiefs sent to quell it rebelled, and declared himself independent. Similar movements agitated Lahore and Mooltan; indeed, the empire, from the recent convulsion, seemed shaken to the core, ready to fall to pieces, and to become the prey of the first vigorous adventurer. The vizier fell under false suspicions, and on the accusation of his own nephew suffered death. The king, in 1392, set out on a campaign to Mewat to quell some disturbances in that quarter. He was attacked with fever, and, while in an enfeebled state, was informed that an enemy had plundered the country to the very gates of Delhi. Though far from recovered, he hastened to Mewat, attacked and

totally routed the foe, and compelled him to fly. Another outbreak in Lahore his son was dispatched to suppress, but before the prince left Delhi, news of his father's decease was brought to him; the king had succumbed to a relapse. He died after a reign of six years and seven months (1394), and was followed by his son and successor, Hoomayoon, in forty-five days after.

The premature demise of the youthful sovereign Hoomayoon gave occasion to intrigues and violent disputes amongst the nobles for the vacant throne. Their choice was eventually fixed on Mahmood, whom they selected for their sovereign. The minority of the king, and the jarring interests of the various factions, had rendered the government so weak that the vassals of the crown thought a favourable opportunity had presented itself for the assertion of their independence, and they did not hesitate long to avail themselves of it. Kuraja Jehan, the minister of the last king, and who was not removed by the reigning prince, established an independent kingdom at Juanpore, and became so powerful as to be able to impose tribute on the older one of Bengal. This dynasty was called Shur-keea, to distinguish it from that of Bengal, the capital of which was Lucknow, and called Poorbeah, both towns signifying eastern. To the west Sarung Khan, governor of Mooltan and the north-western provinces, had defeated the Gukkurs, and shortly after (1395), seizing on Mooltan, aggrandized his power. The state of the kingdom promised him every facility of accomplishing more ambitious designs still. The kingdom was at this time distracted; the government had fallen into anarchy; civil war raged everywhere; two kings in arms, equally supported, and with alternating advantages, held their courts in the one capital—a thing unprecedented in that kingdom. Sarung Khan advanced towards Delhi and reduced Samana, but he shortly after suffered an effective check. An army was dispatched against him by one of the rival kings; he was defeated, and compelled to fly to Mooltan. Here he was besieged for six months, and eventually reduced to surrender at discretion through want of provisions. Mooltan was occupied by the royal troops, but Sarung Khan contrived to escape. In the interim Mahmood was reduced by his supporters to a state of abject dependance, and was king only in name, while his rival had been defeated and obliged to seek refuge in a remote dependency. Mulloo Yekbal Khan, the general of the victorious army, now marched, accompanied by the pageant-king, Mahmood, against the pretender Noosrut Shah, and his protector, Tartar Khan, at

Paniput, by whom a counter movement on Delhi was attempted without success. Tartar Khan, thus frustrated, fled to Gujerat. The victorious general entered the capital again, and began to establish order, and remedy the disastrous effects produced by the convulsions of the past. The process of reorganization was interrupted by a danger which had long afflicted, and still further threatened the state, namely, the incursions of the Moguls, which in this instance had assumed the most formidable dimensions, and was about to discharge their concentrated and indiscriminate fury on the doomed inhabitants of Hindostan. Timour Beg, better known to the Westerns as Tamerlane,* had crossed the Indus with preparations commensurate with the undertaking, and thus were the miseries of this unhappy people completed.

Tamerlane—the more general and classic name of this hero—was a descendant, by the female line, of Jenghis Khan, previously mentioned in this history. He was the son of Taragai, whose fourth ancestor, Karashar Novian, of the noble tribe of the Barlass, had been the vizier of Zagatai, the son of Jenghis Khan. His father had feudal possession of the province of Kesh. His birthplace was Resch, one of its towns situated about one hundred and thirty miles to the east of Bokhara, and about thirty south-east of Samarcand.† He was born A. D. 1336 (A. H. 736). His first aspirations were for conquest, and from the first stage of youth he ambitioned to be the ruler of the world. Among the traditions pertaining to his birth, it is stated that on that interesting event he made his *débüt* with his hand firmly grasping clotted blood. His first exercises were of a martial character. He acquired a perfect mastery of the lance and in sword exercises; the most fiery steeds were soon subjected to his control; he delighted in the pursuit of the fiercest and most dangerous animals; and by the great superiority of his genius and fixity of purpose, he obtained absolute control over his high-spirited and im-

petuous playmates. Conquests and thrones were the subjects of even his commonplace conversations. At the early age of twelve years he entered on his military career, but the first historical recognition of him was in his twenty-fifth year. On the death of his father at this period, his uncle, by seniority, as was the custom of his clan, succeeded him. The contentions with which the province of Transoxiana was torn, opened to Tamerlane a career which he embraced with ardour. The empire of Zagatai, from its foundation, bore within its bosom the germs of rapid decay. The insubordination and repeated revolts of the Novians* had enfeebled the authority of the sovereign. Twenty khans had succeeded each other in less than a generation. Cazan, the last of the line, had become detestable by his tyranny, and perished in an engagement with his revolted emirs.† In those disturbances the uncle had played no insignificant part, and, in one of the vicissitudes of his faction, had to fly, and seek an asylum in Khorassan. But Tamerlane, his nephew, submitted to the victor, and thus became the chieftain of his clan, and was confirmed in the possession of his principality of Kesh, and in the command of ten thousand men. At the age of twenty-seven he rendered very important services to the Emir of Khorassan and Transoxiana against the Getes, who were devastating his territories. The emir, as a recognition of his worth, bestowed on him his sister in marriage, but after her death Tamerlane commenced hostilities against his brother-in-law, captured the capital of his territories—the venerable city of Balk. The fortress was razed, the emir's children perished, and his property, treasures, and harem became the prey of the conqueror. This event occurred in 1370, and placed the kingdom of Zagatai at the conqueror's mercy. Tamerlane selected Samarcand for the seat of government, which he strongly fortified, and richly embellished with palaces and gardens. His recent elevation seemed to him a mere glimpse of the glorious vista before him; with an ambition inferior to none of the greater conquerors who preceded him, he looked upon the earth as his and his only. "There is but one God in heaven," said Tamerlane, "so there must be but one lord on earth." Having subjugated Turan, that is, the country beyond the Oxus, he turned his mind to the acquisition of Iran on this side of that river, where a number of independent principalities had risen on the

* *Timour*, *Demour*, or *Demir*, is the Mongolian term of iron. Tamerlane is a corruption of Timourlenk, i. e. the lame Timour. His lameness was occasioned by a wound received at a siege in the early part of his military career, according to Sherefeddin. For the full particulars of the life of this extraordinary man the reader is referred to his own institutes, and the pages of Arabsha and Sherefeddin. The former was a native of Damascus, and well versed in the Mohammedan law. He died A. D. 1450. A translation of the Arabian work has been given in the French by Vazier. Sherefeddin was born at Yezd, in Persia proper. His work is also translated into French by M. Petit de la Croix, and from the French into English (London, 1723). The full title of Tamerlane when at the summit of his power was, Sultan Riamram Cothbeddyn Timour Kourkhan Sahab-Keran.

† Malcolm's *Persia*, vol. i. p. 285.

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* Novian, an hereditary title borne by the descendants of kings only.

† Emir and Beg are synonymous titles, and equally designate a prince, commander, chief, &c. The former is Arabic, the latter Turkish.

ruins of the empire of Jenghis Khan. He soon attached the provinces of Khorassan, Siestan, and Sabulistan, and then commenced his first war against Persia proper, which occupied him during three years. The Persian empire presented a spectacle similar to that which was presented in Delhi on his approach to that capital. Two rival houses divided the regal sway, and incapacitated the Persians from offering a combined and effective resistance. These were the dynasties of Mosasser, in Persian Irak, and the province of Fars (Persis), and that of Ilchane, in Arabian Irak, and Azerbaijan, or Atropatane. Shadshesha, who then ruled in the former, submitted without opposition, and gave his daughter in marriage to the grandson of Tamerlane. Sultan Ahmed, the sovereign of the latter, resisted, but was soon overpowered, and compelled to make submission. The adjacent states followed the example—Georgia, Shirwan, Gilan, Armenia, and Mesopotamia, as well as Persia, bowed their necks, and accepted the yoke of the conqueror. During the campaign of Tamerlane in Persia, Tokatmish Khan, of Western or Great Tartary, who, twelve years previously, by his aid, had been raised to the throne, now raised the standard of independence. He soon received the punishment his temerity provoked. The army which had triumphed in Persia was poured upon devoted Tartary. The Djettes and other nations of Mongolistan were conquered; the Czars Khodja Aglyn and Kamar-eddyn, their sovereigns, were pursued to the Irtesch. The officers of the army of Tamerlane marked for posterity the extent of their north-western conquests, by the representations of their armours and national devices, burned into the trunks of the gigantic pines which, in extensive forests, wave over the banks of that river. Tokatmish sought refuge in flight, having sustained a decisive defeat near the banks of the Volga. The following winter (1391) was spent by Tamerlane in the midst of festivities at Samarcand, and there he hurried forward preparations for his next campaign. He quitted his winter quarters (1392), and entered on an expedition of five years' duration, during which he completed the subjugation of Persia, captured Bagdad and the fortresses of Mesopotamia, pursued his successes in Armenia and Georgia, defeated Tokatmish a second time, and having crossed the Danube, the Dneiper, and the Don, penetrated into Russia, and conquered the sacred city, and afterwards Moscow.

Some cessation was required after these events which crowded the five years' absence. The following year he spent in Transoxiana, in the midst of fêtes and amusements. He

had a magnificent palace erected in the environs of his capital; he bestowed on his son Chah-Rokh the sovereignty of Khorassan, of Siestan, and Mazanderan, as far as Ferouzkoub and Ree, and sent him to reside at Herat. He received an ambassador from the emperor of China, and, though in the sixty-second year of his age, he contracted another marriage. His vigour and activity had not as yet been impaired. He was during this time preparing not only the most brilliant but also the most difficult of his enterprizes. He resolved on the conquest of Hindostan, and must have been encouraged to this undertaking by the pitiable state of that great country, particularly by the distraction, which had been only partially subdued, when all the states of that country were startled by the rapid approach of the terrible Tamerlane, flushed with victories, and an appetite sharpened for more. His emirs, surfeited with wealth and honours, were opposed to this campaign. He had recourse to the Koran to remove their opposition, and showed the piety of a war against nations, the great majority of whose population were steeped in idolatry. His grandson, Pir-Mohammed, was sent forward with an army of observation. Tamerlane departed from Samarcand in the end of March, 1398, and attacked, in their snow-capped mountains, the inhabitants, who were detestable in his eyes, not only as idolaters, but also as banditti, and put great numbers to the sword. His own dangers and losses were very severe, and many of the horses perished of cold and fatigue. He also conquered and destroyed many tribes of Affghans. After a wearisome march of six months he arrived on the banks of the Indus, and passed it by a bridge of boats at the same spot where it had been passed by the Sultan Julal-ood-Deen when flying from Jenghis Khan.

The approach of Tamerlane to Delhi was one horrifying series of bloodshed and devastation. He marched along the river to the conflux of the Chenab and the Ravee, where the strongly fortified town and fort of Toulumba stood. Mooltan, Bhutnure, and Lony, fell into his hands. When he had reached as far as Paniput, he crossed the river with seven hundred men to reconnoitre Delhi. Seeing so few troops, the Delhians sallied out with five thousand horse and foot and twenty-seven elephants. A skirmish took place; the Delhians were repulsed. On this occasion he was informed that the number of prisoners captured, since he had crossed the Indus, amounted to over a hundred thousand; that on the previous day, when they had witnessed his danger from the overwhelming numbers of the Indian detachment which had attacked

him, they could not conceal their great joy; and that it was extremely probable that on a day of battle they would join their countrymen against him. He ordered them to be put to the sword. On the 13th of January, 1398, he achieved a complete victory under the walls of Delhi. The sack of the city followed. A large booty was seized, and a great crowd of captives. He subsequently besieged and captured Meerut, having undermined and blown up its strong walls. He then pursued his march, skirting the mountains of Sewalik, marking his way with fire and sword, until he reached the banks of the Ganges. He crossed this river, and laid waste the fertile tract extending northwards to where the stream, gushing from the mountains, winds its course through the plains. In his progress he vanquished the Rajah of Jummoogur, and compelled him to become a believer. The Sheika of Lahore was beheaded. A great number of natives on both sides of the river were exterminated, and several princes subdued; he received the submission of several others, amongst the rest, that of Shah Iskander, King of Cashmere; and returned to Samarand by the route of Cabul on the 28th of April, 1399. The after career of Tamerlane is well known. His next war was waged against Bajazet, Emperor of the Ottomans, from 1400 to 1402, in which year was fought the memorable battle of Angora,* which was contested with great obstinacy through a long day, and by the military skill and admirable tactics of Tamerlane ended in the total defeat and captivity of the Ottoman sultan. Angora was also almost the extreme limit of the wider devastations of the conqueror. He afterwards laid siege to Smyrna. This was the extreme limit of his Western conquests. He returned to Samarand, where, as lord paramount of Asia, he received embassies from various nations, and celebrated the nuptials of six grandsons with unrivalled magnificence and festivities. He then set out towards China, with the purpose of conquering that country, and died on his march, at Otrá, on the 19th of February, 1405, in the seventy-first year of his age, and thirty-sixth of his reign.

The city of Delhi remained in a state of anarchy, for the space of two months, after the departure of Tamerlane, and famine and pestilence raged without a palliative. At length the authorities summoned courage to return; the inhabitants began to revisit their homesteads, and the capital once more assumed its former populous appearance.

* This engagement is the first on record at which military uniforms and cuirasses were first worn. Tamerlane introduced them among his troops.

The narrow tract between the two rivers, and a small district round the city, were all that remained to it of its recent extensive possessions. The governors of the detached provinces during the civil convulsions had asserted their independence. Gujerat, Malwa, Kanouj (including Oude, Kurra, and Jaunpore), Lahore, with Depalpoore and Mooltan, Samana, Byana, Calpoee, and Mahoba, were under respective governors, each of whom usurped the title of king. The sovereignty of Mahmood was merely nominal. Successively the tool of his adherents, at others a refugee at the court of men who were once his subjects, he led a miserable life of dependency, and died at length in possession of his capital, after a disastrous, inglorious, but eventful reign of twenty years, in 1412; and with him fell the kingdom of Delhi from the rule of the Turks, the adopted slaves of the Emperor Shahab-ood-Deen Ghooory, the second dynasty of the Mohammedan princes of India.

Dowlut, an Affghan by birth, who had been originally a private secretary, and promoted through various grades, was the successor to the throne, and was acknowledged by many of the nobility. However, after a reign of one year and three months, he had to surrender to a turbulent and more powerful aspirant, by whom he was confined to prison, and there died shortly after in A.D. 1416.

Khizr Khan, by whom the last-mentioned King of Delhi was overthrown, had played a prominent part during a portion of the reign of Mahmood III. His father was the adopted son of a governor of Mooltan, and his family laid claim to being descended from the Prophet. The allegations on which this ancestry is claimed are of a trivial and ludicrous character. Whatever their merit, he is styled Syud.* After the conquest of Delhi he waited on Tamerlane, and had the good fortune to ingratiate himself into his favour, and was re-appointed to his former government, together with the provinces of the Punjab and Depalpoore. This accession to his power enabled him to make his way to the throne. The moderation which he exhibited in the day of his success contributed essentially to the stability of his position. While he exercised all the attributes of sovereignty, nominating to high offices of the state, he refrained from assuming regal titles, and declared himself to be the dependant and tributary of Tamerlane. By this prudent policy he secured two very important ends: by one, he disarmed the jealousy with which

* Syud or Seyed were the descendants of Ali and Fatima, and considered the legitimate descendants of the Prophet.

such an assumption would have been received by his fellow nobles, and by the second secured the countenance and support of the conqueror, whose name and approval were sufficient to awe any malcontents. His first care was to repress the turbulent chiefs in his vicinity, who had the will but not the power to maintain their independence. He reduced Kuttahr, accepted the proffered submission of the governor of Budaon, exacted the revenue, which during the commotions had fallen into arrear, from Gunpore, Kampella, and Chundwar, recovered Jaleswur out of the hands of the Rajpoots of Chundwar, and took possession of Etawa. All this was accomplished in the first year of his government. In 1414 there was an irruption of the Turks into Sirhind, and the governor was assassinated by them. Khizr Khan sent an army to oppose them. They retreated across the Sutlej; but as the mountains were then in the possession of independent zemindars, in alliance with the Turks, there were no important results. The King of Gujerat, with some hostile designs on Delhi, advanced as far as Bagore, but on the approach of Khizr Khan diverted his course to Malwa. The latter then proceeded to Gwalior, where he levied tribute. In the year 1419 he discovered that a conspiracy had been formed against him by some powerful adherents of Mahmood III. This circumstance induced him to raise the siege of Budaon, before which he then was, and to return to Delhi, where, having assembled the conspirators, he commanded the household troops to fall upon them, and put them to the sword. About this time an impostor, who laid claim to the throne in the name of a defunct prince, had collected a body of insurgents, which was defeated. The survivors deserted their leader, each man withdrew privately to his home, and the forces of Delhi also disbanded, and returned to their respective stations. The impostor in the following year made his appearance, and united his force with an insurgent chief. The latter, discovering that he was master of a considerable and valuable collection of jewels, caused him to be assassinated. In an expedition to Gwalior and Etawa, which, during his government, though often punished, were a constant source of annoyance, falling sick, he returned to Delhi, and died on the 20th of May, 1421, after a reign of seven years and a few months.

Khizr Khan was highly esteemed by his subjects; indeed, the strongest fact adduced to support his claim to being a descendant of Mohammed was that "he possessed the qualities of charity, courage, mercy, benevolence, virtue, abstinence, truth, kindness, in a degree

which rendered him like the Prophet himself." * As a token of their respect for his memory, the Delhians, by common consent, wore black for three days.

The respect in which his memory was held secured the sceptre for his son, Syud Mobarik, who was elected by the vote of the assembled nobles. The fact that his father had not assumed a kingly title, and that the nobles assembled to elect the new king, are evidences of the control which the aristocracy had possessed over despotism, and proves how precarious the tenure by which the prince held his throne.

The reign of this prince was a continued warfare, in which he himself took an active part, and generally his arms were crowned with success. From his ascent to the throne till the close of his life he had to contend against the pretensions of an energetic and powerful aspirant to his crown. In the very month on which he handled the reins of government, he received advices that Jusrut, who had the previous year defeated and made prisoner Ally Shah, the King of Cashmere, † inspired by his success, aspired to the throne of Delhi. There was scarcely a year that he did not renew his attempt; nor did repeated defeats and loss of treasures modify his ambition. Probably the plunder which his mountaineers swept from the fertile plains prompted the recurring campaigns rather than any strong hope of attaining the ostensible object.

In 1429 another adventurer appeared on the stage, whose proceedings created no small share of trouble and annoyance. A courtier, Syud Selim, died in that year, who during thirty years of power had amassed an enormous fortune; indeed, it was supposed to be equal to the private coffers of the king himself. According to the usages of India, it could be claimed by the crown. The king availed himself of no such privilege. He resigned the entire to the two surviving sons, whom he, moreover, elevated to the highest distinctions which he could confer. These indulgences did not secure the fidelity of the young men. On the contrary, they dispatched one Folad, a Turkey slave, to Sirhind, to stir up an insurrection privately in their name. The plot, shortly after the departure of their emissary, was discovered, and both the traitors committed to prison. Folad justified the confidence which his masters testified in his abilities. On his arrival in Sirhind he entered

* Ferishta, vol. i. p. 507.

† The kingdom of Cashmere is the only Mohammedan state of India which is not found having relations with the empire of Delhi. Its history forms a separate portion of this work.

into negotiations with the principal officers of the royal army there stationed, and succeeded in lulling them into profound security. In the depth of night, with a band of followers, he made an attack on their camp, in the hope of being able to surprise it. He was wrong in his calculations. His approach was perceived; and he was received with such promptitude by the king's troops, that the attack altogether failed. But this discomfiture did not cool the ardour of Folad. Having retired after his repulse to a fort occupied by his adherents and accomplices, he made another attempt on the ensuing night, and being supported by a heavy fire from his works, the Delhi troops, as if panic-stricken, fled with the utmost trepidation, leaving their camp and baggage a prey to their assailants. This disaster impelled the king to take the field in person. Folad had occupied Sirhind, the capital of the province, and had an abundance both of money and supplies, and resolved to defend it against the king to the last extremity. With a courage and success worthy of a better cause, he held his post for six months, though towards the close greatly distressed. Seeing no other means of extricating himself, he sought an alliance with the ruler of Cabul, between whom and the King of Delhi no friendly relations had been cultivated. A force was sent to his assistance, and these, on crossing the Beas, were joined by the warlike Gukkurs. The confederates laid waste the country of those chiefs who held estates in the Punjaub, and who were now prosecuting the siege of Sirhind. The royal army were compelled to raise the siege. The troops of Cabul were rewarded by Folad for their services; but on recrossing the Sutlej they plundered the Punjaub, and acquired a hundredfold the value of their remuneration from him. His retreat was marked with every injury that may be inflicted on an invaded country. On reaching Lahore he imposed a contribution of one year's revenue. From Lahore he proceeded to Depalpore, laying waste that district also. It is asserted that forty thousand Hindoos were massacred; besides, thousands were carried into slavery. He directed his march to Khuteelpore; he then crossed the Ravee, and devastated to within a few miles of the walls of Mooltan. Here he defeated the army of Delhi, and hastened on to the assault of that town. In this attempt they were unsuccessful, but continued the siege, and committed daily depredations, putting all whom they met to the sword. At length the hour of retribution was at hand. The plunderers were again encountered by the reinforced Delhians: a sanguinary conflict ensued. The

Moguls were progressing favourably, when the fall of a favourite chief so inspired his troops with revenge, that the enemy fought with desperation, and at length snatched the victory. The depredators were totally defeated. They lost all their plunder, and their chief escaped with a few attendants, his whole army being either killed or drowned in the Jhelum in their attempt to escape.

Folad was not disheartened nor inactive; he marched shortly after out of his fort to attack Lahore, but had to fall back on his old retreat again. Shortly after this, in 1435, Syud Mobarik founded a city on the banks of the Jumna, and called it by his own name, Mobarikabad, and then made an incursion towards Sirhind. On his road he had intelligence that that fortress was at length captured, and the head of Folad was presented to him. The other transactions of his reign was the endeavour to recover the eastern territories which had been, during these convulsions, wrested from the empire, and to repel the incursions of the mountaineers who harassed his confines and made repeated irruptions into the interior. The King of Malwa and of Juanpore felt the force of his arms; the Rothors of Rohilcund were forced, by his presence, to pay their tributes, and the Mewates were often checked in their predatory expeditions. His temper was so finely regulated that he is said to have never spoken in anger, and on most occasions he was just and benevolent; to his nobility he had never given offence, except in removing them for misbehaviour from their appointments. These qualities did not shield him from enmity and the assassin's blow, directed by his vizier, to whom he had given some cause of offence. This occurred after a reign of thirteen years and four months, in the year 1435. The vizier, who had preconcerted his arrangements, placed his confidant, Mohammed, the grandson of the late king, upon the throne.

Syud Mohammed's elevation was not hailed by unanimous approval. The deputy vizier and other nobles, then in camp, severely censured the conspirators. Their indignation, for the present, was suppressed; and to avoid the horrors of civil war, they resolved on submitting to the new king. This party was further outraged, when they saw two Hindoos, the actual murderers, promoted to the government of provinces, and otherwise liberally rewarded; while the officers of the late monarch were persecuted, and even the lives of some sacrificed on the most trivial pretexts. Several of the nobles had reason to apprehend that they would be stripped of their estates held on tenure from the crown. These, for self-protection, entered into a con-

federacy and took up arms. The deputy vizier had hitherto so guardedly dissembled his feelings, that he stood high in favour with the vizier, and was accordingly entrusted with the command of the army for the reduction of the malcontents. They soon united their forces, and marched on Delhi, to wreak their vengeance on the conspirators. The king, in this exigency, took measures for his safety, and decided on abandoning the vizier, and entered into negotiation with the besiegers for securing his own escape or for cutting off the minister. These preparations did not escape the jealous watchfulness of the latter, who had recourse to counter measures, and with a band of accomplices broke into the royal apartments to put the king to death. Intimation of their design having preceded them, they were received by a more powerful body; and all, including the vizier, were cut to pieces. The confederates took the oath of allegiance to the reigning prince, and were promoted to the highest posts of the state. All who were concerned in the murder of the late king suffered death. After this adjustment, Mohammed displayed some energy. He made a campaign towards Mooltan. Many of the disaffected chiefs being intimidated, came in and made submission; their example was followed by the other malcontents. He also marched towards Samana, and detached a portion of his army against Jusrut Gukkur, whose territories were surrendered to plunder. The king returned to Delhi, where he gave himself up to pleasure, and totally neglected the affairs of government. The inevitable results soon began to manifest themselves. An insurrection broke out among the Affghans; and Behlol Lodi, the nephew of one of the leading chiefs among the confederates, usurped Sirhind, and seized on Lahore, Depalpore, and the country as far south as Paniput. While Mohammed was temporising with him, the King of Malwa advanced within three miles of Delhi, at the head of a threatening force. Syud Mohammed, in great alarm, called to his aid Behlol, who, accordingly, succoured the capital with twenty thousand horsemen arrayed in armour, and repelled the danger. Behlol conceived the greatest contempt for the vacillating voluptuary, and boldly aspired to the throne. Having been confirmed in the governments of Lahore and Depalpore, which

he had forcibly seized, his means of furthering his designs were strengthened; and, accordingly, he induced a large body of Affghans to enrol themselves under his standard. Instead of proceeding, as he had been ordered, to wage war on Jusrut Gukkur, the old enemy of Delhi, he induced that chief to co-operate with him, and they seized several of the districts belonging to the crown, and eventually laid siege to Delhi, but he was compelled to relinquish that enterprise to attend to some more pressing emergency. Such was the decline of the power of Delhi, through the imbecility of the government, that the zemindars of Byana placed themselves under the government of Malwa. Syud Mohammed died a natural death, in 1445, after a reign of twelve years and some months.

His son, Alla-ood-Deen, succeeded him on the throne. All the nobles of the kingdom took the oath of allegiance with the exception of Behlol. The contempt of the latter the young king was not in a position to resent and punish. However, in 1446, he assembled an army for the recovery of Byana; but on his march he was informed that a hostile army was on its way to attack Delhi. Although advised to distrust this report, which was vague and unauthenticated, and remonstrated with by his vizier, he returned to the defence of his capital. As had been conjectured the rumour was false. This step was the ruin of his reputation; the people pronounced him a greater imbecile than his father. Another act of his was still more offensive to his subjects. He preferred Budaon to Delhi; and spent a considerable portion of his time there laying out gardens, building palaces, and giving entertainments. While thus employed, Behlol renewed his designs on the capital. The imprudent abandonment of his minister by the king induced the latter to attach himself to his ambitious rival; the result was, that the throne of Delhi was abdicated by Alla-ood-Deen, in favour of Behlol, on the condition that the ex-king was to be left in quiet possession of the town which he had selected for his residence. In this retreat—a good exchange perhaps, after all, for a tottering throne—he spent the remaining twenty-eight years of his life. He reigned for the space of seven years. He was the last of the Syuds.



CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE AFFGHANS AND MOGULS.

BEFORE we proceed to sketch, briefly, the history of the princes of the Affghan line, an opportunity is supplied of giving an account of the political divisions of Hindostan at that particular period. The materials have been principally furnished by Ferishta.

The peninsula was at this time—the middle of the fifteenth century—split up into several separate principalities, possessing or claiming independence. The Deccan, Gujerat, Malwa, Juanpore, and Bengal, had each its independent king. The Punjaub, Depalpore, and Sirhind, as far south as Paniput, formed the territory of Behlol Khan Lodi. Mehrowly, and the country within a few miles of the city of Delhi, as far as the Seray Lado, was in the hands of Ahmood Khan Mewatty. Sumbhul, even to the suburbs of Delhi, was occupied by Duria Khan Lodi; Kolejalessur, in the Doab, by Eesa Khan Toork; and Raberry and its dependencies by Kootub Khan Affghan; Kampila and Pattialy by Rajah Purtab Sing; and Byana, by Dawood Khan Lodi; Candesh, Scinde, and Mooltan, had each its distinct Mohammedan king: so that the city of Delhi had but a very small tract of country attached to it; in one place it only extended twelve miles from the walls, and in another scarcely a mile, when Behlol took possession and assumed the title of king.

The new king, Behlol Lodi, was of Affghan descent. The Affghans claim to be of Jewish origin, and were from a very remote period a commercial community, and carried on the trade between India and Persia. In the reign of Feroze Toghluk, the grandfather of the king possessed wealth and power, and rose to the government of Mooltan. His uncle, in the army of Khiza Khan, commanded the Affghan contingent, distinguished himself in that war, and as a reward of his bravery and fidelity, was appointed governor of Sirhind, with the title of Islam Khan. His brothers participated in his good fortune; and one of them, the father of Behlol, had a district bestowed upon him. On the father's death, he entered the military service under his uncle, Islam Khan, and subsequently married his daughter; and though he had full grown children of his own, Islam Khan made Behlol his heir, and he was also nominated his successor in command of the troops, a body of twelve thousand Affghans. The daily augmenting influence of the Affghans in Sirhind had, ere this, excited the jealousy of the ruling power at Delhi, and

Syud Mohammed had sent an army against them; while at the same time Jusrut Gukkur was also instigated to attack them. During the vicissitudes of this war, Behlol was forced to retreat to the hills with the women and children, but his cousin fell into the enemy's hands; his head was cut off and carried to Jusrut, and by him placed before the young man's father, who had been treacherously placed in the hands of his enemies. The father denied that it was the head of his son, but hearing of the gallant manner in which he provoked his fate, the brave old warrior burst into tears, and exclaimed, "Yes, it is my son; but I would not recognize his countenance till convinced he had done honour to his tribe." He observed at the same time, "My nephew Behlol could not have been in the battle or he would have been slain also. He lives, and will avenge the death of my boy." The result justified the prediction; the old man escaped, joined the nephew. Sirhind was quickly retaken, and the entire province of the Punjaub occupied; the vizier, at the head of a large army, was defeated, as has been related.

Hamid, the vizier by whose intrigue the government had been secured to him, still possessed great influence. He was, in the beginning of the reign, treated with the greatest respect; but the king either apprehensive of some such treachery as had been practised towards his predecessor, or thinking that he was overshadowed by the great power of his benefactor, by an artful stratagem seized on his person, and coerced him to retire into private life, after he had effectually crushed his influence.

By the accession of Behlol, an important addition was made to the territories and strength of Delhi. All the petty chiefs around that city, who had been tempted to throw off the yoke, were soon reduced to obedience; and Behlol's supremacy was established over all, but the principality of Juanpore, with which a vigorous war was waged during the successive reigns of three sovereigns, extending, with short intervals of hollow peace, over a lengthened period of twenty-six years. This state, too, he eventually conquered. This war he survived ten years. He died at an advanced age, in 1488, after a reign of thirty-nine years.

Though he gets credit for being virtuous, mild, and just, and for having successfully prosecuted his enterprises, the breaking up of his

kingdom into six divisions amongst his relatives, if creditable to a parent's care, was not a wise act for a sovereign. He had greatly increased the kingdom, having left at his death a territory extending from the Jumna to the chain of the Himalayas, as far east as Benares, besides a district to the west of that river extending to Bundelcund.

To his son, Nizam Khan, better known as Sikunder, he bequeathed the crown, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his nobles, who maintained that the right of succession undoubtedly rested in his grandson, whose father had been assassinated by one of his servants. It does not appear that the kings of Delhi had a testamentary power; their privilege apparently extended no further than a recommendation, as we find on every vacancy created by the peaceful demise of the sovereign, that the right of election was exercised by the nobles. On this occasion the crown was claimed for three different aspirants: the father's nominee; the grandson, a minor; and the eldest surviving son. The decision was in favour of Sikunder, but his election was disputed by two of his brothers. These he defeated, reduced to submission, received into favour, and reinstated in their governments. The Rajah of Gwalior, and the governor of Byana, acknowledged fealty; and the latter was removed from that district and appointed to Jalesur, Chundwara, Marhera, and Sukeet. Agra was taken by him. An insurrection was fomented among the zemindars of Juanpore, which soon spread to an alarming extent. An army, one hundred thousand strong, took the field, and though they at first put to flight the adherents of the king, they were at length reduced to obedience. Bahar, as far as the confines of Bengal, was re-annexed to Delhi. The rajahs of Dholpore and Gwalior submitted; he obtained possession of Chundery, but was baffled through the intrigues of one of his disappointed nobles, in laying hold of Rhuntunbhore. He was renewing his preparations for another attempt on Gwalior, when he was taken ill and died of quinsy, 1517.

Sikunder exhibited during his reign several attributes of a good king. His military prowess was acknowledged, and the internal and civil affairs were not neglected. All the articles of life were abundant and consequently cheap, and peace pervaded the interior. He frequently spent the entire day at business, and was strictly just in his administration. When on his march to give battle to one of his rivals, he was met by a calendar, who saluted him with, "God send you victory." "Pray," said the king, "that the victory may

be his who will best promote the good of his subjects." The profession of arms under his government assumed a new character. He made a point of ascertaining the qualities of every officer who was promoted, and particularly inquired into his origin and education. The result was that the officers were all well educated men. He established horse-posts through the country, and received accounts regularly from every military detachment. Reports of the armies, of the courts, and of the principal cities were received daily. The great flaw in his character—that which among his co-religionists was his highest virtue—was his sectarian devotion to his creed. He made a point of destroying all Hindoo temples. He had musjids and bazaars built opposite the bathing stairs in the city of Muttra, leading to the river, and ordered that no Hindoo should be suffered to perform his ablutions there. He forbade the barbers to shave the beards and heads of the inhabitants, to prevent them from the discharge of their religious duties. Before his ascent to the throne, in a disputation with a holy man, who maintained the impropriety for a king to interfere with the religion of his subjects, or to prevent them from bathing at places to which they had been accustomed to resort for ages, he drew his sword, and exclaimed, "Wretch! do you maintain the propriety of the Hindoo religion?" The holy man replied, "By no means, I speak from authority; kings should not persecute their subjects on any account." A story is also told of a Brahmin who, being upbraided by some Mohammedans on account of his faith, maintained "that the religions, both of the Moslems and Hindoos, if acted upon conscientiously, were equally acceptable to God." This opinion being maintained with some ingenuity and much argument, says Ferishta, the subject came to be discussed publicly, and the Brahmin was ordered to defend his thesis against twelve of the most learned men in the empire. Whatever may have been the success of the learned doctors against their solitary adversary, the issue of the disputation does not speak well for their liberality. Their intemperate decision argues their defeat. They decided, unless he renounced his errors and embraced Islam, he ought to suffer death. The Hindoo, refusing to apostatize, was accordingly executed, and the doctors were munificently rewarded. Sikunder was a poet, and a patron of learned men. His reign lasted twenty-eight years.

Sikunder dying at Agra, his son Ibrahim ascended the throne. This prince had estranged his kindred by a maxim which, though offensive to them, is by no means unworthy of a man destined to rule a mixed people,

that is, provided that all were to be treated with kindness and justice—"that king's should have no relations nor clansmen, and that all should be looked upon as subjects and servants of the state." It would appear by the sequel that such was not Ibrahim's interpretation, for instead of elevating the others to the status of the Affghans, he degraded theirs to that of the masses. The Affghans had the privilege of sitting in the royal presence, but were constrained by him to stand in front of the throne, with their hands servilely crossed behind them. The disaffection of the Lodi chiefs began early in his reign to manifest itself. They came to an agreement to leave him in possession of Delhi and a few dependant provinces, and to elevate his brother, Julal Khan, then governor of Calpee, to the throne of Juapore. He soon secured in his interest all the nobles of the eastern provinces. His partizans, reflecting on the injury the division of the kingdom might inflict upon themselves, repented of what they had already done; but it was now too late. Ibrahim issued a proclamation, denouncing as traitors all who should adhere to the pretender, and at the same time sent presents and envoys to all the principal officers. These precautions had the effect of detaching the nobles, and of bringing them over to his side. Julal Khan prepared to maintain his claims. He sought with success a powerful alliance, assembled an army, attacked the forces of Oude, and compelled them to retreat on Lucknow. Ibrahim, on being informed of these proceedings, arrested and imprisoned his other brothers, and then led his forces towards Oude. Julal being deserted by his ally, who moreover passed over to the king, marched on Agra, and might have taken possession of that city or plundered the treasury there. He was prevented from doing either by an assurance which was given, that Ibrahim would ensure to him the independent possession of Calpee. But the king having taken Calpee, repudiated that arrangement; and Julal Khan having been forsaken by his soldiers, was obliged to fly to Gwalior to seek the protection of the rajah. The king, capriciously, after this turn of fortune, had his vizier put in chains, and at the same time he loaded his son with honours. An army having set out for the siege of Gwalior, Julal Khan sought refuge in Malwa; not being well received, he fled to Gurrakota, but being intercepted on the road, he was sent prisoner to the king. Julal was sent to the prison at Hansi, where his other brothers were confined; but private orders were given for his assassination on the journey. Gwalior, which for a hundred years pre-

viously was in the power of the Hindoos, fell into his possession. The cruelty of Ibrahim, whose hands were imbrued, not only in the blood of his brother, but in that of many of his chiefs, had provoked another rebellion. The army of the insurgents amounted to forty thousand cavalry, five hundred elephants, and a large force of infantry, with which they proceeded to oppose the royal forces under Ahmood Khan. They were defeated, leaving one of their chiefs on the field of battle, and the others, together with all their treasures and baggage, in the hands of the royalists. A series of butcheries succeeded this victory, and Ibrahim manifested the bitterest hatred and resentment against the nobles who had figured in the court of Sikunder. These proceedings provoked another rebellion, in which the governor of Bahar was assisted by several men of extensive influence. The governor having died, his son, Bahador Khan, assumed the title of king, as Mohammed Shah. Such was the odium in which the tyrant was held, that this chief was joined by a number of disaffected chiefs, and found himself at the head of an army of a hundred thousand men, with which he took possession of all the country, as far as Sumbhul, and defeated the royal troops in many successive engagements. Ghazee Khan Lodi, in obedience to a summons which he had received from the court, was hastening from Lahore with an army to its assistance; but having been informed, on his way, of the treacherous and bloodthirsty proceedings of the king, he became alarmed for his own safety, and returned to his father, Dowlat Khan Lodi, who, seeing no safety for himself or his family, threw himself on the protection of Baber, the Mogul prince then ruling in Cabul, and encouraged him to undertake the conquest of India. Before the invasion was matured, an attempt was made by Alla-ood-Deen, who had contrived to escape from his brother Ibrahim, and fled to Cabul; Dowlat Khan encouraged his pretensions, but his object was to clear the way for the future prosecution of his own ambitious designs. Alla-ood-Deen was soon joined by many chiefs of distinction, and was, in a very short time, at the head of an army of forty thousand, with which he directed his course to Delhi. He was met by the royal army, which, after a hard fought battle, defeated him and forced him to retreat to the Punjaub. After this, no events of importance transpired till the year 1526, when Baber arrived in India, and at the battle of Paniput defeated the Delhians; and Ibrahim lost both his crown and his life, and left the empires of Delhi and Agra a prey to the victorious de-

scendant of Tamerlane. The reign of Ibrahim Lodi lasted twenty years.

Few of the many conquerors of India deserve more special notice than Baber. He not only subdued a great portion of it, but he also imposed a dynasty, and is therefore more identified with its history than was either of his ancestors, Jenghis Khan or Tamerlane. Baber was the sixth in descent from the last-named conqueror, and a worthy inheritor of no inconsiderable share of his acquisitions. His military and political operations were as solid and enduring as they were brilliant. The extensive dominions of his grandfather, Abasaïd, were shared by the numerous sons of that monarch. One of them, Ahmood Mirza, obtained Samarcand and Bokhara; Balk, or Bactria, came to another; Cabul to a third, whose name was Ulugh Beg. Omar Shekh* Mirza, the fourth son, and father of Baber, at first had charge of Cabul, but was transferred during his lifetime to Ferganah, on the upper course of the Jaxartes, a small but rich and beautiful country, which Baber always mentions with affection. He was born at Indijah in February, 1483, the same year which gave birth to the father of the Reformation, Luther, and the year of his accession was that in which Charles VIII. invaded Italy. His father having been killed by an accidental fall from the roof of a pigeon-house, Baber was advanced to the throne by his nobles, and assumed the title of *Zeheer-ood-Deen* (protector of religion), in 1494. He was then only twelve years old. His father had been involved in a war with both his brother and brother-in-law; the extreme youth of the young king gave them hope of ample satisfaction, and they calculated that with little difficulty they would be able to appropriate his kingdoms. To save him from this imminent danger, his relations proposed to convey him into the mountains; but this intention was overruled, and Baber began to make preparation for the threatened siege. An incident which occurred at this time will give an insight into the character of the future man. One of the courtiers was detected in corresponding with the enemy, and, being summoned before the king, he slew him with his own hand. The confederates entirely failed in their attack on his capital; a raging pestilence having suddenly broke out among their cavalry, their horses died off in hundreds daily, and a peace was concluded. The khans of Kashgar and Khostan, after this led their armies against him, but they also, eventually, made peace. The governor of

Asheera rebelled: Baber besieged the town, and the rebel was compelled to come forth, with a sword suspended about his neck, and a shroud hung over his shoulders. Thence he proceeded to Sharokia, where he met his maternal uncle, and a reconciliation was effected. The King of Samarcand having occupied Aratiba, one of the provinces belonging to his father in his lifetime, he resolved to retake it, and accordingly marched with an army against it. The war was protracted through three years, when the King of Samarcand, having been abandoned by his ally, the ruler of Turkistan, proceeded with a small retinue of three hundred horse to solicit the assistance of Khosrow Shah, ruler of Khondos. Baber availed himself of his absence, and hastened to Samarcand, where he was received into the city, and ascended the throne with the approbation of the majority of the nobles, in 1497, and in the fifteenth year of his age. Some of the chiefs, being disappointed in not having the town given up to plunder, went off in a body, and having placed at their head his young brother, Jehanghire Mirza, they demanded for him the province of Indijan. When this demand was presented to Baber he could not restrain his indignation, and threw out imputations which affected his adherents as well as those who had deserted him. This imprudence so offended the remaining officers, that in a body they went over to his enemies. To aggravate his perils, he was seized with a dangerous illness, by which he was reduced to the last extremity. His life, indeed, was preserved, with the greatest difficulty, by conveying sustenance through moistened cotton applied to his lips. On his recovery he found his affairs in the greatest confusion. The officers and soldiers, despairing of his life, began each to shift for himself; and Ali Dost Taghai, having heard that he was dead, surrendered Indijan to the rebels. He then applied to his uncle, Mahmood, for aid; and though he marched to his assistance, having no military capacity, he listened to the artful proposals of the cabal, and was persuaded to retreat. This misfortune was followed by the desertion of all his forces, with the exception of three hundred, who faithfully adhered to him, and shared his exile and fallen fortunes. He took up his quarters in Khojend, a town so small as to support with difficulty two hundred men. Burning with the desire of conquest and dominion, his ambitious spirit spurned the insignificance of his position, and aspired to a wider and a nobler field of action. In the winter of 1498 he led forth his few followers, and, as he himself relates, won all the strongholds of Yar Ailak by treaty, storm, or stra-

* *Shekh* or *sheikh*, an Arabic word, meaning an old man and prince.

tagem. The first gleam of good fortune was the return of Ali Dost Taghai to his allegiance. The Sultan Mahmood next sent an army to his assistance; and the chiefs of the rebellion had acted so tyrannically, that the towns began to rise up against them, and their troops to desert them; and in 1499 his paternal kingdom was entirely restored to him. An act of indiscretion made him a second time a refugee. A party of the rebels, who had capitulated on condition of taking away all their property, were with his sanction plundered by his partizans. This order was issued with too much precipitation; and as Baber himself observes, "in war and affairs of state no matter ought to be finally determined till it has been viewed in a hundred different lights." The Moguls in his service were so alarmed, that they forsook him, and marched away, in number about four thousand, and offered their services to a neighbouring sultan, who by this reinforcement was enabled to defeat the forces of their former master. After a series of operations a convention was made between Baber and his brother Jehanghire, by which the latter should have the territory on the north of the Sirr, while Indijan and Urkund were to belong to the former; and in the event of Baber obtaining possession of Samarcand, the whole should be resigned to Jehanghire. On his part he bound himself to unite his forces with his brother's for the invasion of that country.

By repeated invitations Baber was induced to renew his designs against Samarcand, and set out for that capital; but before he reached it, he was informed that both it and Bokhara were seized on by the Uzbecks, who were at that time laying the foundation of that dominion, which has continued to the present in Transoxiana. In his absence Tambol had a second time taken possession of Ferghana, and Baber with his followers fled to the mountains to the south of that country. While in this retreat he learned that Sheibani Khan, the chief of the Uzbecks, had left Samarcand on some expedition, leaving a garrison of five or six thousand men. He resolved to surprise it in his absence, and with that object proceeded with the small force of two hundred and forty men. They rode all night, and when all the enemy were at rest they escalated the walls without giving the least alarm. The citizens received them with thanksgivings for their success, and united with them heartily in their attack upon the garrison, and assisted with clubs and stones in driving out the Uzbecks. Sheibani Khan, on being informed of this dashing exploit, hastened back, but found the gates closed against him, and ultimately

withdrew to Bokhara. Shadmar, and Sogdiana, with its fortresses, before the end of a few months, submitted. In 1501 he marched against the Uzbecks, and suffered a signal defeat: with difficulty, attended by a few followers, he escaped to Samarcand, by plunging on horseback into the river Kohik, and swimming across. He determined to maintain his hold in this town "for life and for death." The citizens were reduced to extreme distress. Some of the meaner sort were constrained to eat dogs and asses; the leaves of trees were collected to feed the horses. Some were fed with shavings and raspings of wood steeped in water. The citizens and soldiers could endure these hardships no longer, and therefore, having made a sort of capitulation, he evacuated the town at midnight. The following two years of his life were embittered by vicissitudes and privations of the most afflicting character. He commonly went barefoot through the mountains with his companions, and their feet, he says, became so hard, that they did not mind rock or stone in the least. His servants deserted from want of food. He sometimes expresses the despondent feelings by which he was in these wanderings harassed. The following is a translation of a verse composed by him then:—

"No one remembers him who is in adversity:
A banished man cannot indulge his heart in happiness.
My heart is far from joy in this exile:
However brave, an exile has no pleasure."

At length his patience gave way, and he said to himself, "Rather than appear in this state of debasement, it were good to flee from the sight of man as far as my feet could bear me." He resolved to travel into Northern China. Occasional communications from his adherents in Ferghana served to keep alive his hopes, and at length, with the aid of his uncle, he recovered his capital, and was joined by his brother, who had hitherto been his rival. His old enemy and traitor, Tambol, called to his aid the formidable Uzbecks; Baber was again defeated. He fled with a few men, fighting at every step, and was so hotly pursued, that his guards fell one by one into the hands of the enemy, and his horse was so much exhausted, that he was overtaken by two of Tambol's soldiers. They called to him in an assumed friendly voice to stop, but he pressed forward up a glen till about "bedtime prayers." Both of them, with a solemn oath, assured him that Tambol desired to reinstate him, and they also "swore unto him by the holy book that they would follow and serve him wherever he led." If they were at any time sincere in their assurances, they ultimately abandoned their

honourable intentions, and betrayed him to his enemy. With great difficulty he again obtained his liberty. He rejoined his uncles, but with little advantage to himself, for Sheibani, invited by Tambol, arrived with an army "more numerous than the rain-drops," and routed the Moguls in a bloody conflict. Both his uncles were taken captives, and he fled to Mogulistan. He wandered in distress amongst the mountains for a whole year, and surrendered all hope of regaining his inheritance, and determined on seeking his fortune in Khorassan, bade a long farewell to his native land, and ventured beyond the Hindoo Koosh. Though he had figured in so many scenes, and suffered so many trials, he was yet only in his twenty-third year. The touching details of his eventful experience at this time, as recorded in his life, written by himself, are a faithful mirror of the fitful character of a determined boy. His transient feelings, and the elasticity of his spirits, were remarkable—at one moment dissolved in tears, the next with the keenest relish enjoying the agreeabilities of his situation. His domestic affections are as strong as they are simple and natural—there is no apparent concealment of his inmost thoughts. The genial glow of puerility in the earlier period of his memoirs renders it probable that they were contemporaneously written. During all his marches, says Elphinstone with much truth, in peace or war, flowers and trees and cheerful landscapes were never thrown away upon him. It may be because others have not opened their hearts as he has done, but there certainly is no person in Asiatic history into whose tastes and feelings we can so fully penetrate as into Baber's.

In entering on a new field of adventure his followers were less than three hundred, and among them all there were but two tents. Bactria was at that time under the rule of Khosrow Shah, a favourite of Baber's late uncle, and subsequently minister to his son, the prince whom he had driven out of Samarcand, and whom Khosrow had since then murdered, and appropriated what remained of his dominions. With his lately-acquired subjects Baber was a favourite, and looked upon as the legitimate owner of the kingdom. It was not long after his arrival before all the Moguls in Khosrow's service offered Baber their allegiance; and even his brother came over to him with all his family and effects, and was followed by the whole of the army. He now found himself at the head of a respectable force, and proceeded onward to the conquest of Cabul. His uncle, Ulugh Beg, the king of that country, had died in 1501, two years previously, leaving

his kingdom to his son, a mere lad, who was expelled by his minister; the latter was assassinated, and the kingdom was then seized upon by a prince of Candahar. Almost without a blow Cabul and Ghizni, with all the provinces dependant upon them, acknowledged the dominion of Baber in 1504. Over this country he ruled for twenty-two years before he undertook the conquest of India, and his descendants reigned there until the end of the seventeenth century. A mere recapitulation of the leading events of that interval is all that is requisite here. He subdued Candahar; put down a rebellion fomented by his brother; he waged wars with his old enemies the Uzbecks; and probably would have shared the destruction which had annihilated the eldest branch of his house, had not Sheibani Khan been totally defeated and slain in 1510 by the King of Persia. Baber occupied Bactria and Bokhara, and again obtained possession of Samarcand in 1511, but before a twelvemonth he was driven out by the Uzbecks; and although he was sustained by the Persian alliance, and maintained the war for two years longer, he was stripped of all his acquisitions except Bactria in 1514.

It was then that he turned his attention to India, and entered on that enterprise which had been suggested to him by Dowlat Khan, governor of Lahore, and his sons. The application for aid made to Baber by him was accompanied with an offer of allegiance. No proposal could have been more acceptable; and he lost no time in making the necessary preparations. He directed his march through the country of the Gukkurs, and imposed his yoke upon them. Behar Khan Lodi, and other Affghan amears, who continued faithful to Ibrahim, or averse to an invader, encountered him in the vicinity of Lahore, and were defeated. His victorious army sacked the town of Lahore. Depalpoore was next taken by assault, and a general massacre followed. Dowlat Khan, who had been expelled from Lahore by the King of Delhi, and had taken refuge among the Beloochees, here joined Baber with his three sons, and was favourably received. At this time he was recommended by Dowlat to detach a body of troops to Dura Ismael Khan, with whom several Affghan nobles had collected a force, but Dilawer, the son of Dowlat, informed Baber privately that his father and brother only wanted to separate his army, and weaken them. They were both on this information cast into prison, but shortly after released. This did not ensure their attachment; they fled to the eastern hills, and Dilawer was put in possession of their estates. Alla-ood-Deen was put in

possession of Depalpore, and hopes held out to him of being substituted for his brother Ibrahim in Delhi. The defection of a man of such influence as Dowlat Khan, with other unfavourable occurrences, induced Baber to retrace his steps to Cabul. No sooner had he withdrawn than Dowlat and Ghazee seized upon Sultanpore, and imprisoned Dilawer. Sultan Ibrahim forwarded an army to bring them to submission. The army was tampered with, and the general gained over Alla-ood-Deen, who, having been driven out of Depalpore, had fled to Cabul, and now returned to Lahore, bringing with him the orders of Baber to his commanders that they should assist in placing him on the throne of Delhi, and that he would support him in person as soon as the state of affairs would permit. Dowlat and his son professed their readiness to co-operate with him. The Mogul chiefs having obtained for Baber the cession of all the territories west of Lahore, permitted Alla-ood-Deen to join Dowlat Khan in order to prosecute his pretensions. These, with their joint forces, marched on Delhi. Ibrahim advanced from Agra to oppose them, but his army was taken by surprise in a night attack, and dispersed, but having rallied the next morning, snatched the victory and its fruits from the rebels. The unfortunate pretender was abandoned by his adherents, and fled in great distress to the Punjaub. Baber was then on his march back again to renew his Indian war. Ghazee Khan Lodi transferred his allegiance to his old sovereign, and united his forces with his when he heard of the advance of the Moguls, and remained faithful till that monarch's death.

In 1525 Baber commenced his fifth Indian campaign. On the route to Lahore he amused himself in rhinoceros hunting, and thus had an opportunity of testing the courage, prowess, and skill of his chiefs. In December of the same year he crossed the Indus at the head of a hundred thousand horse. Dowlat and his son, with an army—then in the interest of Ibrahim—of forty thousand, were encamped on the banks of the Ravee, near Lahore, but they did not await his arrival. The father retired into the fortress of Muluret, which, having been beleaguered, surrendered after a few days. The old traitor was pardoned, and again received into favour. On the following day he went in pursuit of Ghazee, who had retired to the mountains. He overtook and defeated him, after which he formed a junction with the army commanded by Ibrahim Lodi. Baber decided on marching on Delhi. To this step he was encouraged by messages from some traitors in Ibrahim's court; and on his way he was joined by an Affghan de-

serter with three thousand men. Ibrahim did not await him under shelter of the walls of Delhi; he had boldly taken the field, and when Baber was within two stages of Shahabad he learned that the vanguard, six or eight miles in advance, composed of twenty-seven thousand horse, were ready to dispute his progress. He hurried on his left wing to encounter them. They met at sunrise the following morning: the conflict was vigorously sustained. The issue was adverse to the Delhians; they were put to flight, and their commander fell in the retreat. The prisoners were barbarously put to the sword. The main army, under Baber, having reached the field of battle, encamped there for six days, during which he ordered his park of artillery to be linked together with leathern ropes, made of raw hides, according to the practice, Ferishta observes, which prevailed among the armies of Asia Minor.

Though Ibrahim's army consisted of a hundred thousand horse, and a hundred elephants, and that of Baber is represented as amounting only to twelve thousand men, he made an attempt with five thousand horse to surprise the Delhians. In this manœuvre he was disappointed. The next morning Ibrahim led his forces to the memorable plains of Paniput,* a day to be remembered in the history of the Indian peninsula. On the 20th of April, 1526, the two armies came in sight of each other. Baber divided his forces into two lines, composed of four divisions, with a reserve in the rear of each, and a small body of horse to skirmish in the front. The light troops were thrown out in advance; besides these there was a grand reserve in the rear of both lines. Baber having delivered his orders to his generals personally, and placed his army in battle array, took his post in the centre of the first line. Ibrahim placed his forces in one solid mass, and, according to the practice of the Indians, ordered his horse to charge. This attack the Mogul army awaited so steadily, that the Delhians began to slacken their pace long before they reached the enemy's lines. Those divisions which advanced to the lines of the adversary being unsustained, were repulsed, but as they fell back the reserves were ordered to wheel round their flanks, and, meeting in the centre, they fell upon their rear. By this manœuvre the Affghans were almost cut off to a man. Ibrahim was among the slain, and five thousand of his followers were heaped around him, and among these was the Rajah of Gwalior. Of the Delhians some authors report that sixteen

* Paniput is also the scene of a great battle between the Mahrattas and Ahmed Shah in 1761, which will be noticed hereafter.

thousand were killed, while others swell the amount to fifty thousand. In a few days both Agra and Delhi fell into his hands. The following characteristic observations on this conquest are made by Baber in his commentaries:—"From the time of the blessed Prophet down to the present day three foreign kings have subdued Hindostan—Mahmood of Ghizni, and Sultan Mahmood Ghoori, and myself;* both were great potentates, while opposed only by rajahs of petty kingdoms; I, on the other hand, while the whole power of the Uzbecks threatened my dominions on the north-west, advanced with not more than twelve thousand, including camp followers, against the emperor of all India, whose army was composed of a hundred thousand men, and a thousand elephants. In reward for my confidence in him, the Most High did not allow me to endure so many hardships in vain, but overthrew my formidable adversary, and gave me the sceptre of Hindostan."†

The detestation in which the Moguls were held by the Affghans determined them to refuse submission. They appeared in arms everywhere, and put their forts in the best possible state of defence; even some of them who had joined the invader deserted, and the peasantry around Agra attacked them in several instances, cut off the foraging parties, and intercepted the supplies both for men and horses. The climate, to which the Moguls were not inured, also thinned their ranks. Thus circumstanced, Baber was pressingly urged by his chief officers to return to Cabul, but he replied "that a kingdom which cost him so much pains in taking should not be wrested from him but by death," and issued a decree proclaiming his determination to remain in India, at the same time permitting all who preferred safety to glory to retire to Cabul. This announcement proved favourable to his interest. Several of the influential men who stood aloof speculating on his withdrawal from India now gave in their adherence. The Affghan confederates had now an army of fifty thousand strong in the field, but there was treason in their camp. The vizier of the late king, Futteh Khan, deserted, and induced several of the nobles to submit. This diversion did not extinguish the hopes of the nationalists, several of whom espoused the cause of Mahmood, the son of the late Sikunder Lodi, and with an army of one hundred thousand horse resolved to re-establish the Affghan dynasty. This led to the battle of Ranwa, a village on the Ban-

gunga River, four miles south of Bhurtapore. The Affghans fought with desperate valour, and the fortunes of the day seemed to incline to them, till Baber, perceiving a favourable opportunity, charged with his private guards "like a lion rushing from his lair," and after an obstinate conflict the Indian line was broken, and they fled in disorder. To commemorate the victory a ghastly pyramid of the heads of the slain was reared on an eminence near the scene of action, and Baber assumed the title of Ghazee.

The enemy thus weakened and disheartened gave their conquerors a respite. Hoomayoon, the conqueror's son, was sent back to Cabul with orders to add Bactria to that province. Many of the strongholds now submitted. In 1528 Baber made a tour of his new empire. Towards the close of this year Prince Mahmood, the son of Sikunder, took possession of the province of Bahar, and the Beloochees in Mooltan revolted. Baber marched in person to Bahar, and defeated the enemy.

The Prince Hoomayoon having left his brother Hindal Mirza as his substitute in the government of Cabul, returned to visit his father. On the 24th of December, 1530, Baber expired, and in compliance with his will he was interred in Cabul. He reigned for thirty-eight years, and died in the fiftieth year of his age.

The particulars of his career have been drawn from his memoirs, written by himself in the Turkish language, transcribed by his son, and translated in the reign of his grandson Akbar, into Persian. The language, in which it was originally composed, is spoken to this day from the Caspian to the Chinese frontier. The chief portion of this was translated by Leyden, and the remainder by Erskine.

"In his person," Ferishta records, "he was handsome; his address was engaging and unaffected; his countenance pleasing, and his disposition affable." On his feelings and tastes some remarks have been made. He was learned, and had few equals in the arts of poetry, prose composition, and music. In the time of his ancestor Jenghis Khan, Samarcand and Bokhara were the first cities in civilization. Notwithstanding his warlike pursuits, his time was not absorbed by the duties of the camp. He was ardently devoted to the enjoyments of the cup, and to female society. When inclined to make merry, he generally gave orders to fill a reservoir in his favourite garden with the richest wine. The following verse was publicly exhibited to the revellers:—

"Give me but wine and blooming maids,
All other joys I freely spurn;
Enjoy them, Baber, while you may,
For youth once passed will ne'er return."

* Baber has not mentioned the conquest of his ancestor Tamerlane. This may arise from Tamerlane not having established an Indian kingdom or imposed a dynasty.

† *Life of Baber*, by Caldecott, p. 179.

Hoomayoon Padshah succeeded his father. He was a prince of refined taste and cultivated mind. He had scarcely mounted the throne when his brother Mirza formed the design of wresting the Punjaub from him, and asserting his independence. Hoomayoon was cognizant of his projects, yet not wishing to be involved in an unnatural war with his brother, anticipated him by sending him a commission nominating him to the government of the Punjaub, Peshavur, and Lumghan. Mahmood, son of Sikunder, was still in arms, and, in the hope of recovering the inheritance of his family, he had recently got possession of Juanpore; Hoomayoon having marched thither ejected him, and restored the former governor. A conspiracy against the king's life, by some of his own countrymen, was detected; the prime mover was pardoned, and some of the accomplices punished, these were officers of distinction in his service. Zuman Mirza, who had been pardoned, on taking the most solemn oath of fidelity, availed himself of the earliest opportunity of escape, and sought refuge at the court of Gujerat, with Bahador Shah. Here he was joined by about six thousand adherents, consisting of Moguls, Affghans, and Rajpoots. Hoomayoon demanded the surrender of Zuman Mirza, which being refused he made preparation to enforce his demand. Bahador Shah was then carrying on the siege of Chittoor, but owing to some circumstance not explained, although Hoomayoon had marched as far as Gwalior, and Prince Rana Sanka had claimed his protection, after two months, he broke up his camp, and returned peaceably to Agra. Despairing of relief, Rana Sanka, with costly presents, induced Bahador Shah to abandon the siege. The successful prosecution of his uninterrupted designs, spirited on this ambitious prince to more important measures, in fact nothing less than the expulsion of the new dynasty. He set up a new claimant for the throne of Delhi, Alla-ood-Deen, the son of Behlol Lodi, and to sustain his pretensions placed an army of forty thousand men at his disposal. This force, commanded by the pretender's son, advanced on Agra, but on the approach of an opposing army, the great bulk of his men deserted, and the remainder, with three hundred officers, were cut to pieces. Bahador shortly after took the field, and having collected a large train of artillery, on which he relied, he entrenched his army, and placed his cannon in redoubts, in the expectation that the Moguls would risk an engagement. The armies were in sight of each other for the space of two months; at length all his supplies being cut off, the men, horses, elephants, and camels perished daily, from want

and disease, in great numbers; and finding himself reduced to extremities, with five attendants he left his camp in the night time, and fled towards Mandoo. The following day his army dispersed, were pursued, and put to the sword. Mandoo, in which Bahador had a force of several thousands, was scaled at night by three hundred Moguls; the garrison, panic-stricken, betook themselves to flight, and the unfortunate refugee, with five thousand horse, escaped to Champanere, then the capital of Gujerat. During the flight he would have been taken by the king in person, had not one of his faithful attendants thrown himself between Hoomayoon's guards and his master, and thus saved his life. The pursuit was hotly sustained. Three days after the capture of Mandoo the victors reached Champanere. Bahador, taking with him all his treasures, fled to Ahmoodabad. The city of Champanere was given up to plunder, but the citadel, strongly garrisoned, and well supplied with provisions, threatened a prolonged defence. Hoomayoon continued the pursuit of the King of Gujerat, who pursued his flight to Cambay, and thence to the Island of Diu. He was so closely pursued that Hoomayoon arrived at Cambay on the very evening he had left it. The principal part of the royal treasures of Gujerat being stored at Champanere, Hoomayoon returned thither to conduct the siege in person. In the capture of this strong fortress the young king exhibited a large share of shrewdness and intrepidity. While one day reconnoitering, he observed a party of country people conveying supplies by a secret pathway leading through a wood; he induced them to carry him in disguise to the spot at which they were admitted. Having carefully made his observations, the following night with three hundred chosen men he prepared to escalate it. Feigned assaults, for the purpose of diversion, being made in other quarters, he with thirty-nine of the detachment approached that part of the fortification he had already marked out, and which, as being extremely difficult of assault, and in the opinion of the garrison unapproachable by the enemy, was left unprotected, the sentinels having been withdrawn for the defence of more assailable points. The king was enabled without interruption to fix steel spikes in the scarp of the rock, and by their aid thirty-nine of his officers ascended, after whom himself, making the fortieth. Before the sun rose the entire party were within the walls. A preconcerted signal was given, and a simultaneous attack was made on all sides. At the head of his detachment the king, sword in hand, fought his way to one of the gates, threw it open, and his troops poured into the

citadel. The garrison was put to the sword. The governor, for his fidelity and bravery, was spared. This daring feat is ranked, and not unmeritedly, by the Mohammedan historians as equal, in the opinion of their military men, to anything of the kind recorded in history. The treasures which fell into his hands, the accumulations of many years, were so great that it is stated Hoomayoon gave to his officers and soldiers as much gold, silver, and jewels as could be heaped upon their respective shields, proportioning the value to their rank and merit. Bahador was not crushed by his misfortunes. He had again enrolled an army of fifty thousand men, and was daily advancing in strength and influence. He, however, sustained another defeat near Mahmoodabad. The province of Gujerat being partitioned among his officers, he directed his march to Boorhanpore, and in his progress received the submissions of the princes of the Deccan. Scarcely had he satisfactorily settled that affair when he heard that a formidable insurrection had broken out in the north, at the head of which was Sheer Khan. Having received the submission of Candeish, he proceeded to Mandoor, and thence to Agra.

Through the attachment still preserved for Bahador, as well as through the ambition and treachery of some of the Mogul officers, who had a design of raising the king's brother, Mirza Askari, to the throne, Malwa and Gujerat, the conquest of which had been accomplished at so much trouble, were now (1535) lost to Hoomayoon without a battle.

The troubles in the north did not allow much time to the king to indulge in those pleasures which were now daily growing upon him. He left his capital, Agra, in 1537, and set out against Sheer Khan. This chief, destined to play a great part in the affairs of Hindostan, was the grandson of Ibrahim Khan, an Affghan, who claimed descent from the kings of Ghoor. Hasan the father held a jaghir in Bahar. He had two sons, Sheer Khan and Nizam Khan. These he neglected, and the elder at an early age left his father, and as an adventurer sought his fortune as a private soldier in the army of the governor of Juanpore. Amid the arduous duties of his profession, he did not neglect the cultivation of his mental faculties. He devoted himself to study, and became versed in the literature of the East, and could repeat from memory all the poems of that popular oriental genius Sadi. He was subsequently reconciled to his father, and was placed in the management of his jaghir until Soliman, his step-brother, grew up, by the intrigues of whose mother he found himself in so uncomfortable a situation

that, accompanied by his brother Nizam, who in all probability was guided by him, he again forsook home, and entered into the service of Sultan Sikunder, who was then king. There he continued to the death of his father, when the jaghir of Sahseram was conferred upon him. After the disastrous battle of Paniput, in which Ibrahim lost both crown and life, Sheer Khan stooped not to the conqueror, but transferred his services to Mohammed Shah Lohani, who assumed the title and dignity of King of Juanpore and Bahar. This prince having yielded to the intrigues of Soliman the half brother, and transferred to him the paternal jaghir, Sheer Khan withdrew in disgust, and joined Junid, the governor whom Baber had appointed to Juanpore, in 1527. Aided by the conquerors he was soon enabled to raise a body of followers in the hills of Bahar, recovered his jaghir, and became a troublesome neighbour to his late master, professing himself a subject of Baber. Having paid his personal respects to that prince, he accompanied him to Chanderry, in 1528, was soon after confirmed in the possession of his inheritance, and appointed to a command in Bahar. In the year after, 1529, Sheer Khan once more is found in the ranks of the nationalists, but on the dispersion of Mahmood Lodi's army in that year, he was one of the chiefs who submitted to Baber. So did also Jelal, the son of Mohammed Shah Lohani, now dead. This young prince, still a minor, and under the guardianship of his mother, was received by the conqueror into favour, and invested with considerable powers. Sheer Khan had obtained great influence over the mother, and on her death, which soon after supervened, Jelal was left in entire dependence on this aspiring noble. He was soon master of Bahar, and of the strong fortresses of Chunar and Rohtas. These steps of aggrandizement were pursued in the beginning of the reign of Hoomayoon. Though the latter looked on with apprehension, and had more than once resolved on checking his ambitious projects, the necessity for his presence in other quarters, and particularly the more recent campaigns in Gujerat and Malwa, had prevented the prosecution of any effective measures. Thus Sheer Khan had been enabled to secure the complete possession of Bahar, and had already made considerable progress in attaching the rich kingdom of Bengal. Such confidence had he thus early in the stability of his power, that when Hoomayoon was in pursuit of Bahador Shah, his son with impunity withdrew with the body of horse which he had led to his assistance.

The grounds of quarrel with Bengal was that Jelal, wishing to assert his independence,

had sought and obtained the aid of the king of that country, but Sheer Khan bade defiance to both, and not only repelled their joint forces, but entered on an aggressive war, and laid siege to Ghoor, the capital of the kingdom.

This short summary will sufficiently explain the situation of affairs in the north when Hoomayoon had returned, and was about to bestow the attention which the emergency commanded. He had no contemptible adversary to encounter. Sheer Khan made his preparations with a masterly perception of the situation, of which the previous history of India furnishes no example. To enable him to complete his conquest of Bengal he threw a strong garrison into the rocky fort of Chunar, with the necessary supplies and appliances for a protracted and obstinate defence. This fort stands on the extreme verge of a detached portion of the Vindaya Mountains, which slope down to the Ganges in the British district of Mirzapore. This eminence, a sandstone rock, rises abruptly from the edge of the stream to the height of one hundred and four feet, and attains its greatest elevation about two hundred yards farther south-east, where it is one hundred and forty-six feet high. From that position the hills recede westward, covering the whole of the south-east of Bahar and Bengal, and shutting up the road along the south bank of the Ganges in two places, one near Chunar, and the other at Sicragalli, east of Bayhalpore.* As the march of the Mogul army lay along the Ganges, and their artillery was conveyed by water, it was essential to their purpose to obtain possession of this stronghold. The siege lasted six months. After the fall of the fortress the victors pushed on, still keeping to the Ganges, and, before Patna was reached, they were met by the unfortunate King of Bengal, who had been expelled his territory, and was still afflicted with a wound received in the last engagement. As they approached the defile of Sicragalli, a detachment was sent to occupy it, but this had been prudently occupied, and, in an attempt to force it, the Moguls were repulsed with considerable loss. The main army was now at hand, and to their surprise they found the position abandoned, and the road to the capital of Bengal thrown open to them. It was no part of the plan of operations, upon which Sheer Khan had resolved, to oppose, in the open field, the superior force of the enemy in this early stage of the campaign. His intention was to betake himself to the hills on the south-west, and he had already removed his household and valuable effects to Rohitas. During the delay at Chunar

Ghoor had fallen, and the battle which had sent its king a fugitive had been fought in Bengal. The detachment which had retired from the defile had been sent there, with instructions to avoid any serious affair, in order to retard the advance, and to complete the arrangements for withdrawal to the highlands. Ghoor yielded without a show of resistance. Though all shadow of opposition had disappeared, an enemy was at their doors more formidable than that which had so rapidly vanished. The Moguls had entered Bengal on the eve of the rainy season, which now had attained its height; the Delta of the Ganges was one waste of water, the slender streams were swollen into far-spreading pools, the plains were in every direction inundated. A stop was necessarily put to all military operations, and the communication with Upper India was seriously obstructed. This state of inactivity continued for several months. Disease, generated by the moist and sultry weather, spread amongst the troops, and several were daily falling victims. As soon as the waters had subsided, and the communications were again established, the soldiers deserted in crowds; and Prince Hindul, the king's brother, who had been left in North Bahar, abandoned his post. Before the rains had ceased, Sheer Khan was again in the field. He overran Bahar and Benares, had extended his lines of communication along the Ganges as far as Kanouj, and had thus skillfully shut Hoomayoon out from the facilities of intercourse with his capital. The result of these masterly movements was that he was obliged to leave his newly-acquired possessions in charge of an inadequate force, while he himself, with the remainder of the army, had to cut his way back to Agra. It was with great reluctance, and after considerable hesitation, that he finally decided on this course. Half the dry season had passed away before he commenced his retreat. He had dispatched a large body of his army as a corps of observation, under the command of one of his experienced veterans, and a favourite general of his father. When they had proceeded as far as Monghir they were surprised and defeated by a division of Sheer Khan's army, who had emerged from their state of inactivity, and again renewed operations in the field. When the Moguls had reached Baxar, between Patna and Benares, they were surprised to find that Sheer Khan, who had now assumed the title of king, had, by forced marches, outstripped them, and was prepared to intercept their further progress. Hoomayoon was advised to engage these troops, fatigued by a day's march of thirty-five miles. This suggestion was not acted upon, and on

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 132.

the following day Sheer Khan had so strongly entrenched himself, that he could neither be passed nor attacked with any prospect of success. Hoomayoon was now obliged to throw up entrenchments, and collected a number of boats to form a bridge across the Ganges, that he might transport his troops across, and thus pursue his journey along that river. This he was the more anxious to effect as the troubled state of affairs in Agra demanded his presence. These preparations he was permitted to pursue without molestation during nearly two months. When the bridge had been nearly finished Sheer Khan one day left his camp, but with a force sufficient to conceal his movement from the enemy, and by a circuitous route came in the rear of Hoomayoon's position, and at the break of day, on the following morning, attacked him with his army divided into three columns. The Moguls were taken entirely by surprise. The king effected his escape at the imminent risk of his life. The bridge not being completed, he plunged into the Ganges. His horse, exhausted, was swept away by the stream, and his master would have shared the same wretched fate, had he not been saved by a water-carrier, who was crossing with the aid of a skin, inflated like a bladder, which sustained the king's weight as well as his own. Eight thousand Moguls were drowned, a party of the enemy having previously seized on all the craft on the river. This disaster occurred in 1539. With a small retinue Hoomayoon hastened to Calpee, and thence to Agra. His queen, whom he made an unsuccessful attempt to save, was taken by the enemy. It is a trait worthy of record, and creditable to the victor, that he treated her with scrupulous delicacy and attention, and sent her to a place of safety. A singular instance of the king's gratitude to the water-carrier is related by Ferishta: on his arrival at his capital he allowed him to sit on his throne for a half day, and permitted him to reward his relatives during that time with princely presents.

During this last campaign his two brothers, instead of uniting to oppose the common foe, had, insidiously, attempted to wrest from him his kingdom, and endeavoured to gain possession of the cities of Agra and Delhi. Hoomayoon used every argument with them in vain to affect a coalition of interest. After the recent defeat the two royal brothers, finding that the Affghans were likely to prevail, became ashamed of their conduct, and resolved to support Hoomayoon. The three met at Agra; Kamran severed himself from their councils and returned to Lahore.

While Hoomayoon was endeavouring to

repair his losses, Sheer Khan, after some respite, advanced to the Ganges, and occupied the neighbouring provinces. In the beginning of 1540 Hoomayoon again took the field, his army being strengthened by an addition of three thousand men left by Kamran. The engagement which ensued was fatal to the Moguls. The army was entirely defeated, and driven into the Ganges. Hoomayoon's horse was wounded, and he saved his life by means of an elephant, which he guided across the stream. The opposite bank was precipitous, and the prince must have perished were it not that two soldiers, who happened to have gained that part of the shore, had tied their turbans together, and threw one end to him, and thus enabled him to make good his landing. On his way he was joined by his two brothers and some troops; having narrowly escaped being pillaged on the road, he reached Agra. The power of Sheer Khan was now in the ascendant, and neither Delhi nor Agra appeared to be a safe domicile for the house of Baber; consequently the royal family, and the most valuable portion of their portable property, were transmitted to Lahore, and they themselves shortly after followed. There was no welcome here for the royal exile. Kamran was too apprehensive of his own safety, and afraid of being supplanted by his elder brother. To purchase exemption from Sheer Khan he ceded to him the Punjaub, and retired to Cabul, leaving Hoomayoon to provide for his security in the best way he could. In this extremity he directed his course towards Scinde, which bordered the dominions of his brother Kamran, having been at one time included in the kingdom of Delhi. Hoomayoon calculated that there existed among many of its chiefs an attachment to the symbol of power, and that they could be induced to recognise his authority. He passed into this province through Uch. Here in fruitless efforts, among which were the sieges of Bakkar on the Indus, and Sehwan, a year and a half were wasted away; his resources were expended, his followers were thinned by deaths and desertions, and the chief of this territory was advancing to attack him; in fact, he surrounded him while conducting the siege of Sehwan, and thus cut off all supplies both from him and the garrison. Deserted by his relatives and friends he was obliged to retreat, and could not find, for several days, a few boats to convey his faithful followers across the Indus. Flying from the enemy he passed through Jesselmere to Nagoor and Ajmeer, then ruled by Maldeo, Rajah of Marwar, one of the most powerful princes of India. Though he had directed his course here by the invitation

of that prince, the latter, perceiving by the shattered fortunes of the king that he had nothing to apprehend from his anger, and that his enemy, Sheer Khan, was in the ascendant, faithfully resolved on seizing on him and delivering him up. Hoomayoon, warned of his danger, fled by night on horseback to Amurkote, closely pursued. His route lay through a sandy desert, where his followers endured the severest privations, and were entirely destitute of water. Some ran mad, others dropped suddenly dead, and nothing was witnessed but screams and lamentations, and to add to their misery the enemy were close in pursuit. The king had but a few attendants; no chance of escape presented itself. A well-directed arrow entered the breast of the commander of the party in pursuit—he fell; terror seized his followers; they unaccountably fled from the handful of royalists, and Hoomayoon was again providentially preserved from imminent destruction. The Moguls seized on many of the abandoned camels, and obtained possession of provisions and other necessaries, of which they stood in such pressing need. By the Rajah of Amurkote he was in a most friendly manner received, and hospitably entertained. During his sojourn here was born his son and successor, Akbar, 1542, a prince by whose genius and fortune the Indian empire was exalted. Having been reinforced by his friend and host, Hoomayoon proceeded towards Candahar, but here he was opposed by his brother, who was in possession, and being attacked by him was compelled to fly to Khorassan, accompanied by only twenty horsemen and his queen. Such was the precipitancy of their flight that the infant prince was left behind in the camp, and carried off by his disappointed uncle, who pretended that he had come with kindly intentions, and indeed treated his nephew with great respect and affection, and removed him and his attendants to Candahar, December 14, 1543. Despairing of any succour from his brother, the king hastened to Siestan, and placed himself under the protection of the King of Persia. In this step he was not disappointed, he was received in a manner befitting a king, and munificently supplied with money, necessaries, and attendants. Thence he proceeded to Herat, where he was honourably received by the son and heir to the sovereign, who abundantly supplied him with every requisite for his journey to the Persian court. In his progress he was waited on by all the governors of the province, who paid him their respects, and magnificently entertained him.

Having accompanied the royal refugee so far from his dominions, and leaving him the recipient of the favours of the Persian mo-

narch, his evacuated kingdom now challenges attention.

The successes which had hitherto crowned the prudent and brave prince, Sheer Khan, by whom Hoomayoon was expelled, have been briefly noticed. The retreat of the king placed him in possession of the provinces, which were stripped of their defences. He took possession of the entire of the Punjab. He erected a strong fortress on the Jhelum for its protection, destined to become famous, and which he called Rohtas, after a fortress in Bahar, and then returned to the late seat of empire, Agra. The chief whom he left in command in Bengal had revolted. This movement he quickly and effectually suppressed, and made such wise arrangements as to guard against the recurrence of disturbance. In the course of the next year he recovered Malwa, and in the succeeding he reduced the fort of Raizin. Though the garrison had capitulated, on the pretence of the authority of the construction of the treaty by some Mohammedan lawyers, the Hindoo garrison were cut to pieces after a brave resistance. "In comparison with their valour," says the Mohammedan writer Ferishta, "the deeds of Rostom and Isfundyai might be deemed child's play. Not an individual of the Rajpoots survived the horrid catastrophe." "No motive," says Elphinstone, "can be discovered for this act of treachery and cruelty. There was no example to make, no injury to avenge, and the days of religious fury were long since gone by; yet there is no action so atrocious in the history of any Mohammedan prince in India, except Tamerlane." His next campaign was into Marwar; when he was crossing the sands, he formed redoubts all round him with gabions, and in this manner he passed through the country of the Rajah of Nagoor and Ajmeer. Maldeo, the most powerful of the independent rajahs, met him at the head of fifty thousand Rajpoots. Both armies lay thirty days in sight of each other. Sheer Khan was looking for some plausible pretext for withdrawing, when he availed himself of a stratagem not remarkable for its originality, but which has often been successfully employed. Most of the Rajpoot nobles had been reduced to submission by Maldeo. Sheer Khan caused letters to be written in the name of these stating, "That having been subjected by the rajah they had, through necessity, accompanied him, but that they were in secret inimical to him; that if Sheer Khan would reinstate them in their former possessions, they were willing to pay him tribute and acknowledge his supremacy." On these letters he indorsed in Persian, "Fear nothing,

but persevere, and you may be assured your wishes will be complied with." Some of these letters were artfully conveyed to Maldeo, who fell into the trap insidiously laid for him; and instead of attacking his enemy, he actually ordered a retreat. One of the high-minded Rajpoots felt so sorely the imputation, that he remonstrated with the infatuated prince. He told him, "That such treachery was unprecedented among true Rajpoots, and he was determined to wash off the stain on their reputation with his blood, or to subdue Sheer Khan with his own tribe alone." He accordingly, with only twelve thousand men, fell on Sheer Khan's force of eighty thousand, with such impetuosity and bravery, that he repulsed the enemy repeatedly, and threw the army into such confusion, that were it not for the timely arrival of fresh reinforcements, during the heat of the fight, they would have won the victory. Sheer Khan, when he had at last succeeded in defeating them, declared that he had nearly lost the empire of India for a handful of *jooar* (millet), alluding to the poverty of the country, and the insignificance of its products. Chittoor surrendered on terms. Rhuntunbhore, he gave as a jaghir to his son. He then marched against Kalunjur, one of the strongest forts in Hindostan. In consequence of the perfidious violation of the treaty of Raizin, the rajah determined on its defence. Sheer Khan here providentially suffered for that crime, and indirectly in consequence of it. The fort had been surrounded, and batteries constructed for his artillery close to the walls; a breach was made, and a general assault ordered, when a shell which was thrown against the fort burst in the battery, in which the king stood, and communicating to a powder magazine that had been carelessly left exposed, the king and many of his chiefs were blown up by the explosion, and he so seriously injured that he was conveyed to his tent apparently lifeless. Though in great agony, he encouraged the prosecution of the siege, and continued to give his orders till the enemy surrendered, and when the intelligence was brought him, that the fort was reduced, he cried out, "Thanks to the Almighty God!" and expired, after a reign of five years and a military career of twenty, in the year 1545. His remains were deposited at Sahseram, where his magnificent mausoleum still stands 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.

This prince has been considered as a usurper. This decision may be ascribed to the restoration to the throne of the descendants

of Tamerlane. His title was better than any that that house had yet established. It had only been fourteen years in existence when overthrown by him. From an early period his personal observation convinced him that the only superiority which could be claimed by the Moguls over his kindred the Affghans, was the personal merits of their chief, Baber, and he patriotically resolved to rid his native country of the odious race. His talents, his good sense, and the benevolence and wisdom which characterized his measures for the improvement of his subjects, showed him worthy of the position to which he aspired. Notwithstanding his brief reign and constant military operations, he brought his territories into the highest state of improvement. In the *Muntakhib-ul-Tawarikh*, written fifty years after his death, it is recorded that he constructed a high road, extending for four months' journey, from Bengal to the Western Rohtas, near the Indus, with caravanserais at every stage, and wells at every mile and a half. There was an imam and a muezzin at every mosque, and provisions for the poor at every caravanserai, with attendants of proper castes for Hindoos as well as Musulmans. The roads were planted with rows of trees for shade, and in many places were in the state described fifty years after. Horse posts were established at convenient distances, both for the convenience of government, and the interests of trade and private correspondence. A similar establishment was maintained from Agra to Mandoo, a distance of four hundred and fifty miles. Such was the public security during his reign, say his historians, that travellers and merchants, depositing their property on the road side, lay down to sleep without apprehension of robbery. It is said that on being told that his beard grew white, he replied, it was true that he had obtained the throne in the evening of life, a circumstance he always regretted, as it left him so short a time to be of use to his country, and to promote the welfare of his people.

Selim Shah Soor, the second son of the late king, availing himself of the absence of his brother, who had been recognised by the father as his heir, ascended the throne. His brother being a prince of limited capacity, and himself a man of known abilities, he had the support of the nobles and army. Four of the principal men in the state having given an assurance to the eldest that his safety should be guaranteed, and the richest province in the kingdom conferred upon him, he was induced to make a formal surrender of his birthright. The result of this negotiation was, that the younger brother was proclaimed by the title of Selim Shah, and a tract of

country near Biana was assigned to his brother Adili. The reigning prince, it appears, considered his position insecure while his brother lived, and gave private orders for his arrest and deportation to the seat of government. By this harsh proceeding, the four chiefs who had interested themselves in the arrangement above recorded, felt that their honour was compromised. They took measures accordingly, and a formidable insurrection was fomented. This was suppressed by the king's promptitude and firmness. Adili fled to Bahar, and was never after heard of. A second revolt was also extinguished. The rest of the reign was not distinguished by any important incidents. However, on one occasion, the king had reason to apprehend a serious attack. Kamran flying from his brother Hoomayoon, who was on his march towards India from Persia, sought protection with Selim, and shortly after intelligence arrived that the ex-monarch had crossed the Indus. Selim took instant measures for his safety, and though under the operation of leeches, he instantly started from his seat, and gave orders for the immediate marching of his army; and on that very evening encamped six miles distant from Delhi. However, this proved to be a false alarm. Hoomayoon retreated, and Selim, returning to Delhi, eventually retired to Gwalior, and resided there. Two unsuccessful attempts were made on his life. Many of his chiefs were said to be privy to them, and were put to death without much inquiry. After this he became extremely suspicious and cruel, and continued so till his death. This event occurred in the year 1553, and in the ninth of his reign.

Like his father, he was magnificent in his court equipage, and studied the convenience of travellers, who were entertained at the public expense. A portion of the palace at Delhi was built by him; and although, by orders of Hoomayoon, it was called Nurghur, it still commonly retains the name Selimghar.

Prince Feroze succeeded his father Selim, in the twelfth year of his age. He had reigned only three days when he was assassinated by Mobbariz Khan, the brother-in-law of the late Selim, and the nephew of Sheer Khan, who usurped the throne, and assumed the title of Mohammed Shah Adili. This prince was a vicious debauchee, supposed to be too much devoted to dissipation and pleasure to encumber himself with the cares which royalty imposes. One of the first acts of his detested reign was to raise a Hindoo retail shopkeeper to the post of minister. He is described as illiterate, and a man of low tastes, but proved a man of great energy and

capacity. The king knew neither how to write or read. His time was spent among the inmates of the harem. His extravagance assumed the most capricious shapes. One of his amusements was as he rode out to discharge among the multitude golden-headed arrows, worth ten or twelve rupees each. He was nicknamed *Andly*, which in the English language signifies, one who is blind, or who, acting as such, shows himself a fool. His rashness and extravagance rendered the king more ridiculous daily. Once, during a public audience, he began to partition the estates and governments among his partizans. Among these he transferred the province of Kanouj from its old governor. The son of the latter, a young man of proud temperament and little discretion, being present, cried out to the king, "Is my estate, then, to be conferred on a dog-dealer?" Surmest Khan, to whom it had been given, was a man of uncommon strength and stature; he seized the young noble, Sikunder Khan, by the throat: he soon relaxed his hold; the dagger of the latter was imbedded in his heart, and his lifeless trunk was stretched at his feet: he then slew several who endeavoured to restrain his fury, and eventually made his way to the throne and attacked the king himself, who, leaping from his seat, ran into the seraglio, and escaped by shutting the door in the face of his pursuer. The king's cousin and brother-in-law, Ibrahim Khan Soor, coming to the rescue, cut the rash infuriate to pieces. Taj Khan placed himself at the head of the disaffected, took possession of the public money and the effects of the crown, and soon assembled a formidable army, which made the king take the field. Both armies met on the banks of the Indus above Chunar, and the insurgents suffered defeat. The success of this battle was in a great measure due to his relative Ibrahim, whose intrepidity had saved him from the fury of Sikunder Khan. These services, which had added greatly to the estimation in which he was held, served to inflame the jealousy of the king, and he accordingly gave private orders to seize him. His wife, the king's sister, informed him of his danger, and he fled towards his father, governor of Hindown. He was pursued, but defeated the king's troops. After this, Ibrahim assembled a considerable force and entered Delhi. Hence he marched to Agra; and reduced the circumjacent provinces. He had assumed the ensigns of royalty. Mohammed fled to Chunar, and contented himself with the government of the eastern provinces, while Ibrahim retained possession of the western territory.

Another aspirant now raised the standard

of revolt, Prince Ahmood Khan, a nephew also of the late Sheer Khan, whose sister was married to Mohammed. He assumed the title of Sikunder Shah, and marched, with twelve thousand horse, towards Agra. He defeated Ibrahim, though in command of seventy thousand horse. He was not permitted to gather the fruits of his victory. The Punjaub, his territory, demanded his presence. Hoomayoon, returning from his long exile, had reached so far on his way back to recover the empire which he had previously lost. The late disaster had so weakened Ibrahim, that Mohammed began to acquire confidence, and prepared for the recovery of his western dominions. The vizier, Hemoo, with a well-appointed army, attacked Ibrahim at Calpee, and having there defeated him, pursued him to Byana, and besieged him in that city for three months. The remainder of Ibrahim's career, though chequered with some incidents of importance, is not sufficiently interesting to be interwoven in the web of our narrative. He was made prisoner in Orissa, in the subsequent reign of Akbar, and suffered an ignominious death.

On his arrival in the Punjaub, to which the presence there of Hoomayoon had summoned him, Sikunder found that Tartar Khan, whom he left in command, had fled from the new fort of Rohtas to Delhi; and the Moguls had, without opposition, recovered all the country as far as Lahore. Sikunder dispatched forty thousand horse to oppose their further progress. This army suffered a signal defeat; the baggage and elephants became the prey of his adversaries, and the fugitives never drew rein till they reached Delhi. This defeat did not deprive Sikunder Shah of all hope of retrieving his fortunes. At the head of eight thousand horse, he marched to the Punjaub, anticipating a greater accession of strength amid his subjects. Here he was frustrated; Beiram Khan, the tutor of the prince Akbar, encountered him near Sirhind. He was defeated, and fled to the Sewalik

mountains; expelled from this retreat, he sought refuge in Bengal, and assumed the reins of government, and shortly after died.

On the defeat of Sikunder, the troops of Hoomayoon, elated with their victory, pushed on, and were soon in possession of both Delhi and Agra. Immediately after these events, the Vizier Hemoo—who, though raised from an humble station, manifested great abilities—having defeated Ibrahim Khan near Agra, and afterwards pursued Mohammed Shah Soor, the ruler of Bengal, whose army was routed and himself slain, joined his master Ibrahim Khan Adili, at Chunar, and then began to make preparations for carrying on the war against Hoomayoon. But the close of this prince's eventful life was at hand. While enjoying the fresh air on the terrace of the library at Delhi, the hour of prayer was announced; the king, as is usual with all faithful Moslems, stood still and repeated the creed of Islam, and then sat down on the steps till the crier had concluded. Then endeavouring to rise with the aid of his staff, it slipped on the polished marble, and he fell on his head. He was taken up insensible, and died the same evening, 1556. He was in the fifty-first year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. The fate of Hoomayoon inspired Hemoo with new hopes and vigour; leaving his effeminate sovereign at Chunar, he set out with thirty thousand men to recover the lost capital. Marching through a country favourable to his pretensions, crowds flocked to his standard. Agra was taken after a siege. The Mogul army, who had accompanied the late king, were located at Delhi, under the command of Tardi Beg. The Affghans proceeded thither, and the Moguls, having suffered another defeat, precipitately evacuated the city. Hemoo was determined to give them no respite. He prepared to pursue them to Lahore, and terminate the war by a decisive blow. The Moguls, having crossed the Sutlej, were concentrating their forces in the last-mentioned province.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE REIGN OF AKBAR.

AKBAR was only thirteen years and four months old on the death of his father, and was at that event in the province of the Punjaub. His tutor, Beiram Khan, who had given many proofs of his ability and fidelity, became his minister, and had the whole power, civil and military, lodged in his hands. The

annoyance which was given by Sikunder, and the revolt of some of the feudatories, did not permit the king and his guardian to hasten to the assistance of the troops in Delhi and Agra. The news of the victories recently achieved, which had wrested from Akbar all his dominions except the Punjaub, created



AN ELEPHANT FIGHT.

great alarm at head-quarters, and a proposal of retiring to Cabul was seriously entertained. Beiram Khan resolutely opposed this measure, and, unsupported, he strenuously advocated the propriety of giving the enemy battle, though their forces amounted to a hundred thousand horse, and the royal army could scarcely muster twenty. The ardour of the young king seconded the counsel of the minister. On the 5th of November, 1556, both armies met at Paniput. Though Hemoo fought with the greatest bravery, and gave an inspiring example to his troops,—rushing, when the fortune of the day seemed to incline to the enemy, into the centre of their ranks,—the royalists triumphed, and he was taken prisoner, having been previously pierced through the eye with an arrow. When Hemoo was brought into the royal presence, Beiram Khan encouraged the young prince to kill the infidel with his own hand, and thus win the distinguished title of *Ghazi*, or “Slayer of infidels and champion of the faith.” Akbar did not embroil his hands in the cold-blooded murder of a wounded captive: not so his cruel minister; with a cut of his scimitar, he severed the head from the trunk. Akbar soon after took possession of Delhi and Agra; and from this period may be properly dated the restoration of the house of Tamerlane.

The restoration was chiefly due to the consummate ability of the minister, who had now risen to the highest condition open to a subject. There were two vices to which Beiram was, in a special degree, addicted—cruelty and jealousy; the indulgence in which first estranged from him the affection of his royal pupil and ward. The summary punishment inflicted on Hemoo was not a solitary instance of his disregard for human life. It is related that one day while the king was at Agra, one of his elephants, infuriated, killed another belonging to Beiram, who ordered the keeper, who had lost all control over the animal, to be put to death; and a few days after, while he was sailing on the river, an elephant, which had been led down to the water, ran furiously against the boat and nearly sank it: the suspicious minister looked upon these accidents as deliberate attempts on his life, and in this instance he required the king to punish the driver. To satisfy him that his surmises were groundless, Akbar ordered the man to be sent to him, that he might punish him: he commanded him to be put to death. Several other instances are supplied of his capricious and cruel temper. The consequence was, that Akbar asserted his own independence, and stripped his regent of the power he had so frequently abused.

More than one traitorous attempt was made by Beiram to make himself master of the Punjab, but at length he was reduced to such a miserable state of indigence, that he was obliged to throw himself upon the clemency of his injured prince. The magnanimity with which the king acted on this occasion is worthy of the character he bears. On the approach of the fallen minister, a body of nobles was deputed to receive him, and conduct him to the presence with all the marks of respect once due to his exalted station. On entering the court, he hung his turban round his neck, and advancing rapidly, threw himself, in tears, at the foot of the throne. Akbar, stretching forth his hand, caused him to rise, and placed him in his former rank at the head of the nobles. He then addressed him thus:—“If you prize a military life, the government of Calpee and Chundery offer a field for your ambition. If you prefer to abide at court, our favour shall not be wanting to the benefactor of our family; but should you be disposed to seek devotion in retirement and wish to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca, you shall be escorted in a manner worthy of your rank.” The latter was his choice; a proper retinue was assigned him, and an annual pension of fifty thousand rupees (£5000). He then took his leave of the king. He never reached the grave of the Prophet; having arrived at Gujerat, on his way, he was there stabbed to the heart by a man whose father he had slain in battle with his own hand.

In 1561, Akbar commenced those conquests which terminated in the combination of the various kingdoms and independent states into which India had been divided. Bas Bahador, the ruler of the principality of Malwa, was conquered, and his territories appropriated. On this occasion Akbar gave an indication of his sagacity, firmness of purpose, and promptitude of action. Adam Khan, who commanded the invading force, distributed the spoil among his followers, and reserved to himself the treasure, the royal ensigns, and the ladies of the harem, and sent only a few elephants to the king. This strange proceeding led him to conclude that Adam intended to make himself independent. He accordingly, without giving any intimation of his suspicions or designs, marched to Malwa, surprised that chief, and returned with all the treasures that had been collected. Shortly after this he displayed a feat of great personal strength and intrepidity. While hunting in the neighbourhood of Nurwur, a royal tigress crossed his path; without a moment's hesitation, with a single stroke of his sabre, he stretched her dead on the plain.

Sheer Khan, the son of the late Moham-

med Shah Adili, who, after the defeat and death of Hemoo, had sunk into comparative obscurity, with forty thousand Affghans advanced from Bengal to reduce the province of Juanpore. Khan Zuman was dispatched to oppose him. He gained the victory, but having neglected to forward the usual quota of the booty to the king, was brought to a sense of his duty by the sudden approach of Akbar at the head of an army. Some time after this, Bas Bahador induced the rulers of Candeish and Berar to assist him; and, thus reinforced, he recovered all his dominions in Malwa. His success was of short duration; he was again put to flight, and fled to the mountains of Kombulmere. Mohammed Khan Atka, who had been appointed minister at Delhi, acquired great influence at Court, but was assassinated by Adam Khan. The latter, by the king's orders, was thrown over a parapet twenty-two feet high. In 1563 Akbar had a narrow escape from assassination; an arrow was discharged at him on his road to Delhi, and lodged in his shoulder. The assassin was cut to pieces before the arrow was withdrawn. In ten days the wound was healed. In consequence of some calumnies which were insidiously circulated among his relations, many of them went into open revolt. They mustered a force of thirty thousand horse, and laid waste and plundered the territories of Bahar and Juanpore, and obtained possession of a portion of the royal treasure. An army which was sent to oppose them was defeated. The king having dispatched a second, followed in person. The confederates, under Sikunder Khan and Bahador Khan, having, in the meantime, crossed the Jumna, raised disturbances in the Doab; while Khan Zuman defeated a body of the king's troops on the banks of the Ganges. The royal army, having come up with Sikunder Khan and his colleagues, forced them to an engagement, though they were then endeavouring to compromise matters with the king, and had sent envoys for that end. The royalists sustained a total defeat, and fled in the greatest disorder, without halting, till they reached the king at Kanouj. The victors then attacked Juanpore, and carried it by assault. Akbar now marched to the scene of action, and having been joined by the forces of the surrounding provinces, whom he had summoned to his aid, the rebels fled, and soon after submitted. Their estates and honours were restored.

About this time an envoy from Cabul apprised Akbar that Solyman Mirza, chief of Budukshan, had appointed a deputy in Cabul, and was acting as an independent ruler. The king, more apprehensive of his northern

than of his eastern enemies, ordered the officers of the Punjaub to place themselves under the command of the governor of Mool-tan. The enemy had anticipated the king's commands; Cabul was invested, and the royalists were compelled to fly, but on their journey were met by an army marching to their assistance under the orders of Fureedon Khan. This traitor recommended Mohammed Hakeem Mirza, the king's brother, to seize upon Lahore, assuring him that Akbar was in no condition to oppose him, being involved in the war with his relatives, who had seized all the eastern provinces; that once in possession of Lahore, he could with very little trouble drive out the late intruders from Cabul. This plot having been revealed to the king's adherents, they occupied Lahore, and resisted every attempt to seduce them from their allegiance. The king hastened to the Punjaub to crush this serious movement; he surprised his brother in Lahore, who fled with the utmost precipitation. The citizens received Akbar with joyous acclamations. The Uzbek chiefs, availing themselves of the king's absence, seized on Kanouj and Oude, and spread their conquests in every direction. The king quickly returned and marched against them. Though it was in the midst of the rainy season, he did not relinquish his purpose. He drove the rebels across the Ganges, and, mounted on his elephant, he waded the stream. After lying in concealment during the night, with his advanced guard of about two thousand men on horses and elephants, he attacked the enemy about sunset. Their leader was slain; one of the principal officers captured; the men were thrown into the greatest confusion, and fled in all directions; and thus, after a protracted war of seven years, was the rebellion of the Uzbecks effectually suppressed, in 1567. Before these transactions were completed, a movement, which ultimately led to very important consequences, was initiated. Sultan Mirza, who derived his descent in the paternal line from Tamerlane, and had accompanied Baber in his Indian expedition, was the prime mover. During the reign of Hoomayoon he evinced the blackest ingratitude to that prince, and had been generously forgiven. On the accession of Akbar to the throne, Sultan Mirza returned to India, and had the district of Sambal conferred on him. He had four sons and three nephews, all of whom were enrolled among the nobles of Akbar's court, though still in their minority. The four sons had attended the king in his campaign against the Uzbecks at Juanpore, and on their return had retired to their estate at Sambal. During the king's incursion into

the Punjab, availing themselves of his absence, they ungratefully took up arms, and collected to their aid a number of malcontents, and with them commenced to levy contributions on the king's subjects. The feudatories in their neighbourhood rose up in arms against them, captured Sultan Mirza, and expelled the others with very little effort. They sought an asylum in Malwa. Throughout the kingdom of Gujerat they subsequently scattered the seeds of future troubles, which were not eradicated till the subjugation of that kingdom.

The most important undertaking was the siege of Chittoor, for the defence of which eight thousand Rajpoots had been left, with an ample supply of provisions, by the Rana, who had retired with his family to a position more difficult of approach. A full description of this siege is given by Ferishta; and from it, it is evident that the arts of mining and the construction of military field-works were familiar, from a remote period, to the nations of Hindostan. The skill displayed at the siege of Ahmednuggur, in 1595, against the Moguls, and in that of Kerowly, in 1807, and Bhurtpore, in 1826, against the British troops, from whom the Indians could not have learned the science of mining, are additional and convincing proofs of their knowledge. Colonel Briggs, adverting to these facts, says it is curious to perceive how completely the Indian mode of attack corresponds with the practice of Vauban, and the best engineers of modern times. On the present occasion two *sabats*, or galleries, had been constructed, and two mines were carried under the bastions, to different spots, and matches laid to them at the same time. One explosion preceded the other, and a practicable breach was the consequence. It was supposed that both had been sprung, and two thousand men advanced in separate bodies to enter both breaches at once. The second mine exploded as the party arrived; five hundred of the assailants were killed, and also numbers of the besieged who were crowded on the bastion. Both attacks failed. The king, while superintending the progress of the works, perceived the governor of the place, by torch-light, directing the repairs of the breaches; seizing a match-lock from one of his attendants, he lodged the ball in his forehead. His soldiers, disheartened by this loss, abandoned all hope of success, and assembling their wives and children, burned them with the corpse of their chief on a funeral pile, they then retired to their temples, where they refused quarter. The temples being stormed, ten thousand Rajpoots were put to the sword. The Rana, notwithstanding the loss of his capital, remained

independent.* From Chittoor Akbar returned to Agra, and there learned that the Mirzas, having left Gujerat, had returned to Malwa, and renewed hostilities by laying siege to Oojein. They were soon compelled to seek refuge again in Gujerat, in 1568.

None of the dynasties which had ruled in India previously to the house of Tamerlane, had such a precarious tenure of the throne. His descendants were, in every respect, aliens "in religion, in language, and in blood." To the Mohammedans in India, these princes were as obnoxious as to the Hindoos. Unlike the royal races of Ghizni and Ghoor, they had no neighbouring dominions on whose people they had hereditary claims, nor such prolific sources as the slave kings to recruit their adherents. The interest which Baber had established in Cabul, was destroyed by the proceedings of Kamran, and the unceasing efforts of the Affghans, for the vindication of their prior claims, converted that warlike people and the Indian Moslems into determined foes. Akbar, at an early period of his reign, appears to have fully comprehended the insecurity of his position; the sudden and effective expulsion of his father, and the fact that it was by external influences that he effected his own restoration, were impressed on his youthful apprehension, and suggested the necessity of devising some means of internally strengthening his hold on the country. "It was probably," says Elphinstone, "by these considerations, joined to a generous and candid nature, that Akbar was led to form the noble design of putting himself at the head of the whole Indian nation, and forming the inhabitants of that vast territory, without distinction of race or country, into one community. This policy was steadily pursued throughout his reign. He admitted Hindoos to every degree of power, and Mussulmans of every part to the highest stations in the state, according to their rank and merit."

In this politic spirit he selected two wives from the Rajpoots, and obtained another for his son, and this alliance, far from being looked upon by the Hindoos as a loss of caste,

* Nine years after his son and successor, Rana Pertab, was deprived of his strongholds of Komulner and Gogunda, probably A.D. 1578, and compelled for a time to fly towards the Indus. But unlike his father, he was an active, high-spirited prince, and his perseverance was crowned with success. Before the death of Akbar, he recovered the greater part of the open districts of his dominions, and founded the new capital called Odeypore, which is still occupied by his descendants. His house alone, of the Rajpoot royal families, has rejected all matrimonial connections with the kings of Delhi; and has even renounced all affinity with the other rajahs, looking on them as contaminated by their intercourse with an alien race.—ELPHINSTONE'S *India*, vol. ii. p. 271.

soon came to be considered an honourable connection.

In 1569 the king invested the strong high-land forts of Rhuntunbhore and Kalingur. In 1571, on the site of a village called Sikree, which he considered an auspicious spot, having had two sons born to him there, he laid the foundation of the city of Futtehpore.

A project of far greater importance than any which had hitherto occupied the young king was now presented to him—namely, the annexation of the kingdom of Gujerat. In the reign of Hoomayoon it has been related how Bahador Shah, the King of Gujerat, after having attained to a high degree of power, and played a conspicuous part in Indian history, had been repeatedly defeated, and coerced to fly from his kingdom. During the subsequent reverses of the King of Delhi, Bahador reassembled an army, and recovered his throne.

The kingdom of Gujerat, previously a province of Delhi, during the troubled rule of the Toghluks had asserted its independence, and from being a narrow tract of land on the plain, it extended from the hilly tract, which connects the Aravalli Mountains with the Vindaya chain, to the desert, including that portion called Rin, on the west, to the sea, on the south, which nearly encloses a part of it, and forms a peninsula, Kattywar, equal in extent to all the rest of the province, and on the north it is bounded by the Gulf of Cutch and Rajpootana, and on the east by Candeish and Malwa.

On the death of Bahador Shah, Gujerat had descended to his nephew, Mahmood II. On his death, a Hindoo slave named Etimad Khan, who had risen to be in high favour with this prince, conducted the government in the name of a boy whom he asserted was the son of Mahmood. This was denounced as a usurpation by a chief named Jenghis Khan. It was with this prince that the Mirzas had sought refuge, but their restless ambition soon gave offence to their protector, and they were expelled by force of arms. Jenghis Khan, having fallen soon after by the hand of an assassin, the Mirzas returned, in order to take advantage of the commotions they expected to ensue. From the year 1568 to 1572 the kingdom was distracted by various contending factions. To crush these, and restore some order, the regent, Etimad Khan, solicited of Akbar to march thither for the suppression of these distractions, and to take possession of the kingdom. For these purposes he set out for Delhi, in September, 1572, and when he reached Patan he was met by the reigning boy, who formally transferred to him the sovereign power. The

King of Delhi acted with prudence and resolution, punished the most formidable of the refractory nobles, and having established a government prepared to pursue the Mirzas, one of whom was at the head of an independent army at Baroche, and another with a considerable force near Surat. The king resolved on attacking the force at Baroche. Hossein Mirza, who was in command, apprised of his approach, set off for the Punjaub to excite an insurrection there. Akbar, with a small body of horse, hastened to intercept him, and after a day's pursuit found himself with an insignificant escort, which amounted to one hundred and fifty-six only, in presence of the enemy, one thousand strong. With this small force he commenced the attack. To the employment of Hindoo chiefs—a remarkable feature in his policy, and to which may be fairly ascribed the rapid extension of his authority—may be fairly attributed the preservation of the king's life, and the successes of the day. In this small band were several chiefs of note, and among them Rajah Bhagwan Singh of Jeypore, his nephew, and his adopted son, Rajah Man Singh. The latter led the advance, and having crossed the river, instantly charged and was repulsed. The king, who was with this band of Rajpoots, was compelled to halt in a lane formed by hedges of cactus, which did not admit more than three horsemen to advance abreast. In this situation three of the enemy attacked Akbar as he stood in advance of his men. The rajah of Jeypore gallantly threw himself forward to shield his sovereign, speared one and charged the other. The enemy fled, and the Mirzas succeeded in making their escape. They afterwards dispersed. At a subsequent period one of them was cut off in Gujerat, some of them escaped to the northern part of India, and, being defeated near Nagore, fled to the paternal estate of Sambal, and, driven thence, entered the Punjaub, where they plundered as they went, and then fleeing towards the Indus, they fell into the king's hands, and were put to death. One only escaped, Hossein, who, flying from Gujerat into the hills bordering on Candeish, remained there unnoticed. Gujerat was entirely reduced, and once more annexed to the crown of Delhi. Akbar, having completed this conquest, returned to his capital, Agra. A month had scarcely elapsed after his arrival, when he learned that Hossein Mirza had united with one of the former chiefs of Gujerat, and had occupied several districts in that province, and were then besieging Ahmedabad. Though the rainy season had set in, this did not deter the enterprising prince from adopting immediate measures to crush this

new attempt. He selected two thousand of his choicest cavalry, and sent them on before him. He soon followed, attended by three hundred nobles, mounted on camels, and overtook the main force at the city of Patan. His measures were so promptly decided on, and executed with such celerity, that in spite of the inclemency of the season, and the state of the roads, he accomplished his journey of four hundred and fifty miles in nine days. His little army was greatly inferior in number to the troops whom he had come to attack. On his approach to the besieged town he sent forward an officer to notify it. His sudden arrival astonished the rebels, and made them apprehensive of a simultaneous attack, both from the newly-arrived force and the garrison. Hossein Mirza having inquired, when they were first seen, whose army was that, and being informed that it was an army commanded by the king in person, exclaimed, "It is impossible, for it is only fourteen days since one of my spies saw him in Agra; and I perceive none of the royal elephants." The other replied, "It is only nine days since he marched, and it is clear no elephants could have accompanied him." The engagement was sharp and decisive, the personal valour, judicious and timely charge made with his own guard, won the day; Mirza and his confederate both were slain; the garrison was relieved, and the conqueror again returned to the seat of his government.

The next theatre of his military exploits was Bengal. After the defeat of Sheer Shah II., 1560, a portion of Bahar was occupied by the Moguls. The remainder of that province, with all the country to the east of it, remained to be subdued. Before the restoration of Hoomayoon, Bengal had asserted its independence of Sultan Adili, and had since then been governed by a succession of Affghan princes. At this time Dawood Khan was on the throne. This prince was both weak-minded and vicious. The odium in which he was held had given hopes to his vizier that he might with impunity supplant him. Dawood being acquainted with his design had the traitor executed. This act of summary justice provoked a civil war, with which Bengal was now harassed. Akbar being disengaged from military enterprises, thought this a favourable opportunity of attacking one of the former dependencies, and he accordingly forced from Dawood a promise of tribute. A temporary cessation of troubles at home had tempted that ill-advised prince to reassert his independence, and he had ill-advisedly taken up arms. The king resolved to conduct in person the war in Bengal. In the depth of the rainy season he left Agra

with as many troops as could be embarked in a thousand boats. The reverses which he sustained in the first stages of the campaign intimidated Dawood, and he accordingly deputed a person to make terms with the invader, but Akbar insisted on his unconditional surrender. Dawood retired to Bengal, abandoning all Bahar. He thence fled to Orissa. In two battles, which were subsequently fought, the royal troops were defeated, but in the third engagement the rebels were worsted, with the loss of all their elephants, and pursued to the Bay of Bengal, and there soon after submitted. Dawood was left in possession of Orissa and Cuttack, and renounced all pretensions to Bengal and Bahar (1575). The vacillating Dawood did not remain long in quiet. Having been joined by several Affghan chiefs from Bengal and Bahar, he found himself in a very short space of time at the head of fifty thousand men, and retook the greater part of Bengal. A battle was fought between the belligerents. Dawood was defeated, fell into the hands of his enemy, was put to death, and in two days after his son, from natural causes, followed him to the grave. The remains of the sovereignty of the Affghans in India was thus entirely extinguished.

The final overthrow of Bengal as an independent kingdom, and the extirpation of the reigning house, did not terminate all disturbances in that province. Bengal had never been wrested by any of the descendants of Tamerlane from the sway of the Affghans. Its geographical characteristics made it a convenient haunt for the turbulent and disaffected. On the south there extended a tract of land both hilly and thickly wooded; the north was a combination of rugged mountains; intricate forests, marshes, and jungles, extended to the sea. Hither fled all the bold Affghan nobles who had incurred the hostility of the Moguls, and here among their kindred they met friends and protectors. The disgrace of the Affghans was often the source of wealth to the Moguls, and several of the estates held from the crown had come into their possession. The recent conquest of the country, completed about the time of Akbar's great commercial reform, afforded to the sovereign an opportunity of inquiring into abuses, and of regulating the revenue of the province, and placing it on a well organized basis. The tenures on which the estates were held from the crown were rigidly investigated, and the quota of troops were stringently exacted from all the present holders. These regulations pressed heavily on the Mogul proprietors, who, conscious of their power, prepared to resist the authorities. The spirit of insubordination spread rapidly

through both provinces—Bengal and Bahar; the insurgents had increased to thirty thousand men; the standard of rebellion was reared, and the king saw himself suddenly stripped of the fruits of his victories by the very forces by whose valour they had been won. During three years this unnatural war continued, and was finally ended by Azim Khan, who succeeded rather by well distributed largesses than by the sword. The Affghans, as might be supposed, were not negligent of the advantages these dissensions afforded them. They seized Orissa, and all the country up to the river Damotter, near Bardwan. Their further progress was interrupted by the death of their chief, and shortly after Akbar found an opportunity of effectually expelling them to Cuttack, and finally reduced them to submission (1559). Their last attempt in arms was in 1600, when their hopes of regaining Bengal were extinguished for ever.

Before the revolt of the Moguls had been suppressed, Akbar's presence was demanded in the Punjab, to suppress the revolt and invasion of his brother, Mirza Hakeem, the governor of Cabul. Hakeem was defeated, sought an asylum in the mountains, soon after submitted, was generously restored to his former government, and is not found after this in collision with his brother and sovereign. On his return Akbar erected the fort of Attock* (1551), which still stands at the principal ferry of the Indus, and marks the spot at which Alexander the Great and several other conquerors of India crossed that river; and two years after he caused the fort of Allahabad to be built at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges. The ten years included between 1550 and 1560 were distinguished by a series of very important campaigns. The Affghans made an irruption, and intercepted all communication between Cabul and India, and were repelled. Gujerat, which had made a noble effort for its independence, was subdued, and re-annexed. Bengal, which had revolted from Sultan Adili before the return of Hoomayoon, and had remained under different Affghan kings till now, was entirely conquered. In the year 1555 his brother Mirza died, and he occupied his possessions. During these transactions Mirza Solyman had been driven by the Uzbecks out of Badakshan, and the success of the invaders, in all probability, imposed the necessity of the journey which Akbar made shortly after into Cabul. In consequence of his approach, or rather perhaps of the con-

querors being satisfied with being left in the undisturbed possession of the recent acquisitions, the peace remained unbroken.

These events having brought the emperor close to the northern range of mountains,—a great portion of which was comprised within his dominions, but which gave a merely nominal allegiance,—he was induced to vindicate his claims and also to extend his sway. The wars in which he thus became involved were attended with greater difficulties than any which he had hitherto undertaken. The first of these was the conquest of Cashmere. A description of this enchanting province, and of its early history, has been given in an earlier part of this history.* It had been held by a long succession of Hindoo princes down to the beginning of the fourteenth century: it then fell under the domination of a Mohammedan adventurer, and was held by kings of that religion to its conquest by Akbar, who subdued it, and annexed it to his Indian empire in 1586. The fame of its transcendental beauties induced him to pay it a visit. This he repeated once only, but it became the favourite summer retreat of the succeeding emperors; and still enjoys, undiminished, its well-merited celebrity.

His next war was with a fanatical tribe, the Roehenias,† who resided in the mountain district bordering on the Khyber Pass. An imposter named Bayazid had, by the assumption of the character of a prophet, acquired great influence over them. He had succeeded in destroying their faith in the Koran, and had taught them that nothing existed but God; that he filled all space, and was the substance of all forms. "God," said he, "remains concealed in the human nature like salt in water, or grain in the plant; he is the same in all his creatures, and the Lord of all; since nothing existed but God, what meaning was to be assigned to such terms as right and wrong, good and bad, excepting that every man should implicitly obey his religious instructor? Behold now," he added, "I am both your god and your prophet, there is therefore nothing which you can do so meritorious as to obey my commands. If you fulfil them, I will restore you after death to the forms of men; if not, you shall be degraded to the forms of hogs and bears, and those who obstinately oppose shall be utterly annihilated." He totally denied the doctrines

* Page 105.

† See Dr. Leyden's account of the Roehenian sect, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xi. The doctor professes to have gleaned his information from the *Makizzen-Affghani*, in the Affghan language, and from the celebrated Persian work *Dabistanhi-i-Mazahib*. From the epithet *Roekas*, or the luminous, his followers derived the appellation *Roehenian*, *luminati*.

* Attock signifies the barrier, for according to the superstitious notions of the Hindoos, it was held unlawful for them to cross that river.

of a future state, and directed his perfect disciples to indulge their pleasures without reserve, and to gratify their inclinations without scruple; he assured them they had nothing to do with ordinances or prohibitions of the law; and that whatever was acquired by violence, robbery, or the edge of the scimitar, was lawful. As soon as he had thus prepared his followers, he accustomed them to the use of arms, and locating himself in the mountains, he began to plunder the merchants, levied contributions, propagated his doctrines extensively by the sword; and soon thus extended his sway, and struck terror even into princes. These successes had assumed a serious aspect, and demanded the vigorous interposition of the Mogul government. The power of the Affghans, though broken down beyond the Indus, was still formidable among the fierce and untractable mountaineers of the north-eastern frontier, who relied on their stubborn independence and the security of their alpine homes. The present inhabitants of the chain, which, rising west of the plain of Peshawur, connects the most southern and lowest range of the Hindoo Koosh with the Sufeid Koh and Salt range, and the Suliman Mountains, in their sanguinary and rapacious character fairly represent their forefathers. Bayazid had such a series of successes, that he had the audacity to descend from his ravines to meet the royal troops in the plain. He was defeated with great slaughter, and soon after died of fatigue and vexation. Faith in his name, and the confidence he had inspired, survived him. His bones were exhumed, and borne as precious relics by the Roshenians at the head of their marching columns. His youngest son, Jelala, some time after his death, succeeded to the command, and became too formidable to be repressed by the resources of Cabul. The professed object of Akbar's approach to the Indus, and the temporary removal of his court to Lahore, was to crush this growing power. Successive corps had been sent across the Indus to effect that purpose. The command of them was entrusted to Zein Khan, the emperor's brother-in-law, and to Rajah Bir Bal, his prime favourite. From one of the Affghan tribes, unaided by the Roshenians, the imperial troops sustained a disastrous defeat in the defiles, in the mountains of Swat, supposed to be Karah-Korah and Bilandzei. The army was cut to pieces, and one of the generals and many of the chiefs were among the slain. With alternating fortunes, Jelala maintained the struggle till 1660, when he was in sufficient strength to gain possession of the city of Ghizni. Having been soon after expelled, he made an attempt to recover

it, but being repulsed and wounded in the assault, he was pursued, overtaken, and killed in his flight. His followers maintained this religious war during the two succeeding reigns of Jehanghire I. and Shah Jehan. The Affghan tribes have resisted repeated attacks from the Mogul emperors, and from the kings of Persia and Cabul, and, though conquered by the British in the campaign of 1839 and 1842, they still retain their turbulent independence.

The prosecution of this war, fierce and continuous though it was, did not engross all the attention or absorb the resources of the enterprising monarch. During the prosecution of it he conquered and annexed Scinde and Candahar.

Scinde had passed from the hands of the Affghans into the possession of other adventurers. Some internal commotions presented to Akbar the hope of being able to recover that former province of the kings of Delhi. He accordingly dispatched an army from Lahore to penetrate Scinde from the north. In this war the Scindians were aided by a band of Portuguese, and two hundred natives dressed as Europeans, who are to be, therefore, considered as the first sepoys in India; and they are also said to have had a fort defended by an Arab garrison, the first mention, Elphinstone states, that he has observed of these mercenaries, afterwards so much esteemed, and so frequently employed. Scinde fell in 1592.

The troubles of the early years of Akbar's reign had enabled the King of Persia to re-occupy the province of Candahar, which had been treacherously and ungratefully wrested from that power by Hoomayoon. The King of Persia, Shah Abbas, being plagued by the attacks of the Uzbecks, against whom he wished to enlist the co-operation of Akbar, had neither time nor disposition to resist his attempts upon it.

The annexation of this latter province completed the restoration of all the hereditary possessions which lay to the west of the Indus; and the conquest of Hindostan proper was also nearly accomplished. None of Akbar's predecessors had more of it under his sway. The Rajah of Odeypore still maintained his independence, but all the other Rajpoot chiefs had become attached to his throne, and were now, in consequence of his conciliatory policy and the cultivation of their interests, firm and devoted adherents.

His next object was the Deccan. Of the remote history of this territory, already physically described,* little can be said. In the traditional annals of the peninsula, it is re-

* P. 124.

lated that Rama, in his pursuit of Raven, the ruler of Ceylon, who had carried off his wife Siva, had attached it to his kingdom of Oude. The ancient geographical division of the district, into the Dravira, or Tamil country, Carnata, Telingana, Maharashta, and Orissa, is proved by the five corresponding languages, all derived from a matrix radically distinct from the Sanscrit. In 1325 Mohammed Toghluq completed the conquest of the Deccan, but did not long retain his hold of it. The rajahs of Telingana and Carnata were the first to re-assert their independence. Their success was followed by a general revolt, in 1347, and the dynasty of Bahmani established, and its independence recognised at Delhi. The final dissolution of this house, about 1494, gave rise to the independent Mohammedan states of Bejapore, Ahmednuggur, Golconda, Bahar, and Berar. Of these, the two latter, merging into one or other of the remainder, became extinct.

As early as 1586, Akbar espoused the cause of Burhan, a brother of Morteza Nizam Shah, the fourth king of Ahmednuggur, who aspired to the government in consequence of the insanity of the king. An army was sent to establish his pretensions. It failed to do so, and Burhan remained for some years a dependent on his imperial patron. In 1592, on the death of the imbecile, Burhan was called to the vacant throne, but found the kingdom plunged in difficulties from which he failed to rescue it. By his death, in 1595, matters were seriously aggravated. There were no fewer than four pretenders to the crown, and each supported by an army in the field. To the aid of the claimant in possession of the capital an army was dispatched by the emperor; but before it could effect a diversion in his favour, the city fell into the hands of Chand Sultana, regent for her infant nephew, Bahador Nizam Shah (1595). This princess was one of the most extraordinary women that ever figured on the Indian stage. On the approach of the Mogul army, whose designs she reasoned were not confined to the arrangement of the intestine distractions of her kingdom, but to its ultimate appropriation, she directed all her energies to open the eyes of the neighbouring independent states to the approaching gulf yawning for their destruction. She appealed to her relative the Rajah of Bejapore: his alliance she secured. She then applied herself to reconcile the jarring factions which weakened her government; she was here, also, successful. Laying aside their private differences, they combined to combat the ambitious power which threatened the ruin and extirpation of them all. Nehang, an

Abyssinian chief, hastened to her relief, and cut his way into the capital through the ranks of the besieging army of Moguls. The siege was prosecuted with a vigour, incited by the approach of the army of Bejapore; re-inforced by two of the contending factions, with equal energy and resolution did the besieged prosecute their defences, inspired by the presence and example of their royal and unwearied heroine, who fearlessly braved the greatest dangers. Two mines had been already run under the defences, when they were fortunately discovered and rendered useless. The third was fixed before the besieged could undermine it; in the attempt to do so the party was blown up, and a wide breach made in the fortifications. Their destruction disheartened the most manly of the survivors. Their faces were to the city and their backs to the storming party rapidly advancing to the breach. Their terror and despair were changed, in the twinkling of an eye, into admiration and resolution. The sultana, arrayed in full armour, with her veil thrown over her face, and a naked sword in her hand, sprang to the front. The Moguls stood appalled by the sudden apparition. Their first assault was checked, and the unequal fight maintained till a well-armed host rushed to her assistance from every quarter. The contest was sustained fiercely on both sides, till evening at length separated the combatants, leaving the victory to the gallant heroine. The victory brought no respite, the morning's dawn beheld the breach repaired and the bulwark stronger than ever. A peace ensued, but not until, say the traditions of the Deccan, her shot having been expended, she had loaded her guns, successively, with copper, with silver, and with gold coin, and, as a last resource, had begun to fire away her jewels. By the treaty which was then made, 1596, the King of Ahmednuggur surrendered to the emperor his claim on Berar, of which he had made a recent conquest.

This peace was not of long continuance, and the affairs of Ahmednuggur were in a more complicated state than ever. The bond of union, so skilfully completed by the sultana, was soon severed. She herself was assassinated, the capital captured by Akbar, and the young king sent a prisoner to the hill fort of Gwalior. These events, though important in their consequences, did not secure the submission of the entire kingdom; another prince was placed on the throne, and its subjugation was not effected till the subsequent reign of Shah Jehan, in 1637.

Previously to the taking of Ahmednuggur, the kingdom of Candish was incorporated with the empire of Delhi.

The remainder of the days of Akbar were embittered, and it is said shortened, by domestic troubles.* Both his sons were addicted to excesses of temper and habits, which afflicted the old king. The younger died of intoxication. His other son and successor, Selim, was cruel, a wine drinker, and had more than once rebelled against his indulgent parent, and was jealous of his own son, Khosrow. They were apparently reconciled before his death, which took place in 1605, after a reign of fifty-one years and some months. Of this great prince, it may be fairly pronounced that he was the most powerful, the wisest, and probably the most virtuous of the distinguished princely race from which he sprang. The summary here given of his glorious career, though stripped of much that is valuable, supplies all the leading and important events of his life, and must be read with peculiar interest now that his feeble descendants have fallen from their long-tottering throne, and the last crowned prince of the Mogul line, after a well-organized attempt to recover his independence, is doomed for the remainder of his days to expatriation.

Some years ago, in or about 1844, the attention of the *virtuosi* was called to the sale of some valuable Indian curiosities, which had been stored in the East India Export Dock, and left in undisturbed neglect for a period of four years. The origin of these exquisite marbles was then a subject of dispute. Mr. Laing, who had imported them, had departed this life a very short time previously, and there came no one forward to disclose their history. One report stated that these beautiful works of art formed the finest parts of that glorious monumental edifice, the Taj Mahal,† which stands in all its original integrity, about three miles from the fortress of Agra. This was an unjust imputation against the East India Company, who, far from acting with the vandal cupidity insinuated, and far from spoliating this remarkable specimen of Mohammedan architecture, had placed a

guard on constant duty to protect it, and had recently expended a lac and a half of rupees in restoring those portions that had been injured by time, and the more active hand of the pillager. Another report had it, that they belonged to the palace of Akbar Khan at Cabul, and had been saved from destruction when, as was stated, the outraged soldiery were demolishing that residence in revenge for the treacherous murder of Sir William M'Naghten. But the facts of the case were, they had belonged to the sumptuous palace which Akbar the Great had erected at Agra, after he had transferred the seat of government from Delhi thither, and formed the linings of the great hall of audience (Dewan Khaneh Aum). This chamber was beautifully adorned with arabesques and other devices cut about one-eighth of an inch deep into the marble; the interstices being filled in with coloured stones of every hue and shade, so as to imitate, with equal fidelity and splendour, the flowers, fruits, leaves, and other objects comprised in the design.* In consequence of the state of decay in which this chamber was,—the marbles threatening to detach themselves from the walls, and to be shivered by the fall,—Lord William Bentinck thought it advisable to remove those exquisite ornamentations. They were, instead of being remitted to enrich our stores of art, sold by auction, and the decorative portions of the *zenana* (the women's apartment), together with the elegant pierced windows, carved or moulded into every geometrical form that the ingenuity of the artist could devise, were purchased by the late Mr. James William Laing, who held a high civil office in the district of Agra. By this gentleman they were packed up in cases, and transmitted, at considerable expense, to England, and eventually brought under the hammer. They were successively knocked down to the highest bidder, fell into private hands, and were dispersed, never to be reunited, thus frustrating any plans which Mr. Laing might have entertained of reproducing in England the architectural wonders of the Mogul empire.†

* If the authority of the Portuguese Jesuit, Catrou, can be relied upon, the native architects of Akbar's reign were furnished with designs for the internal decorations of his palace by Italian artists; and this seems to be corroborated by the fact, that the works of that period far excel in the fertility and abundance of pictorial and artistic genius.

† These interesting particulars the author has gleaned from that valuable serial, the *Asiatic Journal*, vol. ii. p. 88. 3rd Series.

* Colonel Tod, on the authority of the Boondi records,—which, he asserts, are well worthy of belief,—says that a desire to be rid of the Rajah Maun Singh of Jeypore, to whom he was so much indebted, and whom he did not dare openly attack, induced Akbar to prepare a *maajun* (intoxicating confection), part of which he poisoned, but presenting by mistake the innocuous part to the rajah, he took the other himself, and thus perished in his own snare. Maun Singh's offence was, that he seconded the pretensions of his nephew, Khosrow. The old writers of the west attribute the death of this monarch to a similar cause.—Tod's *History of Rajpootana*.

† For its history, see page 94.

CHAPTER XL.

THE REIGN OF JEANGHIRE.

On the 10th of October, 1605, Selim, the son of Akbar, ascended the vacant throne, in the thirty-eighth year of his age.

The materials which supply the following sketch of his reign, are drawn principally from his Autobiography, translated by Price, and Gladwin's *History of Hindostan*, with occasional references to Elphinstone's *India*—a work in which the student of the Hindoo and Mohammedan periods of that history will find much to interest and instruct; and from various other works in which special or incidental particulars illustrative of the period are given.

The empire was at this time divided into fifteen *subahs*, or provinces: viz. Allahabad, Agra, Oude, Ajmeer, Gujerat, Bahar, Bengal, Delhi, Cabul, Lahore, Mooltan, Malwa, Berar, Candeish, and Ahmednuggur. There presided over each a governor or viceroy (*sepah sillar*), who was invested with supreme executive powers, military and civil. Therefore the revenue officers, the army and militia, and police, and courts of justice, were under his control, subject to the instructions of the king alone.

Selim assumed the title of Jehanghire, the World-subduing Emperor, and ordered the following pompous legend to be inscribed on the coin of his realm, the new issue of which, together with the substitution of the name in the form of public prayer, were the initiative acts of the emperors of Delhi:—"Struck at Agra, by Khosrow, the safeguard of the world, the sovereign splendour of the faith, Jehanghire, son of the imperial Akbar."

Of the splendour of that power, now shattered and degraded, some idea may be formed by the extravagant magnificence with which the coronation ceremonials were performed. The jewels of the throne alone were estimated at one hundred and fifty millions sterling, and four tons of gold were employed in the workmanship of it. The legs and body were loaded with seven hundred weight of ambergris, so that wherever the throne—which was so constructed that it might be taken to pieces—was removed, no further perfumes were necessary. The pearls and rubies, with which the crown was clustered, were worth two millions and seventy thousand pounds; and the space which surrounded the throne was covered with the most costly brocades and gold-embroidered carpets. Censors of gold and silver were disposed in different directions, from which was emitted the delicious perfume of burning odoriferous

drugs. Three thousand camphorated wax-lights, three cubits in length, in branches of gold and silver, scented with ambergris, illuminated the scene from night till morning; a number of beautiful blooming youths, clad in dresses of the most costly materials, woven in silk and gold, with zones and amulets sparkling with the lustre of the diamond, the emerald, the sapphire, and the ruby, rank after rank, and in respectful attitude, awaited the imperial commands; and to crown all, the ameers of the empire, from the captain of four hundred to the commander of five thousand horse, covered from head to foot in gold and jewels, in brilliant array, encircled the throne, awaiting the commands of their sovereign. The *tout ensemble* furnishing an example of imperial magnificence seldom paralleled, as the great Mogul truly says, in this stage of earthly existence.

Among the salutary ordinances, which were proclaimed at the commencement of his reign, the manufacture or sale of wine, or any other description of intoxicating beverage, was strictly prohibited. "I undertook," he says, "to institute this regulation, although it is sufficiently notorious that I have myself the strongest inclination for wine, in which, from the age of sixteen, I have liberally indulged."* The remarks and reflections which follow are of so singular a character, that their insertion may not be deemed impertinent.

"And in very truth, encompassed as I was with youthful associates of congenial minds, breathing the air of a delicious climate, ranging through lofty and splendid saloons, every part of which was decorated with all the graces of painting and sculpture, and the floors bespread with the richest carpets of silk and gold, would it not have been a species of folly to have rejected the aid of an exhilarating cordial,—and what cordial can surpass the juice of the grape? With some acknowledged beneficial effects, it must, however, be confessed, that these indulgences to excess must expose a man's infirmities, prostrate his constitutional vigour, and awaken false desires, such being the most injurious properties belonging to the best of stimulants. For myself, I cannot but acknowledge that such was the excess to which I had carried my indulgence, that my usual daily allowance extended to twenty quarts. So far, indeed, was this baneful propensity

* *Autobiographical Memoirs of Jehanghire*, p. 6.

carried, that were I but an hour without my beverage, my hands began to shake, and I was unable to sit at rest." The growth of this morbid propensity at length alarmed him, and he gradually reduced his supply to one fourth. After ascending the throne, and when the affairs of the state demanded his attention, he never exceeded his five cups on any occasion; and hoped to be able, eventually, as did his grandfather Hoomayoon, to abstain totally from its use.

The recorded wealth of the sovereign was immense. Jehanghire asserts that, of the paraphernalia and regalia for state pageants, accumulated by his father, whether in treasure or splendid furniture, the invincible Tamerlane—who had subdued the world, and from whom his father was eighth in descent—did not possess one-tenth; and that on his wishing to ascertain the amount deposited in the treasury at Agra, he had four hundred pair of scales at work day and night weighing gold and jewels only, and at the expiration of five months, the task was far from being completed, and never was. The cause is not stated. An inventory has been published of the treasure in jewels, bullion, coin, and other property belonging to Akbar at the time of his death, in which it is recorded that there were eight large vaults filled with gold, silver, and precious stones, the value of which was inestimable. Of a species of coin struck by Akbar, and called his rupees, there were 199,173,333 crowns = £50,000,000. In jewels, 30,026,026 crowns; statues of gold of divers creatures, 9,503,370 crowns; gold plate, dishes, cups, and household stuffs, 5,866,895 crowns; porcelain and other earthen vessels, 1,255,873 crowns; brocades, gold and silver stuffs, silks and muslins, 7,654,989 crowns; tents, hangings, and tapestries, 4,962,722 crowns; twenty-four thousand manuscripts, richly bound, 3,231,865; artillery and ammunition, 4,287,985 crowns; small arms, swords, bucklers, pikes, bows and arrows, &c., 3,777,752 crowns; saddles, bridles, and other gold and silver accoutrements, 1,262,824 crowns; woollen cloths, 251,626 crowns; brass and copper utensils, 25,612 crowns; making a total, coin included, of 274,113,793 crowns, or £68,528,448 sterling.*

The follies in which he indulged during the lifetime of his father, and the crimes with which he was stained, did not encourage the hopes of the measures he pursued as king. His first ordinance, though a very primitive one, was the cause of much self-gratulation. To the battlements of the royal

tower of his palace, his own apartment, he had attached a gold chain—which he named the chain of justice—which extended to the Jumna, with eighty small bells appended, in order, when any injustice were done by a magistrate, the injured party might, by the use of this medium, communicate directly and unobserved with his sovereign; he also remitted some of the taxes which pressed heavily on his poorer subjects; provided for the protection of property and the re-peopling of devastated districts; rendered travelling more secure; saved merchants from the annoyance of having their bales opened without their consent; quartering troops on the inhabitants was forbidden. No person was to suffer, for any offence, the loss of nose or ears; the lords were prohibited from infringing on the lands of the commons, or from exercising authority beyond the confines of their own estates; hospitals, infirmaries, and competent medical aid were provided for the necessitous at the public expense. A decree was issued confirming the dignitaries and feudatories of his father's government in all that they enjoyed during his life, and all grades of public officers were advanced a step. A general pardon and enlargement of prisoners were granted, and the number of persons benefited by this indiscriminate boon may be surmised, when, within the limits of Hindostan, there were not less than two thousand four hundred forts of name and competent strength, and that from one of these, Gwalior, seven thousand prisoners were liberated.

He found the kingdom—so much of it as lay on the north side of the Nerbuddah—in a state of profound tranquillity; but the commotions in Bengal had not been suppressed by the late sovereign, and the independent party in the kingdom of Ahmednuggur, though their capital was in the hands of the foreigner, were daily increasing in strength, and preparing for its recovery.

Though thus devoting his time to the civil administration, his ambition for conquest was not extinguished. He inherited the aggrandizing propensities of his lineage; and, like his father, always cherished a longing desire for the recovery of the inheritance of his ancestors. He contemplated the completion of Akbar's designs on the Deccan, but was restrained by those measures just named, and by a stronger motive still,—what he deemed the impolicy of leaving India unfurnished with troops to the discretion of any son. At this time, although he hypocritically, in his Memoirs, professes the strongest affection for his son Khosrow, he entertained against him the most virulent jealousy, and

* See Mandelsloe's *Travels*; Harris's *Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 762.

none of those feelings of hostility were mitigated, which he displayed in the lifetime of the late king, which had driven the mother of the young prince to suicide, and which, at the bedside of his dying father, he had promised to repudiate. Having achieved the conquest of the Deccan, a feat of which he assured himself, it was his intent to conduct his triumphant legions into Samarcand. Some changes in the latter province now challenged his attention; yet he thought the prosecution of the war with the Rana of Odeypore of greater importance, and accordingly sent there an army under the command of a younger son, Parveis, accompanied by some officers of great trust and experience. Shortly after he had reached the scene of action, but not before he had effected an arrangement with the rana, he was recalled, in consequence of the rebellion of his elder brother Khosrow. That young prince, though under surveillance, was no doubt in communication with his adherents. His maternal uncle was one of the most powerful men in the empire, was ruler of Bengal, and had, in the previous reign, actively espoused the cause of his nephew. In March, 1606, at midnight, Jehanghire was roused from his slumbers, and informed that his son had fled towards Delhi, with the intention of proceeding to the Punjaub. In a few hours his favourite commander, Ameer Ool Ombra, was sent in pursuit, with instructions that should matters verge to extremities, "he was not to fail in the application of the resources placed at his disposal; for in the concerns of sovereign power there is neither child nor kin. The alien who exerts himself in the cause of loyalty, is worth more than a thousand sons or kindred."* With all the troops whom he could muster, well provided, he followed, first giving to his ministers commands that they should forward the intelligence to the ameers on the frontiers, and require their immediate presence under the imperial standard. A body of three hundred horse, whom Khosrow met on the road to Delhi, joined him. He hastened to Delhi, and when he reached the Punjaub his force amounted to thirty thousand horsemen. His followers were maintained by the plunder of the districts through which he pursued his way. The father was hurrying along the same line of march, with upwards of ten thousand soldiers, mounted on the fleetest steeds and swiftest camels of the royal stables.

A curious anecdote is related by the king, illustrative of the credulity of the man, and which adds another to the many of the extraordinary historical instances of marvellous

coincidences. It is thus related in his own words:—"I had mounted my horse, and had not proceeded far on my march, when a man came to me who could not have possessed any knowledge of my person, and I demanded his name; he replied Murad Khanjah, 'Murad the Auspicious.' 'Heaven be praised,' said I, 'my wishes shall be attained.' A little further on, and not far from the tomb of the emperor Baber, we met another man, driving before him an ass loaded with firewood, and having a bundle of brambles on his own back. I put the same question to him, and he told me, to my great delight, that his name was Dowlut the Auspicious. I then observed to my attendants, how encouraging it would be if the third person we met was Saadet (felix) the Auspicious. What, then, must have been the surprise when, proceeding a little further on, we observed a small boy on the bank of a rivulet watching a cow grazing. I ventured to ask him his name; his answer was, 'My name is Saadet the Propitious.' A clamour of exultation arose among my attendants, and with feelings of equal gratification and satisfaction, I, from that moment, determined that, in conformity with these three 'auspicious' prognostications, all the affairs of my government should be classed under three heads, and called 'the three omens.'"

Khosrow had got possession of the town of Lahore, which had been surrendered into his hands, and was besieging the citadel, when the approach of his father was announced to him, his advanced guard was actually at hand. These were charged by the rebels, commanded by four of Khosrow's principal generals. The royalists were victorious; two of the rebel generals fell into their hands, and one thousand prisoners. These, by the king's direct orders, were condemned to various punishments, some to be flayed alive, some to carry wooden yokes around their necks, others to be drawn through the river, and the remainder to be trampled under foot by the elephants.

Khosrow and his forces were not dismayed by this defeat; they prepared at night with one hundred and twelve thousand horse to attack the imperial camp. With this resolve they abandoned the siege of Lahore. Intelligence reached Jehanghire at Sultanpore, that the armies were actually engaged. With his body of ten thousand horse he hastened to the scene of action. On reaching Gundwal, he was reinforced by twenty thousand horse and fifty thousand camel-mounted matchlock-men, all of whom were forwarded to the support of Sheik Fered, the commander, who was engaged. The royalists commenced the attack. Khosrow's army, his father states,

* *Autobiographical Memoirs of Jehanghire*, p. 66.

amounted on that day to two hundred thousand, of whom thirty thousand fell on the field of battle, and the remainder fled in dismay. Khosrow, having dismounted from his horse, had entered a litter, in the hope of escaping in the confusion of the pursuit; but being surrounded by the victors, he surrendered himself. Thus ended this decisive battle.* That same night Khosrow was conveyed to the presence of his father, while the latter was discussing the probable issue of the engagement.† The same day the victorious monarch entered the city of Lahore. The king relates, that the treasures of Khosrow, amounting in value to eighteen million pounds English money, fell into the hands of some person who was never discovered. Khosrow was placed in strict custody, and on his unfortunate adherents were inflicted the most excruciating tortures. "Seated in the pavilion," he states, "having directed a number of sharp stakes to be set up in the bed of the river, I caused the seven hundred traitors, who had conspired with Khosrow against my authority, to be impaled alive upon them. Than this," he coolly continues, "there cannot exist a more excruciating punishment; since the wretches exposed frequently linger a long time in the most agonizing torture, before the hand of death relieves them; and the spectacle of such frightful agony most if anything can, operate as a due example, to deter others from similar acts of perfidy and treason towards their benefactors."‡ Nearly a year after these events he returned to Agra.

Prince Parveis, who had been recalled from Odeypore, had not time to reach Agra, the command of which was to be intrusted to him during his father's absence, before the rebellion was crushed, and he was now commanded to divert his course to Lahore.

The jaghiredars of the provinces of Ferah and Siestan, led on by the governor of Herat on the part of Shah Abbas, King of Persia, thinking the death of Akbar, and Khosrow's rebellion, a favourable opportunity, laid siege to the fortress of Candahar. They were resisted with such determined bravery, that they were compelled to abandon the enter-

prise, and their master repudiated the abortive attempt.

An insurrection at Nagore was crushed, and a garrison stationed in Ajmeer. Kulmac, who had been for some time in rebellion, made his submission, and was received into favour. The emperor, in 1606, made a hunting excursion into the Punjaub, leaving Khosrow at Lahore, under charge of one of his confidential chiefs, Asof Khan. The sultan had his younger son Khorum declared his heir; and it was commanded that in all grants and patents he should be recognised heir-apparent.

In the following year (1607) a revolt of the Affghans called for the emperor's presence in Cabul; and whilst here he sent for his son Sultan Khosrow, and showed him some acts of kindness. This resuscitation of paternal affection was soon repressed by the detection of a conspiracy, which had for its objects the release of the young king, and the assassination of his father.

Cabul having been restored to order, Jehanghire next directed his arms against Gujerat and the Deccan, in which insurrections still raged. Having first returned to Agra, he thence marched on Delhi. Mohabat Khan was sent against the Rana of Odeypore, and Khan Khanan in command of the army to the Deccan. These operations not having been conducted successfully by either, the former was succeeded by Abdullah Khan, and the latter by Sultan Parveis. Shortly after his arrival at the seat of war Abdullah Khan obtained a considerable victory over the rana, and blockaded him in the passes of the mountains.

At this period Koteb, a man of low origin, pretending that he was the Sultan Khosrow escaped from prison, collected such a body of adherents, that he was enabled to seize the town of Patna. In an engagement, on the banks of the river Punpun, on which he ventured, after a shadow of resistance, he fled, closely pursued, to Patna, had not time to close the gates, and fell into the hands of Afzul Khan, who put him to death.

The campaign in the Deccan was a succession of disasters. Neglecting to lay in supplies, the imperial army was exposed to all the hardships of famine. The capital of the kingdom, Ahmednuggur, in the possession of the Moguls, since it fell into the hands of Akbar, was lost, a dishonourable peace concluded, and the army forced to retreat, greatly displeased with the conduct of their commander. He was consequently recalled, and on his arrival at court met with a very cool reception.

In 1611 Cabul was again the scene of a

* Memoirs, p. 88.

† The particulars, as given in the text, are taken from the king's Memoirs. Elphinstone, relying on the narrative by Gladwin, who does not supply his authorities, gives a far different version of the capture of the young prince. He says, "he was totally defeated, and, having fled in the direction of Cabul, he was run aground in a boat, as he was passing the Hydaspes (Chenab), and was seized, and brought in chains before his father." See Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 349; Gladwin's *History of Hindostan*, vol. i. p. 9.

‡ Memoirs, p. 87.

formidable insurrection, headed by Ahdad, an Affghan. An ineffectual attempt, which was repulsed with great slaughter, was made to surprise the city.

What by some of his historians is called the most important event of his life took place in this the sixth year of his reign. It certainly influenced all the after events of his career. This was his marriage with Nour Jehan.* A very romantic tale is told of her birth, abandonment, and being, Moses-like, entrusted by her generous preserver to the cares of her mother; how by his generosity they emerged from privacy and obscurity, till at length, through the magic influence of their paragon of a daughter, they found themselves her companions in the regulation of the greatest as well as the richest then existing empire. Her personal charms were unrivalled; her mental powers of the highest order: indeed, it is said that one of those attractions which captivated her royal spouse was her facility of composing extempore verses. "The magnificence of the emperor's court was increased by her taste, and the expense diminished by her good arrangements."† And to her is attributed the invention of "attar of roses." In becoming the bride of Jehanghire it is also added she had for her husband the murderer of her first. Her ascendancy was soon felt. Her father was made prime-minister, her brother made steward of the household. All affairs of state were entrusted to her management. She sat behind an open lattice whilst many of the nobility paid her obeisance, and the coin was issued in her name. She was in every respect the absolute monarch of the empire. Her influence was exemplified in the conduct of the emperor. Though retaining some of his old vices, he was never after guilty of such monstrous outrages as before.

In 1612 the Affghans of Bengal were defeated, with the loss of their leader, Osman. This chief had been for several years a troublesome foe. On his death all his adherents submitted.

About this time a treaty was concluded with the Portuguese. The envoy brought back with him all the curiosities he could procure, among them several curious birds and beasts, and amongst them Jehanghire describes a turkey cock as a bird that he had never before seen.

The protracted war in the Deccan at length decided Jehanghire on making one well organized effort. In order to understand the state of affairs, it is necessary to recapitulate

* "The light of the world;" also Nour Mahal, "the light of the harem."

† Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 356.

the events of some years previously. After the taking of Ahmednuggur, and the death of Chand Sultana, the Abyssinian, Malik Amber, whose heroic exploit in cutting his way through the besieging army has been noticed, founded a new city on the site of the present Aurungabad, and through several vicissitudes sustained the wavering fortunes of Nizam Shah. He proved himself an able financier, and as such is remembered still in the Deccan. By him the Moguls were repeatedly defeated, Ahmednuggur recovered, and Khan Khanan obliged to fall back on Berhampore. On the disgrace of this general he was succeeded in the command by Khan Jehan.

Abdullah Khan, viceroy of Gujerat, was directed to penetrate into the Deccan from that province, while Sultan Parveis and Khan Jehan Lodi, reinforced by Rajah Man Singh, were to advance from Candeish and Berar. Though this series of military operations was ably planned, it was entirely frustrated by the imprudence of Abdullah. He ill-advisedly advanced before the appointed time for the arrival of the other armies with whom he was to co-operate. His able adversary did not overlook the mistake. The proximity of the ports possessed by the Europeans enabled him to command a superior train of artillery, and they also afforded him a rallying point on which he could fall back and recruit his army. His tactics, while they enabled him to cut off the enemy's supplies, and to harass them on their march, afforded them no opportunity of coming to a pitched battle. The Moguls were in constant apprehension, and in continual disorder and fear, and were at length reduced to such straits, that they were obliged to resolve on retreat. The consequences may be easily foreseen. With a great loss of troops he reached the hills and jungles of Baglana. Thence his progress to Gujerat was unmolested. When he was falling back his colleagues were advancing. The disasters of the army on whose aid they relied, together with the confidence of their foes, flushed with recent victories, made them consider it the most prudent course to abandon the campaign, and fall back on Berhampore.

Fortune was more favourable elsewhere. The emperor had sent his son Sultan Khorum to command against the Rana of Odeypore. As soon as he arrived at his destination he began to pursue active and skilful measures; he dispatched foraging parties, which soon laid waste the most fertile districts, and drove the detached troops before them into the mountains, and reduced him to such extremities, that he sought earnestly for peace. This was granted in a liberal spirit; and the

moment that Rana Ameer Singh had tendered his homage, with a stroke of policy worthy of his grandfather Akbar, the prince, laying hold of both his hands, lifted him up, and embraced him, and entered into familiar conversation. All the lands conquered from him during the last sixty years were restored. The advantages secured by this conquest are thus catalogued by Jehanghire himself in his *Memoirs*: *—"It was agreed to put my lieutenants in possession of the best and most flourishing parts of the country, and, among others, of the city and town of Puttun, celebrated for the manufacture of its cloth of gold, such as is not to be met with elsewhere in all India. Ahmednuggur, the former capital, was also ceded. Khanapore, a district which for verdure of landscape and deliciousness of climate is unequalled, and the province of Berar, a month's journey in compass, and for its numerous and flourishing population, equal to any in India. All these were now transferred to my sovereign authority, together with a train of elephants, four hundred in number, of the highest value for size and courage. These were furnished with caparisons, chains, neck-fastenings, and bells, all of gold," &c. The success of his favourite son was hailed by his delighted father with every demonstration of affection; he was henceforth looked upon as the successor to the throne, and his hopes in that quarter seemed the more probable, as he had recently married the niece of Nour Mahal. Having received the name Shah Jehan, with which he afterwards ruled, that designation shall be employed in all future mention of him.

These events terminated in the year 1614. In the year following Ghoorka was annexed, and the Portuguese, who in 1613 had violated the treaty into which they had recently entered by seizing some merchant ships near the port of Surat, and making several Mussulmans prisoners, attempted to seize the castle of Surat, and were repulsed by the English, who resided there under the emperor's protection. The English, with their fireworks, burnt several of the ships belonging to the Portuguese, and gave them so warm a reception, that they were obliged to retreat. The Portuguese alleged that it was the English who commenced hostilities. In this year it may be also remarked that Sir Thomas Roe arrived at the court of Agra as ambassador from James I. of England. The design was conceived in the reign of his more energetic predecessor Elizabeth. Her death prevented its consummation. He arrived at Ajmeer on the 23rd of December, 1615, and accompanied the emperor to Mandoo and

* Page 118.

Gujerat, and did not leave till 1618. His observations, during his protracted residence, on the affairs of the empire, from the point of view from which a stranger first introduced to witness a state of things, of which he could have no definite conception, are necessarily interesting, and deserve perusal.*

In the year 1616 the plague, which had never before visited Hindostan, appeared first in the Punjaub, spread to Lahore, and after it had abated in that quarter broke out in the Doab and Delhi, and committed great devastation.

The proceedings of the army in the Deccan, owing to the mismanagement of Sultan Parveis, were daily becoming more unfavourable. The reputation which Shah Jehan had achieved in his late campaign, determined the emperor to assign to him the command in that quarter, whilst he himself advanced to sustain him. On this occasion Shah Jehan was raised to the rank of king, and some writers from this time call him Shah Khosrow, and others Shah Jehan, a dignity hitherto confined to the emperors of the house of Tamerlane. On this occasion both kings rode in carriages made after the English fashion drawn by four horses. The model had been presented by Sir Thomas Roe. On crossing the Nerbuddah Shah Jehan was met by Khan Khanan and the principal chiefs of the army in the Deccan. He entered Berhampore on the 2nd of March, 1617, and was soon after joined by the prince of Bejapore, who had already abandoned the declining fortunes of the brave old chief Malik Amber. Having risen from a private rank in life, Malik's abilities and successes did not ensure him that unanimous support he so richly deserved. His confederates were jealous of him, and even his own officers now began to desert him. Thus abandoned, he was obliged to make submission on the part of Nizam Shah, and to surrender into the hands of the conqueror the city of Ahmednuggur, and all the territories which he had reconquered from the Moguls. As soon as the articles of the treaty were fulfilled Shah Jehan returned to Mandoo, to join his father, in September, 1617. On the Khan Khanan were conferred the governments of Candeish, Berar, and Ahmednuggur. The following particulars are noteworthy.

Tobacco, introduced a few years previously by the Portuguese, was prohibited on the allegation that its use was prejudicial to health. In this proceeding the emperor followed in the footsteps of Shah Abbas, the King of Persia, who had forbidden it throughout his kingdom under the severest penalties. On

* Roe's Journal, published in Churchill's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. i.

the 26th December, 1618, about an hour and twelve minutes before sunrise, there appeared in the horizon a luminous little cloud. It rose later every morning by twenty-four minutes, till on the sixteenth day it was discovered to be a comet with a dark tail. Its course was from the sign Scorpio to Libra. The Indians, with a superstitious feeling then general, believed that it prognosticated the plague which followed, and the war which was afterwards waged by Shah Jehan against his father. At this time there appeared in Candahar a great swarm of rats, which entirely devoured the produce of the earth, and devastated several of the granaries; great numbers were killed, and the remainder vanished as unaccountably as they had appeared. In the latter end of the year a dreadful disorder made its appearance in Cashmere, and proved fatal to great numbers. Its symptoms were a headache and bleeding at the nose; on the second day it proved fatal. There was also a fever, from which very few escaped, which lasted only two or three days. It totally exhausted the patient's strength, left pains in the joints, but did not prove fatal to any one. The emperor, while at Ahmedabad, had an attack of it, from which he suffered severely.

The marvellous tales which had reached Jehanghire of the ocean, whose broad expanse and marvels had never been seen by him, induced him to visit the maritime province of Gujerat, and particularly the city of Ahmedabad, whose wealth and magnificence were celebrated; he was also desirous of enjoying the sport of wild elephant hunting. He was accompanied by his favourite sultana, who, mounted on her elephant, is said to have killed four tigers with a matchlock; this feat so delighted her enamoured spouse, that he presented her with a pair of emerald bracelets of great value. The viceroyalty of that province was added to the government, already conferred on Shah Jehan. In September, 1618, the emperor quitted Gujerat. The only events which mark the next two years are an insurrection in the Punjaub, the capture of Nagrakote, and the visit to Cashmere, the theme of one of the most exquisite of Moore's beautiful poems, *The Feast of Roses*, in which has been drawn the following exquisite portrait of Nour Mahal:—

There's a beauty, for ever unchangingly bright,
Like the long sunny lapse of a summer day's light,
Shining on, shining on, by no shadow made tender,
Till love falls asleep in its sameness of splendour.
This was not the beauty—oh, nothing like this—
That to young NOUR MAHAL gave such magic of bliss!
But that loveliness, ever in motion, which plays
Like the light upon autumn's soft shadowy days.

Now here and now there, giving warmth as it flies
From the lip to the cheek, from the cheek to the eyes;
Now melting in mist, now breaking in gleams,
Like the glimpses a saint hath of heaven in his dreams.
When pensive, it seemed as if that very grace
That charmed all others was born with her face!
And when angry,—for ev'n in the tranquillest climes
Light breezes will ruffle the blossoms sometimes,—
The short passing anger but seemed to awaken
New beauty, like flowers that are sweetest when shaken
If tenderness touched, the dark of her eye
At once took a darker, a heav'nlier dye;
From the depths of whose shadow, like holy revealings
From innermost shrines, came the light of her feelings.
Then her mirth—oh, 'twas sportive as ever took wing
From the heart with a burst, like the wild bird in spring;
Illumin'd by a wit that would fascinate sages,
Yet playful as peris' just loosed from their cages;
While her laugh, full of life, without any control
But the sweet of her gracefulness, rang from her soul;
And where it most sparkled no glance could discover,
In lip, cheek, or eyes, for she brightened all over,
Like any fair lake that the sun is upon,
When it breaks into dimples and laughs in the sun.
Such, such were the peerless enchantments that gave
Nour Mahal the proud lord of the East for her slave;
And though bright was his harem,—a living parterre
Of the flowers of this plant,—though treasures were there
For which Solymán's self might have giv'n all the store,
That the navy from Ophir ere winged to his shore—
Yet dim before her were the smiles of them all,
And the light of this harem was young Nour Mahal.

This is the glowing description, clustered with poetical pearls as rich and as rare as any product of the luxuriant East, given by the poet of Ireland, Moore, of the mistress of Jehanghire's affections.

The temporary indulgence and relaxation, upon which he calculated in this charming retreat, was forbidden by a new outbreak in the Deccan, which made him sensible of the ill-effects of being at such a distance from the seat of empire. He resolved to return to Agra. Malik Khan could not tamely brook the humiliation to which he was reduced; and in taking up arms it does not appear that he was stimulated by any act of oppression; he was probably, as Elphinstone observes, tempted by some negligence on the other side, for he had little difficulty in taking possession of the open country, and driving the Mogul commanders into Berhampore, whence they urged Jehanghire for immediate succour. Shah Jehan was sent forward to their relief with a powerful army. He refused to undertake this expedition, unless his brother was placed in his custody, probably from the fear that Khosrow would win, in his absence, the confidence of his father, and thus cut off the chance of ascending the throne to which he aspired. From this war the unfortunate prince never returned. It happened very opportunely, according to human reasoning, for Shah Jehan, as at this time his father was reduced to the last extremities, by an attack of asthma—a complaint to which

he was then subject, and with which he was afflicted during the remainder of his life. "Though it brought," says Elphinstone, "the strongest suspicions of violence against the rival to whose custody he had been given, we ought not, however, too readily believe that a life, not sullied by any other crime, would be stained by one of so deep a dye."*

When Shah Jehan commenced this campaign, he was in his thirtieth year. In its prosecution he justified the confidence reposed in his abilities. In a pitched battle he gained a decisive victory, and forced his able adversary to sue for terms. In consideration of this success, Shah Jehan ordered a stone fort to be built, to which he gave the name, Zufferabad, or the City of Victory. Affairs in the Deccan were now completely settled, and after the rains the conqueror returned with his army to Berhampore.

The very friendly intercourse which had been maintained with the Persian court, and the prompt repudiation a short time previously of the attack made on Candahar by some Persian chief, led Jehanghire to imagine that that province was safe from attack, and consequently but a small force was maintained for its defence. This was a temptation Shah Abbas could not—certainly did not—resist; he unexpectedly marched with a great army against it, and without much trouble became its master. To wipe off this disgrace the conqueror of the Deccan was ordered to Candahar. In reply to those orders he wrote to the emperor, stating that he did not need any reinforcements; but in order to ensure success, it was necessary that he should be invested with the full command of the army, and released from all control. He also requested, that on account of its vicinity to Candahar, the viceroyalty of the Punjaub might be conferred upon him, and the fort of Runtore. These were extraordinary demands, and exposed the prince to the suspicion of aiming at independence; while, on the other hand, they are said to have been merely precautionary, to secure himself from the powerful influence at work to effect his disgrace.

The great court influence of the empress, Nour Mahal, has been already stated. The alliance which Shah Jehan had made with her, by marrying her niece, together with the disgrace in which the eldest son was in with the father, had raised him to the great power and distinction which he had attained, and gave him the hope of being the occupant of the throne, though two elder brothers stood between him and it. The death of the eldest, Khosrow, which seemed to complete his security, led to a chain of

circumstances which nearly effected his ruin, and, if accessory to his brother's death, he must have felt the retributive justice. Nour Mahal's father, who, after her marriage, was appointed the chief minister, had recently died. He had been visited by the royal pair while he was on his sick-bed, the day preceding his death. He was a man of considerable ability and wisdom, and had apparently, during his life, controlled the ambitious spirit of his daughter. The sage counsellor being removed, her influence and authority were unbounded; everything was regulated by her advice. The emperor seemed to have surrendered all power into her keeping; promotion and degradation were the results of her judgment or caprice. The dangerous state of the king's health rendered his life precarious. Were he removed, and a prince of the decided character and determination of Shah Jehan placed upon the throne, she must sink from her pinnacle of power into comparative insignificance. Rather than submit to such an alternative, she determined to use her present influence to prevent the succession of Shah Jehan. In these intrigues she could command the co-operation of her brother, who, though the father-in-law of the prince, was the creature of her will.

She knew there was no time to be lost. Her daughter, by her first husband, she had affianced to Sheriar, the fourth and youngest son of the emperor—a connection of itself, irrespective of the considerations mentioned, sufficient to undermine her attachment for a more distant relative. She resolved to raise her son-in-law to the throne, confident, from his weak capacity, that she could always maintain her influence over him; and she calculated that by a liberal distribution of the public treasure, she would be able to effect that object. From this time forward she lost no opportunity of lowering Shah Jehan in his father's estimation. The extraordinary powers with which he sought to be invested, in all probability were required to protect him from the influences which he was assured were at work to his detriment, and for the more effectual exercise of which, he suspected, he was dispatched to such a distant part of the empire. His demands, she warned the king, clearly proved that the prince only wanted absolute power to dethrone him. These suspicions were so insidiously repeated, that the emperor was persuaded of their truth. Having succeeded so far, she proffered to defray the expense of the war from her private purse if Sheriar were invested with the command. This the empress was enabled to do, for it is highly probable that the large estates of her first

* Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii. p. 368.

husband, after his murder, reverted to her; and recently the emperor had conferred upon her all the wealth of her deceased father. The infatuated Jehanghire complied with all her demands. Shah Jehan was directed to send the greater part of his army to the capital, to accompany Sheriar to Candahar. Orders were also forwarded to the principal officers, commanding their presence in the camp of the latter. The jaghires which he held in Hindostan were also transferred to Sheriar, and Shah Jehan was directed to select for himself equivalents in the Deccan and Gujerat. The youth of her *protégé* and his inexperience did not escape her sagacity or prudence. Her brother, though in her confidence and devoted to her interest, had not capacity. She foresaw how much the success of her after measures would depend upon the *éclat* of this expedition, and she took the necessary precautions that there should be no failure arising from the omission of all that experience could supply. Mohabat Khan, the most rising general of the time, but hitherto inimical to her family, was summoned to court from his government of Cabul, and received with every mark of respect and confidence. Mirza Rustum, for many years governor of Candahar, and who it was supposed would be the best adviser, was appointed *etaleek* to Sheriar, and commander-in-chief of his forces, and was dispatched to Lahore to make the necessary preparations. Jehanghire, who, in consequence of the state of his health, had been to Cashmere, returned on the commencement of these differences, and fixed his court at Lahore, to be at hand in case his presence should be required.

The object of the empress, and of the measures she pursued, was to bring matters to a speedy issue. Should Shah Jehan tamely submit, her ends were achieved without further trouble; should he have recourse to arms he would subject himself to the odium of having commenced an unnatural rebellion, and in that attempt she calculated on her ability to crush him. Her vanity as well as her ambition were now interested in the struggle. Shah Jehan, in a communication to his father, after expatiating upon the dutiful tenor of his life, modestly mentioned the services he had rendered, lamented that he should have incurred his majesty's parental regard without the shadow of offence, for the gratification of the ambition of a base woman and her degenerate son-in-law, and begged leave to retire to Surat, "the door of righteousness to Mecca," where he would employ his whole time in praying for his majesty's health and prosperity.* When the bearer of the de-

* Gladwin's *History of Hindostan*, p. 59.

spatch returned to Shah Jehan, he assured him that matters were come to a crisis, remonstrances would no longer avail, and abject submission must terminate in utter destruction. It was then decided to act with vigour, and accordingly, without loss of time, the now rebel army marched towards Agra. On intelligence of this movement reaching Lahore Jehanghire led forth his army in person, and arrived within twenty miles of the rebel camp, forty miles to the south of Delhi. The chief command of the imperial troops was conferred on the new favourite Mohabat Khan, and Prince Parveis accompanied him. Shah Jehan retreated, and the usual results followed. The force left to defend the passes in the hills on the Chambal deserted to the enemy; the province of Gujerat expelled its governor; Khan Khanan, hitherto attached to him, abandoned him; he himself was driven across the Nerbuddah, and forced to seek refuge in Berhampore; hence expelled, he retreated to Telignana, and was deserted by the greatest part of his adherents before he had reached Masulipatam, on his way to Bengal, to which he was retiring. He accomplished this long and wearisome march in the early part of the succeeding year, 1624. He defeated in battle the governor of this province, and thus obtained possession of it, and shortly after of Bahar.

When Shah Jehan was driven from Berhampore the imperialists took possession of it, and were there quartered during the rainy season. On learning the success of Shah Jehan in Bengal, they put themselves in motion in the direction of Allahabad. Shah Jehan crossed the Ganges to meet them, but here received neither aid nor sympathy. His supplies failed; his communication with the river was intercepted; the new levies deserted; he was defeated; his army was dispersed; and he sought an asylum in the Deccan, the scene of so many of his triumphs. Here he was received by his old adversary Malik Amber, who was then in arms against the Moguls. They jointly laid siege to Berhampore, which, on the approach of Mohabat, they abandoned. Deserted by all, and reduced by ill-health as well as adverse fortunes to the greatest exigency, he sought his father's forgiveness, and expressed his willingness to submit to his commands. Jehanghire wrote himself in reply, assuring him that if he would send his two sons, Dara Shekoo and Aurungzebe, to court, and surrender the two forts which were held in his name (Rohtas, in Bahar, and Asirghar, in the Deccan), he would grant him a full pardon, and restore to him the possession of the Deccan. Shah Jehan complied faithfully with the conditions. How far the emperor would have fulfilled his

part we are without the means of judging, by an event as unpremeditated as it was successful, and which startled the entire empire, and changed considerably the aspect of affairs. This was nothing less than the seizure of the emperor's person by Mohabat Khan, who, after his eminent services in reducing Shah Jehan, incurred either the enmity or suspicions of Nour Mahal, and fell into disgrace. The ostensible charges against him were the appropriation of the plunder, to account for which he was summoned to court. After some hesitation, he at length made his appearance, but being refused admission to the presence, he saw that he had survived his court influence, and was to be the victim of his enemies. The king was at this conjuncture on the banks of the Chenab, and his army had crossed the river in their advance to Cabul. He remained behind, attended merely by his body-guard and personal attendants. Mohabat had come accompanied by five thousand Rajpoots devoted to his interests. Two thousand of these he detached to burn the bridge, at the head of the remainder he surrounded the emperor's quarters, and with two hundred selected for the occasion he penetrated to the emperor's tent. The royal servants were taken by surprise. The monarch, who had long since abandoned the prudent resolution of moderating his libations, was not quite recovered from the effects of the last night's debauch. Startled by the noise, he looked around in the greatest bewilderment. The presence of Mohabat with his armed retainers at length sharpened his perception, and he now fully understood the peril of his situation, and exclaimed, "Ah! Mohabat Khan! Traitor! what is this?" The traitor protested that he had been driven to this violent step in order to preserve his own life from the machinations of Asaf Khan. He threw himself at his majesty's feet, imploring, if the emperor thought him deserving of death, that he might be executed in his presence. The emperor, sorely enraged at the outrage done to his person, could with great difficulty listen to the salutary suggestions of his Turkish attendant, who, in a language unintelligible to the rest, counselled him to conform to present circumstances, and to leave to God the infliction of adequate punishment. The Rajpoots crowded into the tents, and expelled all the king's attendants. Mohabat suggested the propriety of his showing himself to the troops, to disabuse them of any suspicions that might be entertained by the ill-disposed. The emperor requested permission to be allowed to retire into the harem to change his clothes. This was merely a pretext to be allowed to

consult his empress, who accompanied him. Mohabat, divining in all probability the object, refused him that favour, and only allowed him to bring a horse from the imperial stable, his captive having disdainfully refused to mount one presented to him. The emperor having made his appearance, was received by the Rajpoots with respectful obeisances. Mohabat, reflecting that he would be in safer custody and more conspicuously seen, placed him on an elephant whose driver could be depended on.

Mohabat committed a serious blunder in not arresting the empress at the same time with her husband. He very soon, but too late, discovered his error. On returning for that purpose, he found she was beyond the reach of his influence. When she ascertained that the king had been taken off, and that there remained to her no means of joining him, with great presence of mind she changed her attire, put on a disguise of the most ordinary description, and got a litter of equally humble pretensions. The guards, who had been left by Mohabat in custody of the bridge, had orders to permit every one to cross over, but to allow no one to return. Nour Mahal had therefore no difficulty in reaching her brother's (Asaf Khan's) intrenchments. Her escape greatly disconcerted Mohabat; he next repaired to the tent of Prince Sheriar, but he had also escaped.

The empress, on her arrival among her adherents, summoned a council of the chiefs, and severely inveighed against them, accusing them of cowardice and treachery, and impressed upon them, that there remained no means of redeeming their character but by crossing the river, attacking the traitor, and rescuing their captive monarch. The course which the energetic empress recommended was communicated by some spies to Mohabat, whose representations so alarmed Jehanghire, that he dispatched a trusty messenger, with his signet as a guarantee of his commission, to dissuade his wife and her brother from hazarding such an attempt, which to him, in the hands of an infuriated enemy, might be fraught with the most serious results. Suspecting that the royal captive acted under coercion, no attention was paid to this remonstrance, and it was resolved to cross the river the following morning. During the intervening night a bold but ineffectual effort was made to rescue the emperor by a few gallant spirits, who, finding the bridge destroyed, plunged on horseback into the stream, six were drowned; of the survivors only six, with their chief, succeeded in gaining the opposite shore. They entered the camp, but being discovered, were forced to retreat, and,

after killing four or five of the enemy, recrossed the river.

The following morning the army of the royalists was put in motion, and an attempt made to cross the river. The heroic queen placed herself at the head of her troops, seated on the howdah of a conspicuous elephant, armed with a bow and two quivers of arrows, and her infant granddaughter seated by her side. The bridge having been burned by the Rajpoots, the army attempted to cross by a ford discovered lower down the river. The narrow shoal was bordered on both sides by deep water full of dangerous pools. In this perilous transit many lost their footing, and were swept away by the rapid stream. Great confusion was created by these mishaps, and the risks commensurately increased. Those who escaped had had their powder wetted, and were oppressed with the weight of their saturated garments and armour, and obliged to fight for a landing with the rebels who occupied the bank. Nour Mahal was one of the first to make good her landing, and was surrounded by her brother and the bravest of her chiefs. However, she was unable to make any impression on the rebels, who had the advantage of the ground, and poured down rockets, balls, and arrows, on the troops in the ford, and drove them, sword in hand, back into the water. The ford was choked with men, horses, and elephants, and numbers in their desperation sought safety or death by plunging into the stream. The fiercest attack was made on the empress, nor did she quail before the host of her enemies. The Rajpoots had surrounded her elephant; her devoted guards fell, bravely fighting to the last; the balls and arrows fell in showers around. Hers appeared a charmed life; her granddaughter was wounded; the driver of the elephant was slain; the elephant, having received a cut across the proboscis, maddened to fury, plunged into the stream, and was swept away by the current; he at length providentially reached the shore, and the empress was rescued by her suite, who discovered her howdah stained with blood, and herself coolly busied in extracting the arrow and binding up the wound of the infant.* The fearless chieftain, who led the attack of the previous night, with his division gained the opposite bank, and, driving all before him, repaired to Sheriar's tent. Here a violent conflict ensued, and the missiles fell in the royal tent, and around the throne on which Jehanghire was seated. Unable to effect any service, the brave Fidai Khan retired towards Rohtas, of which he was governor, where he arrived the following day.

* See Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 379; Gladwin's *History of Hindostan*, p. 81.

Nour Mahal having been thus frustrated in her spirited attempt, now resolved on an extraordinary measure. She proceeded to the camp of Mohabat, placed herself a voluntary captive in his hands, and besought to be allowed to share her husband's durance. She trusted to fortune and her own expedients for deliverance. The reliance which she thus apparently placed in her former *protégé* may have revived some of his confidence and devotion. She was well received, and henceforth Jehanghire was treated with all the apparent deference due to his exalted station. Mohabat, as prime-minister, actually regulated the affairs of state. The empress's brother, sons, and many of his friends, fell shortly after into his power, to some of whom he acted with great cruelty. The entire army acknowledged his command, yet his authority was far from being secure. The king's two sons were at large. The Rajpoots were the only column of the army faithful to Mohabat; the indulgence with which they were necessarily treated, made them not only formidable to himself, but odious to the great bulk of the army, and their unrestrained licentiousness outraged the population, and led to some very serious disturbances. On one occasion a party of them proceeded to one of the emperor's hunting-lodges, where the toils were set, and were refused admittance by the Ahdyans who were on guard. The haughty Rajpoots put these men to the sword. The relatives of the victims appealed to the emperor for redress; in his state of restraint he was obliged to temporise with them. They departed, greatly displeased, and on the next morning arose in great force, and attacked the Rajpoots, and killed very nearly one thousand of them. Amongst these were some of Mohabat's most faithful adherents. Mohabat fled during the tumult to the royal pavilion for safety, and it was only by the interference of the sovereign that the affray was terminated, and order restored. As a sequel to this, five hundred of the Rajpoots were seized in the country, and were carried beyond the Hindoo Koosh, and there sold as slaves. The loss of such a number out of five thousand weakened Mohabat very much. He from this time began to feel that his objects were to be accomplished rather by persuasion than fear. Nour Mahal was quite aware of the difficulties of his situation, and prepared to take advantage of them. She counselled the emperor to resign himself to Mohabat's will, and to impress him with the opinion that he was glad of being released from the influence exercised over him by her and her friends, and even to carry his duplicity so far as to warn him against the strong

feelings of jealousy which she entertained for him, and to caution him against the intrigues which were prosecuted to his disadvantage. These artifices were entirely successful, and Mohabat was assured that he possessed the full confidence of his royal captive. He was thus lulled into false security, and paid little or no attention to the designs of others. In other quarters, guided by her masterly mind, agencies were at work to accomplish the ruin of the traitor and the liberation of the emperor. The Omrahs were incited by her emissaries to resent the outrage offered to their sovereign, and, in his person, to themselves, and stimulated to retrieve their character by delivering him from captivity. One of her confidants had privately raised two thousand men in Cabul, who were on their march. Agents were at work in various quarters, whence some were to straggle into camp, as if in search of employment, and others were to await orders. When the two thousand cavalry from Cabul were within a day's march of Rohtas the emperor ordered all his jaghiredars to muster their troops. When they were drawn up, Jehanghire advanced alone to the review; and having approached the centre of the first line, the troops encircled him, and cut off the Rajpoot guard by which he had been attended. Thus the emperor both lost and regained his liberty on the banks of the same river. Mohabat was now conscious of having been duped; he withdrew with his army, and entered into negotiations for his pardon and safety. He shortly after, on the demand of the emperor, delivered up the empress's brother and other men of high rank who were in his power.

The disastrous events of recent occurrences did not extinguish the ambitious aspirations of this wonderful woman. The restoration of the emperor to liberty revived her designs. To achieve the release of Asof Khan she was obliged to come to terms with Mohabat, and she now proposed to herself by his instrumentality to accomplish the destruction of Sultan Shah Jehan. This prince, when he had received intelligence of the rebellion of Mohabat, marched immediately, at the head of one thousand cavalry, to the aid of his father. On the march the most powerful and most faithful of his adherents, Rajah Khan Singh, who commanded five hundred of his troops, died, who all on that occasion dispersed. With the remainder he fled through Ajmeer, Nagore, Juddypore, and thence to Jussulmere and Tatta, in Scinde, as a place of safety. Hence, in despair of brighter fortunes, he would have fled for an asylum to the court of Persia, had he not been prevented by the state of his health. Mohabat was commanded

to proceed, and attack him at Tatta, and hastened in that direction, where the unfortunate prince was with a body of only five hundred adherents. The fort was defended with three thousand horse and two thousand infantry. The governor made a sally, and was driven back. Shah Jehan was encouraged by this repulse to make an effort to storm the town, but was unsuccessful. While Mohabat was on his march the progress of events made a change favourable to the future of the unfortunate prince. His brother Parveis, who had been a considerable time in bad health, the result of indulgence, died. Mohabat was again in disgrace; and Nour Mahal had dispatched intelligence to Shah Jehan of his retreat, and advised him to repair to the Deccan, to be ready to defend himself from any attack. Mohabat was endeavouring to escape from a powerful imperial army that was in hot pursuit of him; he entered Hindostan, and in his extremity had resolved to throw himself upon the mercy of his old and recent adversary. Shah Jehan readily accepted his proffered services, and was shortly after joined by him with two thousand cavalry. He was honourably received.

The virulence of the emperor's complaint had so increased, that he was unable to endure the summer heat of Hindostan. He had returned from Cabul to Lahore, and having made the necessary arrangements to enable him to enjoy some relaxation, he retired, not so much as a matter of pleasure as of necessity, to Cashmere. Shortly after his arrival he had a violent attack of his disorder, which it was apprehended would prove fatal. Such was not the case; he escaped for the present, and removed to the warmer climate of Lahore, where his youngest son, Sheriar, was also sojourning for the benefit of his health. On the third day of his journey the emperor had a very severe attack of asthma; he called for a glass of wine, but was not able to swallow it, and was conveyed to his tent, where he shortly after expired, on the 28th of October, 1627, in the sixtieth year of his age, and twenty-second of his reign.

The day-dreams which Nour Mahal had so devotedly cherished were all dissipated on the death of her husband. Her favourite, Sheriar, was absent; her brother declared for his son-in-law, Shah Jehan, to whom, with all his acquiescence in her intrigues, he was secretly attached, and whose pretensions he was now determined to support. He lost no time in summoning him from the Deccan. To afford himself the opportunity of maturing his schemes, he released from prison Dawar, the son of Khosrow, and had

him proclaimed king. Nour Mahal he had placed under temporary restraint. Henceforth, though she survived twenty-four years, she kept aloof from politics, and devoted her widowhood to the memory of her husband. She was granted a liberal allowance—two hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year. She was buried in a magnificent tomb erected at her own expense, close to that of Jehanghire, at Lahore.

CHAPTER XLI

THE REIGNS OF SHAH JEHAN AND AURUNGZEBE.

SHAH JEHAN was in the thirty-seventh year of his age when he ascended the throne of Delhi, on the 1st of February, 1628. His brother Sheriar, who had been led to expect that the succession would devolve upon him, was in Lahore when his father Jehanghire yielded up his spirit. He had with him his two nephews, who had been intrusted to his care through the machinations of his mother-in-law, who had so disposed of them lest, if at large, they might be an impediment to the development of her intentions. In this emergency he formed a coalition with them, seized the public treasury, and by his largesses brought over the soldiery. Asaf Khan, at the head of his army, approached to assert the claims of his son-in-law. Sheriar marched out to meet him, and give him battle; he was defeated, and compelled to fly for shelter to the city. He was betrayed by his followers, and, together with his nephews, executed by orders of Shah Jehan.

This prince, as soon he received intelligence that the throne was vacant, without delay, complied with the summons of Asaf Khan. He arrived in Agra, accompanied by Mohabat, and took formal possession of the throne. The festival which solemnized his elevation involved an expenditure of one million six hundred thousand pounds.

The first trouble which disturbed his reign was an incursion of the Uzbecks into Cabul. On his approach they retired to the mountains; but Mohabat Khan, who was in command, was then sent into the Deccan to suppress some serious commotions there. Khan Jehan Lodi, an Affghan of low origin, who had been in great favour during the last reign, and held command under the late Sultan Parveis in the Deccan, had recently entered into terms of amity with the son of that brave old veteran, Malik Amber, now at the head of Nizam Shah's government. This man had refused to accompany Jehan on his setting out to assume the government, and marching to Malwa, laid siege to Mandoo, and obviously was preparing, in the unsettled state of the empire, to

pave the way for his own independence. The suppression of this threatened opposition, and Shah Jehan's secure tenure of the throne, suggested to him a less offensive course. He returned to his obedience, was for the present restored to his command, but shortly afterwards translated to Malwa, and Mohabat Khan placed over the Mogul territories in the Deccan. He was shortly after invited to court, and treated with every mark of distinction. It was whispered to him that these demonstrations were all assumed, and that preparations were being made for his ruin. Rumours, whether true or false, excited his suspicions, and shortly after, about midnight, with kettle-drums beating at the head of two thousand followers, he marched out of Agra, attended by his twelve sons. He was pursued, and overtaken on the banks of the Chambal. After a hard-fought conflict he crossed the river, and escaped through Rohilcund into the thickets of Gundwana, and in these fastnesses he opened a communication with his old ally, the sovereign of Ahmednuggur. The complicated state of affairs in that quarter demanded the emperor's presence. He proceeded thither at the head of a formidable army, which, when he arrived at Berhampore, he separated into three divisions, and dispatched into various parts of the interior. Each division was fifty thousand strong.

The distractions, which had originated in the treatment of the Sultan Shah Jehan by his father, afforded to the three sovereigns in the Deccan an opportunity of recovering those portions of their dominions of which they had been deprived; and the emperor's sway was confined to the eastern half of Candeish and a portion of Berar. The most powerful of these three kingdoms was Ahmednuggur. Its position it owed to the old Abyssinian chief, Malik Amber, who died a short time previously. His death gave an opportunity to the factions, and in the prosecution of their selfish ends the resources of the country were wasted, and a facility afforded to the foreign enemy of prosecuting his designs. Bejapore was left by its late

sovereign, whose career was contemporaneous with that of Malik Amber, in a flourishing condition; and the king of the third kingdom, Golconda, keeping aloof from the contentions of the Mohammedan princes, was extending his dominions by the appropriation of the territories of the neighbouring Indian rajahs. Khan Jehan, who had for some time eluded a conflict, was at length surprised, and his baggage having fallen into the hands of the Moguls, he was driven to seek safety in the hills. He appealed in vain to the sovereign of Bejapore, but with greater success to the King of Ahmednuggur—unfortunately for the latter, for in an engagement which ensued, he was defeated, and obliged to seek the shelter of his forts, and to have recourse to a guerilla warfare. This disastrous defeat extinguished all the hopes of Khan Jehan in this quarter; he fled to the west, where he had some hopes of support, but was overtaken by his pursuers, and with a few faithful adherents put to the sword. His fate did not terminate the war against his ally, Mor-teza Nizam Shah, the King of Ahmednuggur. This prince, attributing his misfortunes to his minister, re-called to his counsels Futteh Khan, the son of Malik Amber, who had been disgraced and imprisoned. The new minister, still writhing under the injuries inflicted upon him, turned the opportunity thus presented to the destruction of his sovereign, who, with his attached friends, were soon put to death. The minister then sent an offer of submission and a splendid present to Shah Jehan, and raised to the throne an infant, who avowedly held his dignity in subordination to the emperor.

Adili Shah, the King of Bejapore, who had at first refused to co-operate with Khan Jehan in his opposition to the Moguls, was now sensible of his egregious mistake, and actually sent an army to support the late King of Ahmednuggur. Against him Shah Jehan turned his arms, and the wavering Futteh Khan, forgetful of his late engagements, united his forces with those of Bejapore, but very soon after abandoned the alliance, and joined the imperialists. The King of Bejapore displayed a great amount of intrepidity and skill. The overwhelming force brought to bear against him coerced him to seek shelter within the fortifications of his capital, where he was besieged by Asof Khan. The Mogul commander was artfully diverted by some ingenious artifices, and during this time famine and disease were doing their deadly work among his troops. Through the failure of the periodical rains in 1629, of which there was a recurrence in the following year, a wide-spread famine afflicted

Hindustan. Forage failed, cattle perished, and the people died in thousands. The imperial army was visited by these dire scourges, and Asof Khan was at length obliged to raise the siege, and, in revenge for his disappointment, he cruelly ravaged the fertile districts of that kingdom. Shah Jehan left the scene of action, and returned to Agra, leaving Mohabat Khan in command. This able man displayed his usual ability, and the result was that Futteh Khan was shut up in the fort of Dowlatabad, where he defended himself, with occasional assistance from the King of Bejapore. In a battle their combined forces were put to the rout. Futteh Khan surrendered, and entered into the service of Shah Jehan, and the young monarch, his *protégé*, was sent off a prisoner to Gwalior. The fate of the Deccan was apparently decided; all opposition was crushed, and the most formidable opponents of the emperor not only subdued, but attached to his interests. An opposition, which was not apprehended, now manifested itself. The King of Bejapore, deprived of all external aid, made overtures for an accommodation. These were not favourably received. He was then thrown upon his defence, and such was the effective character of his opposition, that all the efforts of Mohabat Khan were frustrated. He was recalled, and the Deccan was divided into two commands. No better success attended his successors. That portion of Hindostan was as far as ever from being subdued, and Shah Jehan saw the necessity of returning in person to make another effort for its reduction.

The King of Bejapore, during the continuance of this war, maintained his reputation, and the imperialists were frequently subjected to inconveniences and defeats by the spirit and activity of his followers. The issue was that a treaty was concluded, by the terms of which he submitted to pay £200,000 a year to Shah Jehan, and in return he received a portion of Shah Nizam's dominions, which considerably extended his own on the north and east. About this time a tribute was imposed upon the King of Golconda, and the kingdom of Ahmednuggur was extinguished.

During these commotions there appeared upon the stage a man who was destined to play no mean part in the Indian drama, this was Shahjee Bonsla, who, during the *régime* of Malik Amber, had risen into notice. After the fall of Dowlatabad, he retired into the west of the Deccan, and there so strengthened his influence, that he was enabled to place on the throne of Ahmednuggur a pre-

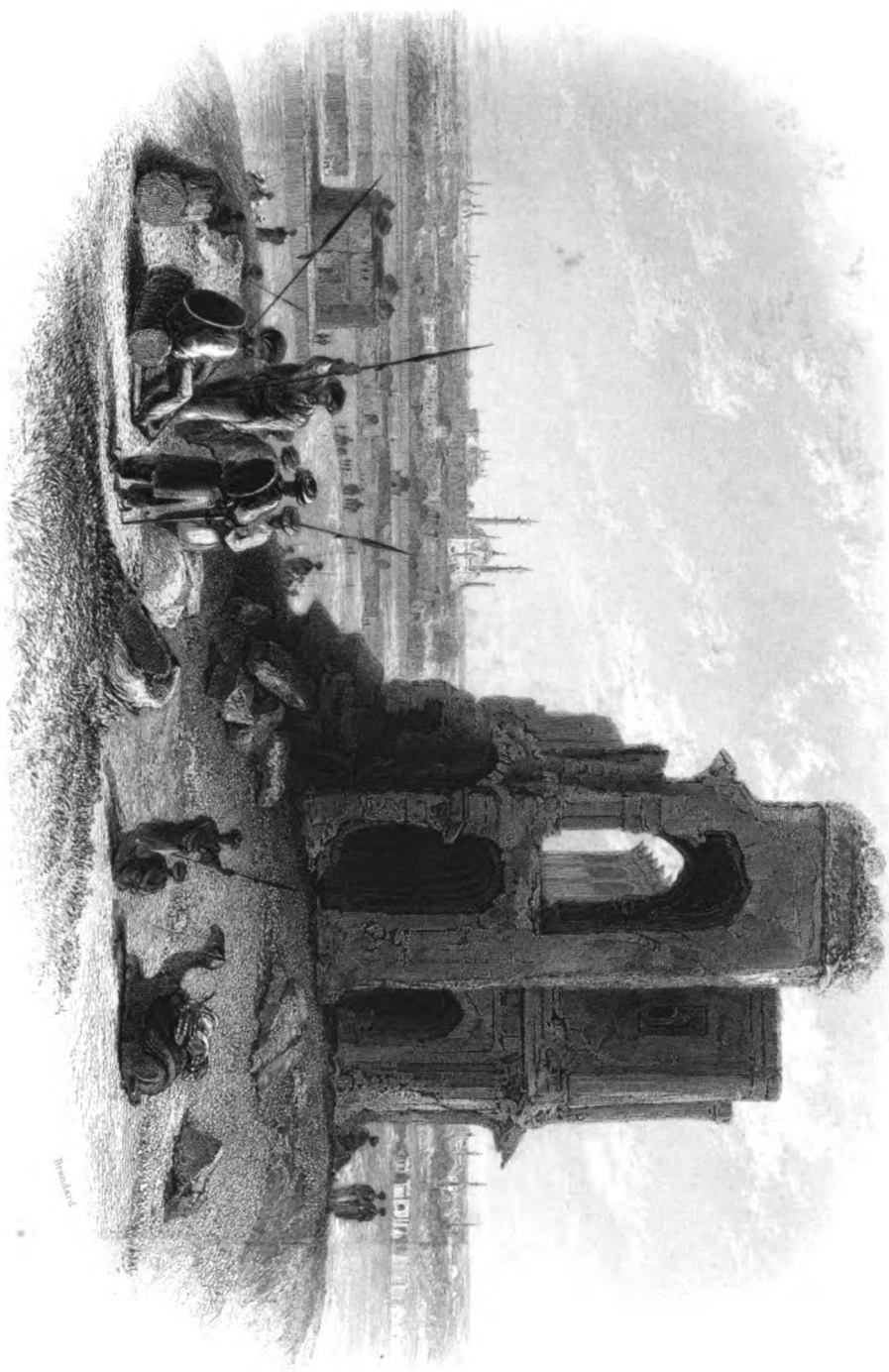
tender, and to get possession of all the districts of that kingdom, from the sea to the capital. Shortly after the compromise of Adili Shah, he submitted, gave up the pretender, and with the concurrence of Shah Jehan, transferred his services to the King of Bejapore. He afterwards figures in the history of Hindostan, and his family were the founders of the kingdom of Maharatta.

While the Moguls were thus engaged in the Deccan, some transactions occurred in other parts of the empire which demand notice: among these the principal was the capture of the Portuguese fort of Hoogly, not far from Calcutta, which was taken in 1631, after a siege, by the governor of Bengal. In the chapters devoted to the mission of Francis Xavier, and to the commercial connection between India and the West, mention is made of the arrival of the Portuguese on the coast of Malabar. A short retrospect of their political progress may be necessary to the illustration of this period of Indian history.

The Portuguese, under the celebrated Vasco da Gama, as has been noticed, made their appearance in May, 1498, at the town of Calicut. In 1505, in an engagement fought at Choule, by Lorenzo, the son of Francisco de Almeyda, against the fleet of the Sultan of Egypt, the Portuguese cannon were first heard on the shores of Maharashtra. Choule then belonged to Admednuggur, and with the king of that country the Portuguese maintained a friendly intercourse for several years. On the 30th December, 1508, they entered the river Dabul, and the viceroy, Francisco de Almeyda, plundered and burnt the town. The first territory of which they possessed themselves was the important island on which now stands the town of Goa, which belonged to the kingdom of Bejapore. The Hindoo pirate Timmogie, a native of Canara, suggested to Alphonso de Albuquerque, an attack on Goa. It was surprised on the 27th of February, 1510, but was soon after recovered; again attacked, and finally conquered by Albuquerque, on the 25th November following. In 1533, the Portuguese landed on the coast, burnt all the town from Chicklee-Tarapore to Bassein, destroyed the fortifications recently erected there, and levied contributions from Tannah to Bombay. Two years afterwards they took Damaun, and obliged Sultan Bahador, of Gujerat, then hard pressed by the emperor Hoomayoon, to cede Bassein in perpetuity, to grant permission to build a fort at Diu, and to invest them with the right of levying duties on the trade with the Red Sea; in return for these privileges they assisted him against the Moguls. Their

operations in Gujerat and in other quarters occupied the Portuguese for several years; but in 1548 they inflicted great havoc on the coast of Bejapore, and laid waste with fire and sword the whole of the towns from Goa to Bancote. They were solicited for their aid to depose Ibrahim Adili Shah, and to place upon his throne his brother Abdullah, who was then residing at Goa, under their protection; but the attempt was abandoned. In 1571 there was a combined attack made upon the Portuguese by the Kings of Bejapore and Ahmednuggur. Ali Adili Shah besieged Goa, and sustained a mortifying repulse. The defence of Choule, which was besieged by Morteza Nizam Shah, and defended by Luis Ferara de Andrada, redounded greatly to the credit of the Portuguese. The Mohammedans, as is generally the case when a native army is defeated, attributed their ill-luck to treachery. Ferishta says the officers of Nizam Shah were corrupted by presents of wine. On the eastern frontier Little Thibet was reduced to submission. An army sent to reduce Srinagur was defeated, and another force, which had been dispatched for the conquest of Cooch Bahar, was compelled, by the severity of the climate, to abandon the country after possession had been taken of it, in 1637. In this year Candahar was recovered from the Persians, through the treachery of Ali Merdan Khan, who had been exasperated by some harsh treatment from his sovereign. He rose into favour with his new master, the emperor, and obtained well-merited admiration at court by the public works which he constructed, and the canal in Delhi, which still bears his name.

The provinces of Bactria, Balk, and Badakshan, were attached to the empire, the emperor in person conducting the operations; Ali Merdan and the Rajah Sayat Singh having previously failed. This conquest was soon disturbed, and the emperor's son, Aurungzebe, was sent to re-establish authority there, while his father marched with a powerful army to his support. These preparations were to no purpose, the Moguls were obliged to retreat; and though the prince with some of the troops escaped, the greater portion of the army perished, either by the inclemency of the weather in the mountains, or fell under the repeated assaults of the mountaineers. To aggravate this repulse, the recently recovered province of Candahar was rescued from their hands in 1648. Three well organized expeditions were forwarded for its re-conquest; the two first under the command of Aurungzebe, and the third under his brother, Dara Sheko. The last



View of the City of Constantinople from the Bosphorus

campaign was organized at Lahore, in the winter of 1652, and the army marched in the spring of the following year, Shah Jehan himself following to Cabul. Though the siege was prosecuted with great spirit, the Moguls, after several disappointments, were forced to retreat. On their return they suffered severely from the attacks of both Persians and Affghans, and thus ended the last effort for its recovery,

This attempt was followed by two years of uninterrupted tranquillity, during which Shah Jehan endeavoured to organize the territories recently acquired by him. He united the two governments of the Deccan, and Aurungzebe was appointed viceroy. The most important result of the conquest of the Deccan was the completion of a revenue survey of the Mogul possession in that country, which occupied him nearly twenty years, and was conducted by Todar Mal, a financier, whose name is familiar to oriental readers, and whose regulations in the mint department, during the reign of Akbar, had acquired for him a character of no inconsiderable ability.* According to his scheme the land was assessed in proportion to its fertility, varying from one half to one seventh of the gross produce, according to the expense of culture or the produce. The government share was then commuted for a fixed money equivalent, and in time, when a measurement classification and registry had taken place, the regulated assessment was fixed at one fourth of the whole produce of each field throughout the year, and became the permanent rent of the land.

Aurungzebe fixed his seat of government at Khirkee, a town built by Malik Amber, which, after his own name, he called Aurungabad. The tranquillity which prevailed did not suit the temperament of this young prince. In the year 1655 he readily seized an opportunity of intermeddling in the affairs of Golconda. Since the late capitulation, Abdullah Kutb Shah had regularly paid his tribute, and manifested every disposition to secure the favour of Shah Jehan, who, on his part, had no wish to molest him. At this conjuncture Mir Joomleh was the prime-minister of the King of Golconda. He had formerly been a diamond merchant, and in that capacity was known and respected for his ability and integrity throughout the Deccan. In his recent elevation he had won the esteem of every Mohammedan prince in Hindostan. His son, Mohammed Amin, was a young man of dissolute habits, but he possessed his father's confidence. Having in-

curred the displeasure of his sovereign, he was punished, and the father resented this treatment. An altercation arose between him and the king, and Joomleh at length sought the protection of the emperor. His appeal was backed with all the influence of Aurungzebe. This led to the cultivation of an intimacy which essentially contributed to Aurungzebe's elevation, and served to light up a conflagration which was never effectually suppressed, and was not extinguished till it had consumed the empire.*

Shah Jehan espoused the cause of Joomleh† as ardently as Aurungzebe could have desired, and addressed a peremptory letter to the King of Golconda, who, exasperated by this interference, imprisoned the son and sequestered the father's property. This conduct Shah Jehan resolved to punish. Aurungzebe was ordered to prepare an army, to insist on the release of Amin, to demand satisfaction for the injury done to Joomleh, and in case of refusal he was directed to invade Golconda. Without any declaration of war, Aurungzebe sent a chosen force on pretence of escorting his eldest son, Mohammed, to Bengal, whither, it was reported, he was proceeding to marry his cousin, the daughter of Sultan Shujah, and followed with the main army. The road from Aurungabad to Bengal wound round by Masulipatam, in order to escape the forests of Gundwana, and approached the city of Hyderabad, the capital of Golconda. Abdullah Shah was so far from suspecting any hostile intentions, that he was actually making preparations for the entertainment of the young prince, and was not sensible of his danger till the enemy was at his gates. He fled to the hill fort of Golconda, six or eight miles from the city. Hyderabad fell into the hands of the Moguls, the citadel was attacked, the place was plundered and half burned, the troops sent by neighbouring states to his aid were intercepted, and the king was reduced to the greatest extremities. Abdullah had, on the prince's arrival, released Amin, and restored the confiscated property. After several attempts to raise the siege by force,

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 409.

† Joomleh was a Persian, born in Ardistan, a village in the neighbourhood of Ispahan. His parents, though of some rank, were extremely poor. He, however, found means to acquire some knowledge of letters, which circumstance procured for him the place of clerk to a diamond merchant, who made frequent visits to Golconda. In that kingdom he quitted his master's service and traded on his own account, and became possessed of a considerable fortune, which enabled him to purchase a place at the court of Cuttub, sovereign of Telingana, and of a great part of Golconda. In that station he behaved so well that he attracted the notice of this prince, who raised him to the head of his forces.—Dow.

* Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 125.

he was obliged to submit to very stringent terms. He was now compelled to give his daughter in marriage to Sultan Mohammed, to pay up all arrears of tribute fixed by Aurungzebe, and one million pounds as his first instalment.

The neighbouring kingdom of Bejapore next engrossed the attention of the emperor. Since the last treaty (1636) peace had been preserved with that country; Mohammed Adili Shah had cultivated the friendship of the emperor, and had entered into close intimacy with his eldest and favourite son, Dara Sheko. This intimacy was the cause of considerable annoyance to Aurungzebe, who was secretly jealous of his brother. At this time (1656) the King of Bejapore died, and the succession devolved on his son, a young man in the nineteenth year of his age. The resources of Bejapore were considerable; the young king had a well-filled treasury, a fertile territory, and a powerful army, which at this time was very much divided, large divisions of them being employed in reducing the refractory zemindars in the Carnatic. Shah Jehan was induced by his younger son to dispute the legitimacy of the young king, and to assert his own right to nominate a successor to his tributary. Aurungzebe met with very little opposition in the reduction of the kingdom: the fort of Kallian was almost immediately reduced; Bidr, though strongly garrisoned, fell into their hands the first day of the attack, owing, it is said, to an accidental explosion of the principal magazine; Kilburga was carried by assault; and Khan Mohammed, the prime-minister and general of Bejapore, was bribed, and consequently traitorously neglected every opportunity of impeding the progress of the Moguls.

The unfortunate king was coerced to sue for peace on the most humiliating terms. This, however, was refused; Aurungzebe had determined on the complete subjugation of the kingdom, and was pressing on with great vigour the siege of the capital, when an event occurred which suddenly compelled him to change his resolve. His father was seriously ill, and his physicians apprehended that the complaint was fatal. Dara Sheko, the eldest and favourite son, was at the seat of government, and was actually invested with the administration of his father's functions. One of his first acts was to recall Joomleh, and all the principal officers serving in the Deccan. This step he was probably induced to take by his partiality towards Bejapore, as well as by his hatred of Aurungzebe, whom he dreaded. His apprehensions were well founded, that prince was inordinately ambitious, and had made himself the favourite

of the Moslems by his zeal in the practice and propagation of his religion. Sheko, on the contrary, inclined to the liberalism of Akbar, and had, by the open profession of his views, offended all the zealots. Aurungzebe, by the advice of Joomleh, decided on accepting the overtures of Ali Adili Shah, from whom he received a large sum of money, and concluded a treaty by which he surrendered the advantages he had gained, and then marched to Agra, to counteract the designs of Sheko.

Shah Jehan had four sons, all of age, and aspiring to the throne. Dara Sheko was in his forty-second year; Shujah was forty, and then viceroy of Bengal; Aurungzebe was thirty-eight; and Morad, the youngest, had long been employed in important commands, and was now governor of Gujerat. Their characters were thus summed up by their father:—"Dara," he said, "had talents for command, the dignity becoming the royal office, but was intolerant of all who had any pretensions to eminence, whence he was 'good to the bad and bad to the good.' Shujah was a mere drunkard, and Morad a glutton and a sensualist; Aurungzebe excelled both in action and counsel, was well fitted to undertake the burthen of public affairs, but full of subtle suspicions, and never likely to find any one whom he could trust."* Each of these princes assembled an army to enforce his pretensions. Aurungzebe had information of the most secret proceedings at court from his favourite sister, Roshunara. His first act was to represent to his brother Morad that he had no ambition to undertake the care of government, and that his determination was at the earliest convenience to devote the remainder of his life to religious seclusion; that his personal safety had forced him to take up arms against their common enemy, Dara, and that he would assist to place him upon the throne. By those wily representations he induced Morad to unite his forces with his own, and in two battles which followed, the royal armies were defeated, Dara became a fugitive, and after another ineffectual effort was betrayed into the hands of Aurungzebe, and by his orders put to death. Shah Jehan unexpectedly recovered, but though he sent repeated commands to his sons to return to their governments, they, pretending to consider these commands as forgeries of Dara, did not obey. Aurungzebe got possession of the person of his father. He then imprisoned his brother Morad, gained over his army, deposed the emperor, and mounted the throne in the year

* "Letter from Aurungzebe to his son, in the *Dastur al Amal Agahi*."

1658. He shortly after marched against his brother Shujah, defeated him, and compelled him to fly to Arracan. He was there murdered, and thus all competitors being disposed of, Aurungzebe was left in undisputed possession of the empire. Shah Jehan survived his dethronement seven years, and during that period was treated with the greatest respect. His reign was the most prosperous ever known in India, and of all its princes he was the most magnificent. "His retinue," says Elphinstone, "his state establishments, his largesses, and all the pomp of his court, were much increased beyond the excess they had attained under his predecessors. His expenses in these departments can only be palliated by the fact that neither occasioned any increase to his exactions, nor any embarrassment to his finances. The most striking instance of his pomp and his prodigality was the construction of the famous peacock throne. It took its name from a peacock with his tail spread, represented in its natural colours in sapphires, emeralds, rubies, and other appropriate jewels, which formed the chief ornament of a mass of diamonds and precious stones that dazzled every beholder. Tavernier, a jeweller by profession, reports, without apparent distrust, the common belief that it cost near six million and a half sterling."

Shah Jehan reigned thirty years with great popularity. He was sixty-seven years old when he was deposed, and seventy-four when he died.

Aurungzebe, on his accession, assumed the name of Alamgur, Lord of the Universe. As soon as all his competitors were removed out of his way, he directed his arms against the Rajah of Bikanir, who had abandoned his interests, deserted him in the Deccan, and still held out against him. He was soon reduced to submission.

Joomleh, who had remained faithful to Aurungzebe, and had rendered him essential services, now became an object of suspicion. His most recent achievement was the restoration of order in the province of Bengal, and on his return to the capital, further employment was provided for him in the conquest of Assam. This commission Joomleh executed with his usual ability and success; he marched along the course of the river Brahmapootra, subdued the small principality of Cooch Bahar, overran the territories of Assam, and took possession of Ghergong, the capital. He sent to the emperor an exulting description of his campaign, and announced his intention of opening a way into China. These anticipations were never realized; the rainy season set in, all the low country was inundated, provisions and forage were injured or

destroyed, and the natives neglected no opportunity of cutting off the detachments, and thus distressed the camp. Sickness broke out amongst the troops, and though Joomleh was reinforced, he was reluctantly compelled to renounce his splendid projects, and it required the exercise of all his ability to retire without disgrace. Though far advanced in years, he shared all the hardships with the humblest soldier. He died on his return, and his son, Mohammed Amin, was raised to the dignities and honours to which his father had attained. "The death of this great man," says Bernier, "as might be expected, produced a great sensation throughout India, and it was now observed by many intelligent persons 'that Aurungzebe was in reality King of Bengal.' Though not insensible to his obligations of gratitude, yet the Mogul was perhaps not sorry to have lost a vicegerent whose power and mental resources had excited so much pain and uneasiness. 'You mourn,' he said to Amin, 'the death of an affectionate parent, and I the loss of the most powerful and most dangerous of my friends.'"

In the fifth year after his ascent to the throne the emperor was seized with an illness which nearly proved fatal, and led to very serious disturbances. During its continuance he was frequently delirious from the violence of the fever, and his tongue became so palsied that he could scarcely articulate. It was generally believed, at one period, that he was dead. In this state of affairs his newly-established power was shaken to its foundation. It was even rumoured that the Rajah Jaswint Singh, governor of Gujerat, was on his march to release Shah Jehan from prison, and that Mohabat Khan, who had for some time disputed Aurungzebe's authority, and had but recently acknowledged it, leaving his government at Cabul, was hastening by forced marches to Agra, for the liberation of the old king. Etabar Khan, in whose custody he was placed, was equally disposed to throw open the gates of his prison. Amongst the sons of the royal invalid there were also dissensions fomented. Sultan Mausum intrigued with the Omrahs, and the Princess Rochinara had enlisted a powerful party in support of Sultan Akbar, Aurungzebe's third son, then in the eighth year of his age. To secure popularity, the partizans of each proclaimed their object to be the release of Shah Jehan. However, there was scarcely a man of influence in the empire in favour of his restoration, with the exception perhaps of Jaswint Singh and Mohabat Khan, all the rest had basely transferred their allegiance to the royal fratricide and usurper.

The severity of his illness did not destroy the interest which the reigning prince had in public affairs. He gave instructions for the conduct of the government and the safe custody of his father. He earnestly advised Sultan Mausum, in the event of his death, to release his grandfather; at the same time he was forwarding urgent despatches to Etabar to keep the strictest watch on his prisoner. On the fifth day of his illness, during the crisis of his disorder, he had himself conveyed into the council of the Omrahs, to convince them that he was still living. The same motive induced him to repeat the visit on the seventh, ninth, and tenth day. On the thirteenth day he fell into a swoon, so deep and long, that his attendants believed him dead. The report was rapidly communicated to the citizens. The king, in the interim, being informed of the currency of the rumour, and apprehending in the popular ferment the liberation of his father, he sent for some of the principal noblemen to verify his existence. Having been propped up on his couch, he called for writing materials, and forwarded a letter to Etabar, commanding him to carefully guard his captive; and he sent for the great seal, which having enclosed in a small bag, he had it impressed with a seal, and kept it carefully attached to his arm, to prevent any sinister use being made of that instrument.

The vigour of mind exhibited in this emergency, and the sage precautions which had frustrated all the projects of his enemies, and of the parties at court, had the effect of conciliating the popular feeling, and also held out the assurance of his convalescence. The intrigues which had been practised during his confinement exposed to him the real state of affairs. He now discovered that Shah Mausum, who was intended by him as his successor, had shown more anxiety to forward his own personal objects than for his recovery. His sister, who exercised great influence over Aurungzebe, and had essentially contributed to his success, was entirely devoted to the interests of her young nephew Akbar. This prince was also the favourite with the Moslem people at large, and particularly with the nobility. The mothers of his elder brothers were daughters only of Hindoo rajahs, and were looked down upon with contempt for their contamination with heathen blood. Akbar, the youngest son, was of the pure blood of the house of Tamerlane, and born of the daughter of Shah Nawaz, descended from the ancient kings of Muscat, and of the imperial house of Sefi. The Persian chiefs, many of whom were in the public service, were his supporters, and in consequence of his brothers'

machinations the father's affections were enlisted in his favour, and he resolved to open the way for him to the throne. Of the family of Dara there survived an only daughter. She had, on the destruction of her family, been delivered to the care of her grandfather, and had resided with him and her aunt in Agra. An alliance with this princess would add greatly to Akbar's partizans, and also fortify his right to the throne. On his recovery Aurungzebe wrote a letter full of professions to his father, and concluded with a formal demand of the hand of his niece for his son Akbar. The proposition was rejected with disdain; and the old monarch retorted that the insolence of Aurungzebe was equal to his crimes. The young princess, fearing that force might be substituted for persuasion, concealed a poinard in her bosom, and protested her determination to die by her own hand rather than wed the son of her father's murderer. He was equally unsuccessful in an application which he made about this time for some precious stones for completing some ornamentation of the celebrated peacock's throne. "Let him govern with more justice," said Shah Jehan; "for equity and clemency are the only jewels that can adorn a throne. I am weary of his avarice. Let me hear no more of precious stones. The hammers are ready which will pulverise them should he importune me for them again."* Aurungzebe treated this answer with great coldness, and replied, "That to offend the emperor was far from being the intention of his dutiful son. Let Shah Jehan keep the jewels," said he; "nay, more—let him command all those of Aurungzebe. His amusements constitute a portion of the happiness of his son." On this occasion the father sent a portion of the jewels, accompanied by a brief note. "Take this, which I am destined to wear no more. Your fortune has prevailed, but moderation has more power than your fortune over Shah Jehan. Wear them with dignity, and make some amends to your family for their misfortunes by your own renown." Aurungzebe burst into tears: and let it be hoped his grief was sincere. The spoils of his brother Shujah on the same occasion were laid at his feet. All opposition was extinct: the fearful price had been paid; the feelings of humanity prevailed. He ordered these mournful memories from his sight, and then retired in a melancholy mood from the hall of audience.†

His treatment of his father, though kept closely confined, and every precaution adopted for his safe custody, was indulgent and re-

* Dow's *Hindustan*, vol. iii. p. 350; Bernier's *Travels*, vol. i. p. 141.

† Dow, vol. iii. p. 350.

spectful, as has been before noticed. He was left in possession of his own suite of apartments, and permitted to enjoy the society of his favourite daughter, and the whole of his female establishment, including the singing and dancing women, cooks, and others. Every reasonable demand was complied with; and as the old man in the decline of life had taken a religious turn, the Moollahs were permitted to visit him, and console him by reading and expounding the Koran for him. He had also the privilege of ordering whatever would serve to contribute to his amusement, and had frequently all kinds of animals, horses of state, game, and tame antelopes, brought to him. He was loaded with presents by his son, consulted as an oracle, and frequently written to in expressions of dutiful submission. These attentions had their mollifying effects; his anger and *hauteur* were at length subdued; he frequently wrote to his son on political matters; sent him Dara's daughter; and, as has been related, forwarded to him some of those precious stones which he had threatened to grind to powder.*

During these transactions, which followed immediately after the recovery of Aurungzebe, Sultan Mausum, who had forfeited by his recent effort to form a party for himself the confidence of his father, was sent into the Deccan, to assume the command of the imperial army, in 1664. On his arrival he succeeded the maharajah, on whom the government devolved during the illness of Shaista, the king's uncle, and to whose eloquence and devotion the exaltation of Aurungzebe was in a great measure due.

To understand the state of affairs in the Deccan on the advent of the prince, the new governor, it will be requisite to go farther back, and give a sketch of the history of Shaista Khan. A short time before the battle of Kigwa, when Aurungzebe quitted the capital to encounter Sultan Shujah, Shaista was sent as governor to Agra, and subsequently nominated to the Deccan, and placed in the chief command of the forces of that province. From this post he was removed, on the death of Joomleh, to the more important command of Bengal. Though succeeding to a man of such abilities and enterprise, he proved himself not unworthy of his position, and, indeed, matured a project of aggrandizement of which his predecessor had no conception.

To the east of the Bay of Bengal is situated, between the eighteenth and twenty-first degree of north latitude, the province—formerly the kingdom—of Arracan, bounded on the north by Chittagong, and separated from it by the river Naaf and the Wailli hills, on the

east by a chain of mountains, which separates it from Ava, on the south by a part of Pegu, and on the west by the Bay of Bengal. Its extreme length from the pass of Kintalee to its northern extremity is about three hundred miles, and its breadth varies from ninety to fifteen miles. "Between the Kuladyne and Sundoway rivers," says Pemberton, "the whole coast consists of a labyrinth of creeks and tide-nullahs, all of which terminate at the foot of the lower ranges, and receive the contributions of numerous small streams." During many years the Portuguese had settlements on the coast, and a great number of Christian slaves and half-caste Portuguese and off-scourings of Europe had thither collected. The refugees from Goa, Ceylon, Cochin, Malacca, and the other settlements planted by the Portuguese, sought shelter there; and of all this motley crew none received more cordial welcome than those who set at boldest defiance all divine and human law—those who deserted their monasteries, violated their obligations, and had married three or four wives, or had perpetrated other great crimes. They were Christians merely by name. The lives they led in Arracan were the most detestable, massacring and poisoning without compunction or remorse; and Bernier, our authority, states that their priests, *to confess the truth*, were too often not better than these criminals.*

The sovereign of Arracan gave every encouragement to these bravoes, and assigned to them the possession of the port of Chittagong and some adjacent lands. He used them as a frontier guard, to protect his territories from the aggressions of the Moguls. Thus encouraged, they acted with impunity, and their only pursuits were piracy and plunder. With their light galleys (called *galliasas*) they commanded all the creeks along the coast, scoured the open seas, entered the numerous arms and canals of the Ganges, often penetrating forty or fifty leagues up the country. They frequently in these predatory expeditions surprised and carried away the entire populations of villages, on festival days, or when they had congregated for the purposes of trade or the celebration of marriage. Their captives were reduced to slavery, and the residue of the booty seized on by them, which could not be removed, was destroyed. This is the reason why, Bernier remarks, that we see so many fine islands in the mouth of the Ganges, once thickly populated, now entirely deserted by human beings, and become the desolate receptacle of tigers and other wild beasts.* The Portuguese of Goa, Ceylon, St. Thomas, and other places,

* Bernier, vol. i. p. 195.

† Ibid., p. 196.

* Bernier's *Travels*, vol. i. p. 186.

purchased these wretched captives, without scruple, and the horrid and inhuman traffic was carried on at Hoogly in Bengal, and in the vicinity of the island of Galles, near Cape das Palmas. The settlement at Hoogly had been made with the permission and under the protection of Jehanghire, whose liberality has been already remarked. He also anticipated the realization of considerable commercial advantages from this establishment. The new settlers had also engaged to free the Gulf of Bengal from all depredations.

Shah Jehan, more devoted than he to the intolerant dogmas of his creed, and, moreover, enraged by the nefarious traffic which these nominal Christians carried on with the man-stealers of Arracan, and by their having audaciously refused to emancipate their slaves at his command, inflicted on them a weighty and indiscriminate chastisement. He first exacted from them large sums of money, and then besieged and took their town, and commanded that the whole population should be transported to Agra, and there condemned to slavery. The miseries to which they were subjected is unequalled by any modern proceeding. Children, priests, and monks shared the general fate. The females of any personal attractions, whether married or single, were consigned to the seraglio. Little children were subjected to the rite of circumcision, and made pages; the adults were forced to profess Islam, under the threat of being trampled to death beneath the elephant's feet. Some time before the capture of Hoogly, a formal offer was made by the pirates of surrendering the kingdom of Arracan to the viceroy of Goa. The latter thought it inconsistent with the dignity of his sovereign to become so disreputably possessed of it. About this time, the notorious Fra Joan, an Augustine monk, became the King of Sondiva, an advantageous post commanding the mouth of the Ganges. These freebooters were a source of constant annoyance to the Mogul, and he was under the necessity of maintaining a large force to protect the inlets of the province of Bengal, but this he found insufficient. Such was the skill and daring of the pirates that, with four or five galleys, they never hesitated to attack, destroy, or capture fifteen or twenty vessels of the Mogul.

Shaista Khan had resolved on making a well-organized effort to deliver his government from this scourge; but he had another design, that was to punish the sovereign of Arracan, who was in league with the pirates, and whose daughter had been given in marriage to their celebrated and powerful chief, Bastian Consalvo, and who had, moreover, very recently put to death Sultan Shujah

and his family, who, in their adversity, endeavoured to obtain a refuge in that country. Conscious of the difficulty of marching an army into the kingdom of Arracan, owing to the great number of creeks, rivers, and canals which intersect the frontiers, and the naval superiority of the pirates, Shaista, with consummate policy, sought the co-operation of the Dutch, who had a powerful settlement in Batavia. Thither he sent an envoy, with full authority to negotiate with the general commandant for the joint occupation of Arracan. This offer was agreeable to the politic views of the Dutch, who were seeking an opportunity for the further depression of the declining fortunes of the Portuguese. Two ships of war were soon dispatched for the conveyance of the Mogul troops to Chittagong. In the meantime, Shaista opened negotiations with the pirates, and so imposed on them by threats, and assurances that in Bengal they would be allowed as much land as they considered necessary, and receive double their present pay, that they embarked in fifty galleys, and unaccountably passed over to him, with so much precipitation, that they had scarcely time to take their families and valuables on board. Shaista received the infatuated traitors with every demonstration of welcome, gave them large sums of money, and afforded them hospitable accommodation in the town of Dacca. Having, by this liberality gained their confidence, the pirates rendered him effectual services. They assisted at the capture of Sondiva, which had reverted to the King of Arracan, and from that they accompanied the Mogul army to Chittagong. When, at length, the Dutch vessels of war arrived, the pirates were thanked for their kind intentions, and informed that their services were no longer required. "I saw," says Bernier, "these vessels in Bengal, and was in company with the officers, who considered the Indian's thanks a poor compensation for the violation of his engagements. In regard to the Portuguese, Shaista treats them, not perhaps as he ought, but certainly as they deserve. He has drawn them from Chittagong; they and their families are in his power; an occasion for their services no longer exists, he considers it therefore quite unnecessary to fulfil a single promise. He suffers month after month to elapse without giving them any pay; declaring that they are traitors in whom it is folly to confide—wretches who have basely betrayed the prince whose bounty they have experienced." * The defection of the pirates was followed by the reduction of Arracan. Shaista enrolled an army of ten thousand horse and foot at Dacca,

* Bernier, vol. i. p. 203.

to the command of which he appointed his son Ameid Khan. They departed on this expedition in the beginning of the fair season, 1666, and in six days crossed the Phenny, which divides Chittagong from Bengal. The King of Arracan made merely a show of opposition, and then fled to his capital, and shut himself up in the fort. A few days after his fleet was defeated, and the capital, and then the kingdom, fell an easy prey to the victors. Ameid found twelve hundred and twenty-three pieces of cannon in the fort, and a prodigious quantity of stores. He named the town Islamabad, and annexed the whole province to Bengal.

Though Aurungzebe was out of danger on the fifteenth day of his illness, he was greatly enfeebled, and remained in a very weak condition for nearly two months after; he was then advised by his physicians, and importuned by his favourite sister, who was anxious to visit that enchanting land, to retire to Cashmere, in order to recruit his health in its salubrious climate. While indulging in this rural retreat in the north, some events began to transpire in the Decan, calculated to command his assiduous attention.

Maharashtra, the country of the Mahrattas, is one of the five divisions into which the central portion of India, called the Deccan, is divided. It rises from the Sautpoora Mountains in the north, and extends from Nandode on the west, along those mountains to the Wyne Gunga, east of Nagpore; its eastern boundary is formed by the bank of that river, until it falls into the Wurda; from the confluence of these rivers it may be traced up the east bank of the Wurda to Manikdroog, and thence westward to Mahoor; from this place a waving line may be extended to Goa; while on the west it is bounded by the sea. The whole tract comprises about a hundred and two thousand square miles. The great feature of the country is the mountain chain called the Siadri, or more commonly the Ghauts, which, at an average distance of thirty or forty miles from the sea, runs along the western part. It ranges from three thousand to five thousand feet, and the chief peculiarity is the contrast between the tracts which it separates. On the west it rises abruptly from the sea, and forms an almost inaccessible barrier; but on the east it supports a table-land one thousand five hundred or two thousand feet high, gradually sloping eastward, far beyond the confines of Mahratta to the Bay of Bengal. The Concan is the tract which lies between the Ghauts and the sea. It is in most parts remarkably rugged and broken, interspersed with huge

mountains and thick jungles, intersected by rivers and rivulets innumerable, forming fit haunts for the wild animals who frequent those recesses.

The Ghauts and the other mountains frequently terminate in large smooth basaltic rocks, which form natural fortresses, so that in a military point of view there is not, it is asserted, a stronger country in the world. The mass of the population, which amount to about six millions, are Hindoos. The Mahrattas have never figured as a nation in Hindostan, and the early Mohammedan historians do not seem to be aware of their existence. The word itself first occurs in Ferishta, in the transactions of the year 1485. In the middle of the sixteenth century, the King of Bejapore substituted the Mahratta language, in his financial papers, for Persian. He remodelled his army, which had been previously composed of foreigners, and enrolled a large number of Mahrattas. They were at first restricted to the lowest and most laborious grades, and chiefly employed on garrison duty. It was very soon discovered that they were peculiarly qualified to act as light cavalry, and soon rose into estimation in the services of the governments of Bejapore and Ahmednuggur, a few of them were also engaged by the King of Golconda. Several rose to the rank of commanders of divisions, and military jaghires, or lands appropriated to the support of a body of troops, were conferred upon them. The Mahratta chiefs could enrol a body of horse on very short notice, and these they retained or discharged, at pleasure. Titles were frequently conferred on those chieftains, chiefly Hindoos—such as rajah, naik, and rao; and though bestowed by their Moslem conquerors, they were received with avidity and gratification, the greater as they were always accompanied with donations of land to sustain their rank.* They were not originally a military tribe, like the Rajpoots, nor do they possess the same grace or dignity of person, being of diminutive stature, and irregular features; and, indeed, they bore rather the character of freebooters than of soldiers. Candesh and a part of Bahar have been claimed as the original seat of the race, while some authorities maintain that they are foreigners, and arrived in Central Hindostan from the western parts of Persia about twelve hundred years ago. Neither love of country, nor a community of language and religion, restrained them from turning their arms against one another. The most deadly hereditary feuds were perpetuated amongst them, fomented artfully by the neighbouring states, which prevented

* Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. iii. p. 82.

them from making common cause to assert and maintain their independence and authority, and left them to be merely the mercenary instruments of him who could afford to bid highest for their service.

The following portrait of the Mahrattas is faithfully and ably drawn:—"They are small, sturdy men, well made though not handsome. They are all active, laborious, hardy, and persevering. If they have none of the pride and dignity of the Rajpoots, they have none of their indolence or want of worldly wisdom. A Rajpoot warrior, as long as he does not dishonour his race, seems almost indifferent to the results of any contest in which he is engaged: a Mahratta thinks only of the results, and cares nothing about the means, provided he attains his object. For this purpose he will strain his wits, renounce his pleasures, and hazard his person, but he has not a conception of sacrificing his life or even risking his safety for a point of honour. This difference of sentiment affects the outward appearance of the two nations. There is something noble in the carriage even of an ordinary Rajpoot, and something vulgar in that of the most distinguished Mahratta. The Rajpoot is the most worthy antagonist, the Mahratta the most formidable enemy, for he will not fail in boldness and enterprise when they are indispensable, and will always support them or supply their place with activity, stratagem, and perseverance. All this applies chiefly to the soldiery, to whom more bad qualities might be fairly ascribed. The mere husbandmen are frugal, sober, and industrious, and though they have a dash of the national cunning, are neither turbulent nor insincere."* Chiefs and serfs are all sudras and of the same caste, though some ambitiously claim an infusion of Rajpoot blood.

The founder of the Mahratta state, or at least the first person who raised the country from obscurity, was Sevajee, who claimed to be descended on very apocryphal authority from the Ranahs of Odeypore. The father of Sevajee, named Shahjee Bonsla, Bho-sila, or Bosla, was an officer in the service of the last of the Kings of Bejapore. The father of Shahjee was Malojee. He had acquitted himself well in the several offices to which he had been appointed, and though descended of a family of no great consideration, he rose to distinction in the service of Nizam Shah, the King of Ahmednuggur, and was attached to Jadoo Rao, who had the command of ten thousand horse in the army commanded by Malik Amber, whose exploits have been related. It was by the defection of this chief with that large contingent to Shah

Jehan that the defeat of his late commander was effected. When his son Shahjee was about five years old he was a very fine child, and accompanied his father to the celebration of a festival at the house of his chief, Jadoo. Shahjee was, on this occasion, kindly noticed by the host, who good-naturedly called him, and seated him by the side of his daughter Jeejee, then only three years old. The children naturally enjoyed each other's company, and the delighted father, in the height of his joyous glee, exclaimed, "Well, girl, wilt thou take this boy as thy husband?" and turning to the company said in the same strain, "they are a fine pair." To his surprise, and that of the company, Malojee started up and said, "Take notice, friends, Jadoo has this day affianced his daughter to my son." Some assented, Jadoo was mute with astonishment. The next day Jadoo invited him to dine with him, Malojee declined unless he ratified the inadvertent contract of the previous day. This led to a rupture between the chief and his adherent. Malojee was both crafty and persevering, and was now on the high-road to fortune. His riches rapidly accumulated, and the power, which wealth can secure, was soon exercised at the court of the declining kingdom of Ahmednuggur. He was elevated to the command of five thousand, with the title of Malojee Rajah Bonsla, and two jaghires were bestowed on him for the maintenance of his dignity and force, and the forts of Seevneree and Chakun, with their dependent districts, placed in his care. His son was now a suitable match for Jeejee, and the nuptials were solemnized with the consent, and to the satisfaction, of the parents, in 1604. The offspring of this union was Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire.

During the continual wars in the Deccan, Shahjee was engaged successively on the side of Ahmednuggur and Bejapore, still retaining his jaghires. He was subsequently employed in the subjugation of the countries to the south, and obtained a much more considerable jaghire in Mysore, including the towns of Sira and Bangalore.

Sevajee was born in May, 1627, and, in the stormy times in which his infancy was cast, owed his safety on many occasions to maternal solicitude. The Mahratta chiefs of consequence invariably retain a number of Brahmins in their service, as secretaries and men of business. To one of these, Dadajee Condoo, in whom he reposed great confidence, Shahjee entrusted the guardianship of his family, and the education of his son, and sent them to reside on his jaghire at Poonah. The Mahrattas look down with

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 456.

contempt on scholastic attainments as unworthy of any but clerks and amanuenses. Sevajee was not an exception. He never learnt to write his name, but he acquired great dexterity in handling his arms, was a good archer and marksman, skilled in the use of the spear, and, indeed, of all the weapons of the Deccan. As a horseman, amongst his expert countrymen he had no equal. His mind was stored and fired with the marvellous exploits of the mythic heroes of Hindoo tradition. Carefully instructed in the religion of the Hindoos, he entertained a deadly hatred for the creed and followers of the Arab Prophet, and these feelings supplied the want of a more exalted patriotism. When he attained the age of sixteen his character began to develop itself—his associates were selected from the most daring and reckless; and even thus early he conceived the idea of becoming independent, and openly discussed his projects. He and his followers devoted many of their days to excursions in the mountains, and in hunting down the game that frequented their fastnesses. In these pursuits he became intimately acquainted with all the paths and defiles of the highlands, and studied the condition of the adjoining forts and strongholds. By his engaging manners, personal intrepidity and generosity, he endeared himself, not only to his playmates, but to the inhabitants of that wild tract generally. It was whispered about that he had some share in the proceeds of extensive robberies committed about this time in the Concan. Those proceedings on the part of the young chief alarmed his guardian, who, in order to engage his attention in domestic concerns, confided to him much of the management of the jaghire. This position added to his social status; he received and paid visits amongst the respectable people of his neighbourhood, and it gave him greater influence over the dependents of his own house.

The mountain range north of Poonah was inhabited by a people called the Bheels; that to the south, by the Ramusees; the valleys to the east, called the Mawals, were in the possession of the Mahrattas, who were called from that circumstance the Mawalees. With these Sevajee was extremely popular.

The hill forts under all the Mohammedan governments, particularly those of Bejapore, were greatly neglected. The reason assigned for this was, that they were remote and in an unhealthy situation. At this period they were more neglected than usual. There was not one fort on the jaghire owned by his father, and the principal fort in the district was injudiciously entrusted to the care of men of neither note nor ability. Sevajee had

entered into intimate relations with three of the chiefs in the Mawals, who possessed some hereditary rights amongst the hills. These were his first avowed adherents, and with them, by some means not related, he came into the possession of Torna, a hill fort very difficult of access, twenty miles south-west of Poonah, at the source of the Neera River. This event happened in the year 1646. He succeeded in silencing any complaints at court. He prepared to put this fortress in this best state of defence, and to garrison it with a strong force of Mahrattas. While making arrangements for its repair, in digging up some ruins inside the fort, he discovered a large quantity of gold, which had been deposited in remote times. The circumstance was erased from memory probably by the destruction of the keeper in one of the many wars which distracted the country. This lucky circumstance contributed greatly to facilitate his designs; arms and ammunition in abundance were secured, and he was also induced to erect another fortress on the mountain, three miles to the south-east. This he strongly fortified and named Raighur. These energetic measures at length aroused the suspicions of the authorities; his father was communicated with, and from the Carnatic, where he was then engaged in the king's interest, he urgently remonstrated, through Dadajee, and forbade the prosecution of his undertakings. The old guardian, now on the verge of eternity, in his dying moments sent for his ambitious ward, and far from enforcing the cautious advice of his father, with all that uncalculating devotion—characteristic of the Brahmins—to his creed, he conjured him to protect the Brahmins, the kine, and the cultivators, to preserve from violation the Hindoo temples, to prosecute his plans of independence, and to follow the fortune which lay before him. Then, having recommended his family to the young chieftain's care, he expired, leaving a mysterious impression, fixed by the mournful solemnity of the occasion, and harmonizing, perfectly, with the lofty aspirations of his own enthusiasm. These dying injunctions confirmed his designs, and influenced the devotion of the subordinates of the jaghire, and possibly elevated his motives of action. To his father's applications for the payment of the arrears of revenue, after various evasions, he at length replied, "That the expenses of that poor country had so increased, that his father must depend on his more extensive and fertile possessions in the Carnatic." There were two forts in the jaghire commanded by officers devoted to his father's interests; of these it was necessary to get rid; he gained over

the commander of Chakun, and surprised the garrison of Soopa. He obtained, for a large bribe to the Mohammedan killidar, possession of the very important fortress of Kondahneh, and restored to it its ancient name, Singhar, the lion's den; and availing himself of an altercation between the sons of the late governor of Poorandar, a stronger hill fort than any he had yet secured, having been called in as arbitrator, he contrived to make himself master of it, and to retain it. Notwithstanding his treachery and outrageous violation of faith in this transaction, he had the address to reconcile them to their loss, and to induce them to enter into his service, in which they afterwards arrived at some distinction. These proceedings had been conceived and executed without exciting any commotion or attracting further notice than that alluded to; indeed, the sovereign of Bejapore was at this very time engaged in the prosecution of a war in the south, and in the amplification and embellishment of his capital. Having so far strengthened himself, "and like the wily tiger of his own mountain valley, watched and crouched until he had stolen into a situation whence he could at once spring on his prey,"* Sevajee resolved to have recourse to bolder measures, and to defy the power of his sovereign. He had collected and armed a body of Mawalees, and had dispatched some of his Brahmins into the Concan to gain intelligence, and forward his views in that quarter. He shortly after, at the head of three hundred faithful followers, seized on the royal treasures in transit through that district, and conveyed them with all haste to Raighur. This overt act was followed by the surprise and occupation of five of the principal hill forts in the Ghauts. The Mohammedan governor of Concan was then seized, several rich cities plundered, and the proceeds conveyed to the same destination. Sevajee was greatly pleased by these results. He courteously entertained the captive governor, and dismissed him with every mark of respect. The conquered country was soon organized, every means provided for the restitution of the revenues to the temples and endowments to the Brahmins, and the ancient institutions were revived wherever any trace of them survived.

Shahjee was suspected of having suggested these disturbances, and in consequence was placed under arrest; he was confined in a stone dungeon, the door of which was closed with masonry, with the exception of a small opening; and he was assured that, if his son did not return to his obedience, it would be

* Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. iii. p. 136.

closed, and for ever. This treatment of his father, it is stated, affected Sevajee very forcibly, and he, for a time, entertained the notion of submitting, but was dissuaded from so doing by his wife, who demonstrated to him the dangers of that course. In all his proceedings he cautiously abstained from aggression on the territories or subjects of the Mogul. It is probable that he apprehended, from the beginning, that an occasion might arise, when, unable to resist the opposition of his sovereign, he should have to seek foreign succour, and that this was the cogent reason why he had refrained from provoking the enmity of the emperor. On this occasion he entered into a correspondence with Shah Jehan for his father's liberation. The results were, that the emperor agreed to forgive the former conduct of Shahjee, to receive him into his service, and to place Sevajee in the command of five thousand horse. On what terms these concessions were offered is not on record. Shahjee was released, but retained a prisoner at large for four years afterwards. During this period both parties abstained from hostilities. The probable fate of his father may have restrained Sevajee, whilst the King of Bejapore may have apprehended that any offensive step on his part might induce the surrender of the district, recently occupied, to the Mogul.

In 1653 Shahjee was permitted to return to the Carnatic, owing to the formidable disturbances which then existed in that province, but he was bound by a solemn engagement to refrain from avenging the treachery of Bajee, who, having invited him to a banquet, had sent him a prisoner to Bejapore: whatever promise of forgiveness was extorted from him on this occasion, was not very binding on his conscience, for the first exercise of his freedom was to write to Sevajee, "If you are my son, avenge me," an injunction which was treasured, and faithfully and fearfully executed. His father's release left him again at liberty to pursue the path his ambition had surveyed for him. The district south of Poonah, stretching from the Ghauts to the Upper Kistna, owned the sway of a Hindoo rajah, Chunder Rao, who was too powerful to be openly attacked, and who, though on friendly terms with Sevajee, could never be induced by him to join in any measures adverse to the interest of the King of Bejapore. On the pretence of asking his daughter in marriage, he dispatched assassins to his court, who murdered the unsuspecting prince; his territories were seized on. This crime was followed by the occupation of other forts and possessions. In 1656, he appointed a principal minister named Shamraje Punt, whom

he honoured with the title of Peishwa. He had hitherto restricted his encroachments to the dominions of the King of Bejapore, but now, emboldened by success, the force at his command, and the distraction with which the empire of the Mogul was torn, he turned his arms in that direction, and persevered in extending his authority, till, as has been mentioned previously, Aurungzebe was sent down in this year, 1655, to assist Joomleh in avenging the injury inflicted upon him by the King of Bejapore, by the imprisonment of his son Amin. On the arrival of Aurungzebe, Sevajee made a profession of his fidelity to the emperor, and was sanctioned in the retention of his late acquisitions, and encouraged to take possession of Dabul and its dependencies on the sea-coast. Aurungzebe was most anxious to have an interview with Sevajee, that he might explain to him how much it would promote their mutual interest to work in harmony. With all his professions of loyalty and obedience, Sevajee cautiously avoided the meeting; and as soon as the imperial army had removed to a distance, and was involved in a war with Golconda, he concluded that a favourable opportunity was presented to himself of further aggrandizement.

In May, 1657, he surprised Jooneer, a town in the Mogul territory, and possessed himself of a vast amount of plunder. He made an attempt on Ahmednuggur, which was only partially successful. Of these aggressions he soon repented, on being informed of the rapid progress made by Aurungzebe, and the success which attended his arms. He took the precaution to add considerably to his army, whilst he, at the same time, wrote to the Mogul prince, abjectly begging a condonation of the past, and making fervid professions of fealty for the future. It was the policy of the imperialists to provoke as many enemies as they could against the King of Bejapore. Aurungzebe, therefore, suppressed his resentment, and expressed his forgiveness of past offences; assented to Sevajee's occupying and retaining the Concan; assured him that the hereditary claims which he had to possessions within the Mogul districts should be attended to; and in return stipulated that he should send five hundred cavalry soldiers, and be prepared with the rest of his troops to maintain order and tranquillity in the imperial districts. One part of the arrangement was carried out; the Concan was occupied, and garrisons placed in several fortresses along the coast, where Sevajee afterwards collected vessels for piratical purposes. The illness of Shah Jehan precipitated an accommodation, which was followed by the

departure of Aurungzebe to attend to his more immediate interests in this crisis of his father's illness. The insecurity which the reign of a boy generated in Bejapore, and the distractions created by the jarring of factions there, tempted Sevajee to a renewal of his depredations. An army was organized under the command of Afzul Khan, an officer of some reputation, to oppose his designs. On the approach of this chief, by artful negotiations, an avowal of his apprehensions from a man of such reputation, and humiliating proffers of submission, Sevajee succeeded in deceiving his adversary, and induced him to come unarmed and unattended to an interview, at which he was to receive assurances of forgiveness. Fifteen hundred of the imperial army accompanied their chief to the vicinity of the place of meeting, but in consequence of the feigned timidity of the Mahratta, did not approach his presence. Several thousands of Sevajee's troops lay in ambush in the neighbourhood. Lightly clad in thin muslin, and armed with a sword, a mark of dignity more than a weapon of defence, and attended, as pre-arranged, by one armed attendant, Afzul Khan came in his palanquin to an exposed bungalow prepared for the occasion. The Mogul first made his appearance, and while complaining of the delay, Sevajee was seen descending, apparently unarmed, to meet him. The preparations which he made for this interview, serve to show that the crime he treacherously meditated, he looked upon as a meritorious action. He performed with due care and devotion the customary ritual ablutions, and then laid his head at his mother's feet, and piously besought her blessing. Afzul Khan viewed with feelings of contempt the diminutive figure which he saw abjectly approaching, and making repeated obeisances, which were represented to be the effects of his fears. The Mogul advanced a few paces to give him the ceremonial embrace; at that moment the insidious assassin struck a treacherous weapon, called "tiger's claws"—well known among the Mahrattas, and which he had concealed on the fingers of his left hand—into his bowels. The wounded chief quickly disengaged himself, clapped his hand on his sword, and called out "Treachery, murder!" and, at the same time, made a cut at Sevajee; but the latter had provided for such a result, having concealed under his thin cotton covering a shirt of chain armour, and with a

* This instrument is, by the Indians, called *wagnuck*. It is made of steel to fit on the fore and little finger; it has three crooked blades, which are easily concealed in a half-closed hand.—Duff, vol. iii. p. 172. This gentleman gives, in his interesting history, a drawing of it.

dagger, which he carried in his right hand, he dispatched his victim. The murder was the work of a few seconds, and the dying man was at his murderer's feet before his attendant could come to his assistance. The latter was faithfully attached to his master, and though offered his life, he refused, and maintained, for some time before he fell, an unequal contest with two such swordsmen as Sevajee and his friend. The imperial army was now attacked by the Mahrattas hitherto concealed, defeated, and put to flight. The victory secured, the captives were treated with great consideration, as was the practice of Sevajee on most occasions. Several of the Mahrattas, who were in the army of Afzul Khan, entered his service, and some of the chiefs who refused to do so, having been hospitably entertained, were dismissed with presents. It is said, "that during his career, though he inflicted death and torture to force confessions of concealed treasure, he was never personally guilty of any *useless* treachery."

The *éclat* of this bold and successful achievement, amongst a people who had no moral scruples as to the means employed to attain an end, gave to Sevajee an unbounded influence; and the liberality with which the spoils were distributed to his victorious troops attached them the more firmly to his interests, and led many to his standard. To himself, the immediate fruits of the victory were four thousand horses, several elephants, a number of camels, a considerable treasure, and the whole train of equipment of the army he had annihilated.

The results of such a decisive blow on his further career may be easily conjectured. He soon established his authority over all the country near the Ghauts, took possession of all the forts, and was engaged in the complete subjugation of the fertile district of the Concan.

The destruction of Afzul Khan and his army, the capture of the forts, and above all, the approach of Sevajee to the gates of the capital of Bejapore, created such an alarm, that even, for the time, the voice of faction was hushed. An officer, whose ability was his only recommendation, was appointed to the command of an army double the number of that recently in the field. Simultaneous attacks were to be made from two quarters on Sevajee's possession in the Concan. The Mahratta was not inactive during these preparations. He divided his army into three columns, and these were sent to operate against similar divisions of the enemy. He threw himself, with a large garrison, into the strong fort of Panalla, which had lately

come into his possession, and on the defences of which he too incautiously calculated. After a protracted siege of four months, and when reduced to the greatest straits, cut off from all external communication, he eluded the besiegers, and though hotly pursued, he succeeded in reaching Rangna, a fortress in the Ghauts. The commander of the besieging army was accused of having favoured his escape. The accused indignantly resented the imputation, and withdrew from the service of his embarrassed sovereign.

The King of Bejapore in person took the field (1661) with a force which Sevajee was unable to resist. In this campaign he was stript of almost all his acquisitions, and the issue might have been disastrous had not the disturbances in the Carnatic assumed so serious an aspect as to necessitate the king's presence there. Seedee Johur, who had commanded at the siege of Panalla, and who had recently retired to his jaghire in disgust at the groundless suspicion in which he was held at court, was directed to suppress these disturbances, as the king was then resolved to prosecute the war, in which he was engaged, to a conclusion. Seedee Johur displayed no great zeal in the discharge of these duties, and was again suspected of favouring the insurgents, and of having come to an understanding with Sevajee. It then became a question with the king's advisers, on which arena was his presence most required. While in suspense, an offer was made by the chiefs of Waree to reduce Sevajee if they were properly supported. It was then decided that the king should proceed to the Carnatic. Bahlol Khan and Bajee Ghorepooray, the latter of whom, it will be remembered, in violation of the laws of hospitality, betrayed Sevajee's father into the hands of the king, and whose punishment was enjoined on the son, were left to assist the chiefs of Waree in the prosecution of their engagement.

The king had departed for his future scene of action, and Bajee Ghorepooray proceeded to his jaghire to hasten his arrangements. Sevajee, who had early intelligence of every movement in the enemy's camp, thought this a favourable opportunity for avenging his father's injuries, and performing the task imposed upon him. He marched rapidly across the country, surprised the unsuspecting noble, slew him and his family, plundered his residence and left it in flames, and then returned to his quarters with equal expedition.* The state of affairs in the Carnatic, where Seedee Johur had joined the insurgents, now demanded the presence of all the king's available forces, and the armies organized for the

* Duff, vol. iii. p. 185.

invasion of the Concan were necessarily called off to that quarter. For two years Sevajee was left unmolested, and during that interval he recovered his dominions, and added considerably to them.

The fame of his son's achievements had reached the father, he was gratified by the filial respect paid to him in the summary punishment inflicted on his enemy, and proud of his abilities, bravery, and aggrandizement. Accompanied by his son, the father paid Sevajee a visit, and was received with such demonstrations of respect and affection as must have delighted him. In the Carnatic, where the king was now engaged, Shahjee's influence was considerable, and his loyalty, in the unsettled state of that province, had restored him to royal favour. His influence was successfully exercised to bring about an accommodation. On his return he was commissioned by Sevajee to present presents to the King of Bejapore; hostilities were suspended, a peace concluded, and the territories secured by the Mahratta extended from Kallian to Goa—a length of about two hundred and fifty miles—and above the Ghauts to about a hundred and sixty. Its breadth from Soopa to Jinjeera was about a hundred miles. His army was proportionably larger than his territories; but the predatory character of his expeditions, the wealth which he accumulated, the constant apprehension of reprisals by his aggrieved neighbours, demanded that he should have an organized army of seven thousand horse and fifty thousand foot, the number of which his force is said to have consisted.*

The departure of the Emperor Aurungzebe to Cashmere, for the benefit of his health, occurred at the period in which Sevajee and the King of Bejapore entered into the treaty referred to; and this it was that allowed the former an opportunity of now directing his ambitious designs against the Mogul. The circumstances which led to this rupture are not made public by any of the historians who have treated of these events. All that is known is, that immediately after the peace with Bejapore, the Mahratta cavalry extended their incursions nearly to the walls of Aurungabad, and Sevajee himself captured the forts in the vicinity of Jooner.

Shaista Khan, the maternal uncle of the emperor, and nephew of the celebrated Nour Mahal, was sent into the Deccan to restore order. He marched out of Aurungabad, and repressed the aggressions of the Mahrattas, driving them before him until he approached within twelve miles of Singhar, the hill fort into which Sevajee had retired. Shaista

Khan took possession of Poonah, and actually occupied the house in which his adversary was born. Sevajee had resolved to attempt to surprise the Mogul in his quarters, and his design was favoured by the intimate knowledge he had of the place. By the aid of the Brahmins, on whose fidelity he could rely, he won over to his side a Mahratta who was serving in that garrison. This man, on pretence of celebrating a marriage festival, obtained permission from the authorities to use, in procession, those noisy instruments usually brought into requisition on those occasions; he also got leave for some of his companions, who always carried their arms, to join in the fun. Sevajee, as had been concerted, accompanied by a chosen body, joined the revellers. When the boisterous crowd had concluded their merriment, and quiet was restored, the Mahratta chief, to whom every chamber, recess, and passage of the home of his birth and childhood was familiar, with his followers, provided with a few pickaxes, proceeded to the door of the cook-room, above which there was a window slightly built; through this a passage was opened, not, however, without alarming some of the inmates, who roused Shaista from his slumbers; while making his escape he received a blow which severed one of his fingers, his son and most of the guard at his house were slain. Sevajee and his men retired before any force was assembled. When they had proceeded three or four miles on their way back to Singhar, they lighted torches, brought for the purpose, to bewilder the enemy as to their numbers, and to manifest their defiance and derision. In the glare of these lights, with their figures in bold relief distinctly visible to their mortified foe, they exultingly ascended their mountain acclivities. Of all the exploits of this adventurous chief there is none so well remembered or related with such pride as this. On the following day the Mahratta cavalry defeated and pursued the Mogul. This, Duff observes,* is the first time that the Mogul horse were pursued by the Mahratta. This adventurous attack had alarmed Shaista. He feared that there were traitors in his camp; he suspected the Rajah Jaswint Singh of treachery, and wrote to the king expressing his opinion that he had been bought over by Sevajee. This news had just arrived as the emperor was preparing for his journey to Cashmere. In this emergency he recalled both his generals, and sent his son Sultan Mausum as viceroy to the Deccan. He afterwards appointed Jaswint Singh his second in command, and Shaista was intrusted with the government of Bengal.

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 470; Duff, vol. iii. p. 190.

* Vol. iii. p. 197.

In the meantime Sevajee was making extraordinary preparations—rumour said that these were designed against the Portuguese, who had been suspected, as also had been the English colonists, of supplying his enemies with ammunition.

In his expeditions hitherto he had principally relied upon infantry, but the Maharattas were becoming distinguished for those equestrian qualities which of all the Indians they possess in the highest degree. In the service of the King of Bejapore they were esteemed as light cavalry, and in the recent encounter with the Moguls his body of horse had come off victorious. It was in this capacity he had now resolved to employ them, and in a quarter where there was very little apprehension of their appearance.

Surat, the chief town of the British collectorate of that name, in the presidency of Bombay, is situated on the south of the river Tapti. Though a remote antiquity is claimed for it, the mention of its having been taken and plundered by the Portuguese in 1530 is probably the first authentic notice of it. In 1612 Jehanghire had granted to the English merchants permission to erect a factory there. In 1657 all the possessions of the East India Company were placed under the control of the president and council of Surat. It was the seat of considerable commerce, and held out to Sevajee the prospect of rich booty. It was against this town his preparations were being made. Early in January, 1664, with a body of four thousand horse he set out against this rich and defenceless place, and occupied the streets without opposition. For six days it was surrendered to the mercy of his troops.* Although he was repelled in his attacks on the English and Dutch factories, within whose fortifications several of the native merchants sought and found refuge, the plunder which fell into his hands was enormous, and it was all conveyed in safety to his fort of Raighur, in the Concan. On his return he learned the death of his

father, who was killed at a hunt by a fall from his horse. Shahjee had added considerably to the jaghire originally bestowed upon him, and at his death his conquests on the south comprehended the country near Madras and the principality of Tanjore.* In this year, for the first time, Sevajee assumed the title and state of rajah. In the following year he renewed his attacks—which had been discontinued until the death of his father—on Bejapore, made incursions into its territories, and plundered some of its towns. He fixed these at of government at Raighur, a seaport in the Concan. He had here already equipped a fleet, formidable in those seas, and seized on many vessels belonging to the Mogul, and led in person a destructive foray into his dominions. Aurungzebe was exasperated by these outrages on his authority, together with the assumption of independent rule and regal rank by Sevajee, and the issue of money coined and stamped in his name; but what provoked him most was the outrage of his religious feelings by the capture of some pilgrims on their way to Mecca, and the violation of Surat, which the Mohammedans revere as sacred, being the port from which the pious followers of the Prophet depart for the holy places. To avenge these crimes a powerful army was dispatched, under the united command of two able and distinguished officers—Mirza Rajah Jei Singh, a Rajpoot prince, and Deeleer Khan, an Affghan. Sevajee was not as well supplied with information on this occasion as he usually was. Apprehending no immediate attack, he was absent on his maritime expedition when the imperial army crossed Nerbuddah in February, 1665. Nettagee Palkur, who had been left to watch the frontiers, was at a great distance with the larger portion of the cavalry, and it is probable that he was bribed by Jei Singh.† Sevajee, though he, for reasons best known to himself, continued him in the command, never forgave him.

Whether it is to be attributed to strong religious temperament, or to his deep politic dissimulation, Sevajee had recently submitted himself unreservedly to the spiritual direction of an eminent Brahmin, and practised all the austerities prescribed for his observance. He pretended, or fancied, he was the recipient of some celestial communications. It was circulated amongst his followers that he had received a mysterious warning not to contend against the Rajah Jei Singh, as he could not prevail against this Hindoo prince. Certain it is, that his policy was not marked with that decision which had supported him in former

* The sack of Surat is minutely described in the records of the English factory, now in the East India House. In consequence of their heroic defence and generous treatment of the natives who sought their protection, Aurungzebe granted the English company exemption from the duties levied on others trading at Surat. Sir George Oxenden was then governor. (See Duff, vol. iii. p. 198; Thornton's *Gazeteer*, article "Surat.") During the pillage Sevajee respected the habitation of the Rev. Father Ambrose, the Capuchin missionary. "The Franks-padrays are good men," said he, "and shall not be molested." He spared also the house of Delate the Dutch broker, a pagan, because he enjoyed the reputation of being charitable. The dwellings of the English and Dutch likewise escaped, not through any reverential respect for them, but because those people had resolutely defended them.—BERNIER, vol. i. p. 211.

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 472.

† Duff, on the authority of Catrou, from *Manouchi's* MS., vol. iii. p. 204.

difficulties. His vacillation was evident to his officers, and though an heroic opposition was given, and with success, by some of his officers to the imperialists, he entered into negotiations with the Hindoo commander, which resulted in his surrendering the greater portion of his conquests, and transferring his services to the Mogul. The springs of human action often defy the keenest and most critical scrutiny, and the most elaborate and probable analysis of motives is at best but a plausible and unsatisfactory conjecture. "He may have looked to some recompence for the temporary sacrifice of his pride, in the advantages he might gain by co-operating with the Moguls against Bejapore." * His reception was cordial and flattering; by the great services he rendered in the succeeding campaign, the greatest confidence was established between him and his co-religionist Jei Singh, and the emperor personally communicated his approval of his conduct, and invited him to court.† In 1666, accompanied by his eldest son, Sambajee, then in the eighth year of his age, he proceeded on this invitation and the assurances of Jei Singh. He was escorted by five hundred chosen horse, and one thousand Mawalees.

The emperor lost the opportunity afforded him of attaching to his interests a man of the courage, resolution, and abilities of the Mahratta. Aurungzebe, on his appearance at court, did not attempt to conceal his contempt for the insignificant figure before him, besides, in all probability he loathed the man whom he believed guilty of sacrilege; he always spoke of him as "the mountain rat." When Sevajee had paid his obeisance, and presented the customary emblems of submission and fealty, instead of being treated with that consideration which he was led to expect, he was received without notice, and ordered to take his place amongst an inferior grade. The sense of his humiliation so preyed on his haughty spirit he could not control his indignation, he retired to the rear of the courtiers, and swooned away. Having recovered, he withdrew without taking leave. He was then placed under surveillance.‡

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 475.

† The original letters of Shah Jehan and Aurungzebe to Sevajee were in the possession of the Rajah of Sattara. Copies of them are lodged with the Literary Society of Bombay.

‡ Bernier says that the cause of Sevajee being so received was that Shaista's wife was then at court, and never ceased to urge the arrest of a man who had killed her son, wounded her husband, and sacked Surat. The son of Jei Singh, who had plighted his faith for the security of the Mahratta chief, favoured his escape. Dow gives a version of this transaction at variance with Elphinstone, Duff, and Bernier. After stating that Sevajee, being

From this moment he resolved to effect his escape; this was no easy task, as his house was surrounded with guards. On various pretexts he had his faithful followers dismissed to their homes; this measure he the more easily effected as the emperor thought their absence would place him more at his mercy. The wily Mahratta soon effected his escape. His son and he were conveyed through his sentinels in hampers; a servant occupied his bed, to which he had been previously confined by a pretended illness, and a considerable time elapsed ere his flight was detected. A horse was ready for him, this he mounted, with his son behind him, and escaped to Muttra. His arrival was awaited here by some of his chosen friends in various disguises. He changed his dress for that of a Hindoo mendicant, and laying aside his hair and whiskers, and rubbing his face over with ashes, he pursued his way by the least frequented road to the Deccan. He reached his home after nine months of toil and travel.

During the time of his absence a great reverse had befallen the previously successful Jei Singh. Out-generated by the tactics of the enemy, he was obliged to abandon the

reduced to extremity, was obliged to throw himself upon the mercy of his enemy, and was then carried under escort to Delhi, he proceeds:—"Upon his arrival he was ordered into the presence, and ordered by the usher to make the usual obeisance to the emperor; he refused to obey, and looking scornfully upon Aurungzebe, exhibited every mark of complete contempt of his person. The emperor was very much offended at the haughty demeanour of the captive, and ordered him to be instantly carried away from his sight. The principal ladies of the harem, and amongst them the daughter of Aurungzebe, saw from behind a curtain the behaviour of Sevajee. She was struck with the handsomeness of his person, and she admired his pride and haughty deportment. The intrepidity of the man became the subject of much conversation. Some of the nobles interceded in his behalf, and the princess was very warm in her solicitations at the feet of her father. 'Though I despise pomp,' said Aurungzebe, 'I will have those honours which the refractory presume to refuse.' A message was sent by the princess in the warmth of her zeal, and the rajah, without being consulted, was again introduced. When he entered, and was commanded to pay the usual obeisance, 'I was born a prince,' said he, 'and I know not how to act the part of a slave.' 'But the vanquished,' replied Aurungzebe, 'lose all their rights with their fortune. The sword has made Sevajee my servant, and I am resolved to relinquish nothing of what the sword has given.' The rajah turned his back upon the throne; the emperor was enraged. He was about to issue his command against Sevajee, when that prince spoke thus with a haughty tone of voice: 'Give me your daughter in marriage, and I will honour you as her father; but fortune cannot deprive me of my dignity of mind, which nothing shall extinguish but death.' The emperor ordered him as a madman from his presence, and ordered him into close confinement. He found means to escape after some months, in the disguise of a man who was admitted into his apartments with a basket of flowers."—Dow, vol. iii. p. 368. An interesting romance this, but little more.

siege of the capital of Bejapore, and to retreat with loss and difficulty to Aurungabad. He did not long survive the consequent disgrace of his removal from his command. During his struggle and retreat Jei Singh withdrew, from the lately occupied territories—surrendered by Sevajee—the troops stationed there for its defence. Many of the forts were re-occupied by Sevajee's officers before he returned to the Deccan. Jei Singh's successor was a man of more lax principles than his predecessor, and more amenable to the influences at the Mahratta's command. Through his mediation a peace was concluded between the emperor and Sevajee, and the greater portion of his lately forfeited dominions restored to him. His title of rajah was recognized, and an indemnity for all past transgressions granted. The perils of his past life, and the dangers which he recently escaped, appear to have had no repressive effect upon the elastic temperament of Sevajee. His arrangements with the Mogul were immediately followed by an attack on both Bejapore and Golconda. These kingdoms, enfeebled by intestine contentions and apprehensive of a renewal of hostilities by the emperor, thought it advisable to avert the threatened attack by conceding to his demands, and submitting to payment of an annual tribute (1668). Two years of tranquillity succeeded, during which his dominions were governed and organized with a degree of administrative ability which prove him to be as able a statesman as he was a general. This desirable state of things was interrupted by no fault of his. His flight and escape were painfully felt by the astute emperor. The facility with which he agreed to an accommodation, and the liberality with which he confirmed his conquests to Sevajee, were not so much the result of his wish to restore what he could, at that precise period, well defend, as to throw him off his guard, and bring him within his power. He had given orders to his generals in the Deccan to seize on his person, and forward him to Delhi. Sevajee, having discovered these machinations, proved himself an able master of fence. By the magnitude of his bribes he corrupted these chiefs, and by their means he succeeded in deceiving Aurungzebe. The baseness of the imperial officers was soon suspected, and orders were forwarded from court to make an open attempt to seize "the mountain rat." The successes of the Mahratta called for a great increase in the army of the Deccan, forty thousand men were sent to its aid, under the command of one of the young princes and Mohabat Khan. Twenty thousand of these suffered a total defeat by the Mahrattas. This was the first field action won by them, and

the first instance of their success in a regular engagement with the imperial troops.* The beaten generals were recalled. Operations in another quarter became of more importance, no active proceedings were taken against Sevajee, and the war languished for several years. The enemy that diverted the Moguls from active measures in the Deccan were the ever-troublesome Affghans of the north-eastern frontier. In 1667 they totally defeated, in a great battle, the son of the celebrated Joomleh, Amin, who was then governor of Cabul. The imperial army was cut to pieces, and the children and women were not restored but on the payment of an exorbitant ransom. So elated by this were the victorious clans, they set up a king and coined money in his name. This war was protracted during two years, and was concluded by the concession to the mountaineers of almost all their demands.†

This unsuccessful expedition was followed by a formidable commotion, excited by some Hindoo fanatics, who obtained the reputation of magicians, and were popularly believed to be invulnerable to shot or sword. It was by great inducement the army was led to encounter them. The defeat of the rebels proved the absurdity of their extraordinary pretensions. The naturally bigoted disposition of the emperor, irritated by this and other kindred circumstances, was so inflamed by sectarian hate, that he henceforth subjected his heathen subjects to unjust and impolitic treatment, and imposed on them a capitation tax. He had recourse to very stringent and offensive measures to suppress the trade in spirituous liquors, to shut up all the gambling houses, and to restrain the ostentatious observance of idol worship. He fanatically abolished all taxes not imposed in the spirit of Mohammedan law, and thus, not only inflicted an injustice by the inequalities produced, but actually exempted from the payment of their taxes a large number of the great capitalists of the empire, and produced a great fall in the revenue returns. He then had recourse to sumptuary laws. He issued an edict against music, dancing, and buffoons, and discharged all the singers and musicians attached to the palace; he forbade astrologers, poets, and historians. The regular records of the empire were not only suspended, but so effectually interrupted that the history

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 486.

† "This war is commemorated in the poems of one of the principal actors, Khoosh Khal; he has left several poems, written to excite the national enthusiasm. They are remarkable for their high and ardent tone, and for their spirit of independence and patriotism, so unlike the usual character of Asiatics."—ELPHINSTONE.

of public affairs, from the eleventh year of his reign, is only to be summarily gleaned from letters on business, or from the correspondence of private individuals. Fearing that the homage paid to him bordered on adoration, he regulated the ceremonials, and abstained from appearing at the door of his palace, lest he should be a participator in the idolatry. He followed up these political blunders by issuing a public edict, commanding the governors and persons in authority in all parts of his dominions, "to entertain no more Hindoos, but to confer all the offices immediately under them on Mohammedans only."

The mischievous fruits of these measures quickly developed themselves. In the first years of his reign the loyalty and attachment of the Hindoos were as sincere as that of the Mohammedans, and exhibited neither disaffection nor hesitation, when engaged against their own people and co-religionists. The recent arrangements entirely changed the aspect of affairs: the Hindoos were now estranged from the sovereign. The Rajpoots became disaffected, and every man in the Deccan who was not a Mohammedan sympathized with Sevajee, and looked to him for protection and vengeance. With such combustible materials, it required but a spark to cause a conflagration. This the emperor soon supplied. The Rajah Jaswint Singh, whose fidelity, ability, and valour had been approved in various parts of the empire, since he had forsaken the interests of Dara, and adhered to Aurungzebe, died at this crisis in his command in Cabul, to which he had been dispatched from his government in the Deccan, to conduct the war against the Affghans. A widow and two sons survived this prince. The widow, after the funeral obsequies, set out on her return without having taken the precaution of asking for leave or passports. She was therefore stopped at the ford of Attock on the Indus. Her escort forced their passage. Aurungzebe availed himself of this act of insubordination as a pretext to get the mother and children into his possession. The Rajpoots resolved to frustrate his scheme, and though, when they had reached Delhi, they were surrounded by the imperialists, they ingeniously contrived to send safe home the rana and the young princes. The faithful Rajpoots were attacked by an overwhelming force, and though they fought with their usual bravery, and had gallantly repulsed the enemy, they lost the greater portion of their number. The remainder, with their chief, Durga Das, dispersed, and again assembling at a distant and preconcerted point, retired safely to their own country. The rana and her two

sons had previously reached their destination, Joudpore, and the elder prince, Ajeet Singh, lived to reign for many years over Marwar, and became a formidable enemy to the emperor for the remainder of his life. All the western part of Rajpootana rose in arms. The emperor marched in person against the formidable conspiracy that was organized in that quarter, and to strengthen his army withdrew his forces from the Deccan and Bengal, and also ordered the viceroy of Gujerat to make an inroad from his confines. His sons Mausum and Akbar served in this campaign.

This war was prosecuted with a truculent spirit, which might have been expected from the gloomy and revolting bigotry which had provoked it. All the supplies were intercepted from the fugitives in the highlands, the plains were devastated, the villages were destroyed, the women and children were carried off, and all the severities that ruthless vengeance could inflict were exercised against the tribes. These cruelties alienated for ever the entire of the Rajpoots, who maintained an army of twenty-four thousand horse, and though not strong enough to encounter the enemy in the field, were capable of giving a great deal of annoyance by cutting off convoys, attacking detachments, defending strongholds, and gaining many advantages by surprise and night attacks.

Durga Das, who during these transactions was playing an active and efficient part, entered into private negotiations with the heir-presumptive, who he endeavoured ineffectually to seduce from his allegiance. He was more successful with the younger brother, Akbar, now only twenty-three years of age, the most impetuous and least reflective period of life. Akbar set up his standard, and was proclaimed emperor. Seventy thousand men formed the army ready to support his pretensions, and Tohavvar Khan and Majahid Khan, two very powerful noblemen, Moslems, deserted to him; the father was then left with a body of one thousand men, his army being scattered on various services. In the absence of force Aurungzebe had recourse, and with desired effect, to intrigue. The Mohammedans, to a man, returned to their duty. The Rajpoots were now left to themselves, and obliged to relinquish all hope of being able to compete with the imperialists. Durga Das remained to protect the prince, who, under his escort, with five hundred Rajpoots, sought refuge amongst the Mahrattas, and eluding pursuit by a march through the hills into Gujerat, made his way into the Concan, and arrived there in safety, June, 1681.

The war of extermination, waged by the

Moguls, provoked at length a spirit as ruthless and intolerant as their own. The exasperated Rajpoots retaliated, plundered the mosques, committed the Koran to the flames, and persecuted the religious. An insincere peace, necessitated by the aggravated state of things in the Deccan, was negotiated, which contributed but in a very small degree to the restoration of tranquillity.*

Although the withdrawal of the armies of the Deccan, in 1672, for the prosecution of the war in the north-west against the Affghans, afforded a favourable opportunity to Sevajee for the renewal of hostilities against the Mogul, he was diverted from availing himself of it by the death, at the same time, of the King of Bejapore—an event which presented a more desirable opportunity, of which he did not fail to avail himself. During the years 1673 and 1674 he obtained possession of the maritime part of the Concan, and the adjoining Ghauts; he also seized on all the southern division, except those parts which were held by the Abyssinians, Portuguese, and English; and of the districts above the Ghauts, stretching eastward beyond the upper course of the Kistna. Sevajee was again crowned, 1674, with greater solemnities than on the former occasion. To give a more national character to his rule, he changed, contrary to the Mohammedan custom, the names of all his officers of state, from the Persian to the Sanscrit, and became a more rigid observer than ever of the duties of his religion, and more scrupulously observant of those rites prescribed to caste.

Shortly after this second coronation, the Moguls made an incursion into his dominions, which they had soon cause to regret. Sevajee entered into an alliance with the King of Golconda, and after that set out to recover the jaghire which his father had held and resided on in the Carnatic, and which, up to this time, had continued in the possession of his younger brother, Vincajee. He led to this expedition an army of seventy thousand men, composed of thirty thousand horse and forty thousand foot. His ally engaged to keep the armies of the emperor and of the King of Bejapore in check. Having made this provision for security from attack in his rear, he crossed the Kistna at Karnool, then marched through Cadassa, and passing close to Madras, presented himself at the gates of Gingee, a distance of six hundred miles from his territories. At an interview, to which he invited his brother, having failed to induce him to partition his possessions between them, he soon overran and occupied the entire jaghire. While thus engaged,

Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 503.

news reached him that the Moguls and an army from Bejapore had invaded the territories of his ally. An arrangement was made with his brother, who was to retain the possession of the jaghire by paying half the revenue to him, retaining himself the places which he had wrested from Bejapore. Ere he had reached the seat of war, peace was made with the Moguls, and Sevajee having conquered the districts of Belari and Adoni, returned to Raighur, after an absence of eighteen months, in 1678.

The Regent of Bejapore, who co-operated with the Moguls in their invasion of Golconda, died soon after; and Deeleeer Khan, probably the ablest of the imperial generals, succeeded in acquiring a complete ascendancy in the councils of that kingdom. Aurungzebe, always jealous of pre-eminence and suspicious of those in authority, sent his son Mausum as viceroy to the Deccan, and retained Deeleeer Khan as second in command. Deeleeer renewed the war against Bejapore, and the newly-appointed regent, in his difficulties, sought the alliance and aid of the successful Mahratta. Sevajee, considering that his force was no match for the army which the Mogul could bring into the field, determined on a course of action not less injurious to the enemy, and more safe and advantageous to himself; he utterly devastated the territories of the emperor, and captured several of his strongholds. In the meantime, the enemy were besieging the capital of Bejapore, and had reduced the garrison to such straits, that Sevajee was pressingly urged to hasten to its relief: whilst on his way, the intelligence was conveyed to him, that his son Sambajee had deserted to the enemy, and was well received. He shortly after repented, and became reconciled to his father. Sevajee, by this unexpected incident, was not diverted from his original intention, and Deeleeer Khan, finding his supplies cut off, was obliged to desist. In acknowledgment of his services, Sevajee was conceded the tract of country which lies between the rivers Toombudra and Kistna, and all the rights which the king had over the jaghire of Shahjee. This arrangement gave him a sovereign's rights over his brother, much to his mortification. The use which Sevajee might have made of this power is matter of conjecture, for unexpectedly and prematurely his career was ended. On the fifth of April, 1680, in the fifty-third year of his age, he was removed from the scene of his labours and the stage of his ambition.

He was succeeded by his weak, cruel, and debauched son, Sambajee, who soon dissipated the treasures accumulated by his

father, and lost the attachment of his faithful, brave, and experienced chiefs. Akbar came to seek his aid. He kindly received him, but gave him no hopes of assistance. Although new taxes were imposed, the irregularity resulting from the relaxation of those fiscal enactments which the father had so judiciously imposed, deranged the revenues of the empire; and, as an inevitable consequence, "the army, whose pay was in arrear, appropriated the plunder taken in their expeditions, and degenerated, from the comparatively well regulated bands of Sevajee, into hordes of rapacious and destructive freebooters, which they have ever since remained."*

In 1683 the complicated state of affairs in the Deccan influenced the emperor to visit it. One of his sons he sent to reduce the hill forts in the vicinity of the Chandor range and the Ghauts, and the other into the Concan, with orders to penetrate to the south of Sambajee's country, and to the frontiers of Bejapore. No opposition was given in the Concan, but the climate and the physical character of the country effected that which might have defied a powerful army. The invading force was composed chiefly of horse, and these were rendered useless, and eventually destroyed by the difficulties they were obliged to encounter. There were no supplies of forage and provender, nor roads; while their journey lay through rocks and jungles, all communication with the open sea was interrupted by the enemy's fleet. The toils of the march, the pernicious effects of the climate, the unusual character of the food, preyed heavily on the men; and when the advent of the rainy season compelled the army to betake itself to intrenchments, a virulent epidemic broke out, which cut off many. The contingent dispatched against the forts was also unsuccessful.

In the beginning of the next year, with the united remains of all the armies, the attack was renewed on Bejapore. The Mahrattas hung on their rear, and did incalculable injury. The army of Bejapore was ready to meet them face to face, and, thus hemmed in, the imperialists were conducted beyond the Rima.

The Moguls having been summoned to meet some danger in the south, the Mahrattas availed themselves of the opportunity to make an incursion into the territory in their rear, plundered the city of Baroche, and retired, having ravaged the adjacent district of Gujerat.

The emperor in the meantime turned his arms against the kingdom of Golconda, and after having reduced it to a humiliating state,

on the payment of a large sum of money, he granted terms, and then directed his entire strength against the King of Bejapore. He captured the city, took the young king prisoner, and destroyed the monarchy (1686). The hollow peace recently entered into with Golconda was fraudulently broken now, without compunction, as soon as Aurungzebe had leisure for the completion of his designs. After a siege of seven months, bravely maintained, though the troops had deserted, Golconda fell by treachery. During this siege, Mausum incurred the displeasure of his father, and was committed to close confinement for a period of nearly seven years.

The destruction of the monarchies in the Deccan did not conduce to the establishment of a fixed and uniform rule, nor to the restoration of social order. The disbanded soldiers of both Golconda and Bejapore crowded to the standard of Sambajee, or formed themselves into predatory bands, who plundered at discretion, and laid waste the fields by their rapacity. An abhorrence of the conquerors pervaded every class of the community, and "from this motive and the new-born feeling of religious opposition, the subjects of these states were always ready to assist the enemies of the state; so that, in spite of a short gleam of prosperity after the fall of Golconda, Aurungzebe might date from that event a train of vexations and disasters which followed him to his grave."*

These transactions, and the predisposition of the natives of the neighbouring conquered kingdoms, did not incite the King of the Mahrattas to that course of action which it was his interest to pursue. The fact is, that Sambajee had ignobly sunk into a stupid state of mental imbecility, produced by a course of drunkenness and debauchery. Akbar, despairing of any aid in this quarter, retired, and repaired to Persia, where he sojourned till 1706. The Mahratta chiefs did not follow the example of their prince; they individually withstood the encroachments of the Mogul, but, in spite of their resistance, Aurungzebe was gradually attaching their territories, and was maturing arrangements for a combined and well-organized attack on their forts. The intrepidity of one of the Mogul officers placed at the mercy of the emperor the unfortunate Sambajee. This prince had retired, with some chosen convivial companions, to one of his favourite pleasure residences at Sangameswar, within fifty miles of one of the Mogul forts. The Mogul officer of this place surprised the Mahratta, who had sufficient intimation of his approach, but being in a state of beastly intoxication, he replied to the messenger by threatening him with punishment

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 514.

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 521.

for such insulting intelligence. In the hands of his enemy he was pressed to renounce his religion, but in this extremity he manifested some of the bold spirit of his race, and protested that death was to him preferable to the abnegation of his creed. His tone to the emperor was defiant, and his abuse of the Prophet equally insulting. Aurungzebe could not forgive the blasphemy, as he opined it to be. The unfortunate prince was condemned to death, and his execution was characterized with a barbarity which was foreign to the practice of Aurungzebe. His eyes were destroyed with a hot iron, his tongue cut out, and he was then beheaded. The feeble character of this prince was forgotten in the heartfelt resentment of his people for the atrocities inflicted upon him. His infant son, Saho, under the regency of his uncle, Rajah Ram, was raised to the vacant throne. His capital was shortly after seized by the enemy. He was made captive, and his guardian and a few followers had to fly in disguise to Gingee, in the Carnatic. A system of desultory warfare was ably organized and spiritedly carried on in the territories of the Mahrattas. The imperialists were recruited chiefly from Hindostan. The Mahrattas threw themselves between the Mogul army and that country, and succeeded in intercepting several convoys, defeated more than one detachment, and soon struck terror by the disasters inflicted on the enemy. The young king was, during this time, besieged in his city of Gingee, which held out during a siege of three years. At the expiration of that period, a bold and successful effort was made by the Mahrattas for the relief of their young king. Assembling an army of twenty thousand of their best men, Santajee, Gorpara, and Danajee Jadoo, so rapidly traversed the intervening country, that they surprised the besieging army, and cut off one of its divisions, plundered its camp, and made the commander prisoner, before they could prepare resistance; they then drove in the outposts, destroyed the foragers, and cut off all supplies and intelligence from the camp; the besiegers were soon compelled to blow up their cannon, desert their batteries, and to concentrate their forces on one point, where they threw up intrenchments, and were in turn besieged. This reverse served to stimulate the energies of the Moguls. New forces were embodied, and sent to the support of the imperialists; the consequence was, that Gingee was at length taken, 1698; but Rajah Ram, who had recently assumed the title of regent, had, by the collusion of the commander—his friend—of the enemy, escaped. Rajah Ram made his way back, and

had established his court at Sattara, and now assumed the active control of the whole government. He soon organized and led into the field the largest army ever yet embodied by the Mahrattas. He crossed to the north of the Godavery; levied tributes on such places as submitted, and ravaged the rest as far as Jalna in Berar. The emperor placed himself at the head of his army, and after capturing some strongholds, sat down before Sattara, which he, by a dextrous feint, succeeded in taking. Before it fell, the Rajah Ram died, and his son, Sevajee, succeeded, under the regency of his mother, Tara Bai. This event had little influence on the war. Aurungzebe, for the five following years, had taken all the principal forts from the Mahrattas. The vigour and ability displayed by the emperor, especially when his advanced years are considered, give him a claim on admiration. He was near sixty-five years old when he crossed the Nerbuddah to commence this long war, and had attained his eighty-first year before he quitted his cantonment at Beernapoora. His zeal and ability did not, however, enable him to repress the increasing disorders of the realm; the Rajpoots and the Jats were in arms, and defeats and reverses seemed to produce no prejudicial effects upon the Mahrattas. As the imperialists' arms dissolved away, the Mahrattas seemed to multiply; the plains of the Deccan were laid waste, and Malwa and Gujerat had felt the pressure of their arms; the pillaged towns, the ravaged fields, and the smoking ruins of the depopulated villages, marked the track of the fierce invaders. Aurungzebe sought a retreat in Ahmednuggur. In this town he died, on the 21st of February, 1707, in the eighty-ninth year of his age, and fiftieth of his reign. He thus partitioned his empire among his three sons: the elder, Mausum, he recommends to be recognised as emperor, and he left him the northern and eastern provinces, with Delhi for his capital; to the younger Agra, with the countries to the south and south-west of it, including the Deccan, except the kingdoms of Golconda and Bejapore, which were bequeathed to his youngest son.

The treacherous means by which he had secured the throne embittered his declining years with the deepest remorse, and all his actions show that he acutely feared a similar fate. He was suspicious of all his sons. His strong religious bias made him apprehend a merited retribution, and also impelled him to the adoption of those narrow-minded measures which estranged the great mass of his subjects, and generated those disturbances which clouded the last years of his long and eventful reign.

CHAPTER XLII.

FROM THE DEATH OF AURUNGZEBE TO THE DISSOLUTION OF THE EMPIRE.

SHORTLY before the death of the Emperor Aurungzebe, his son, Azim Shah, had joined him, and was appointed to the government of Malwa. On the death of his father he, of the three surviving sons, was the nearest to the grand camp, and, in disregard of the superior claims of the elder, was proclaimed king, and his pretensions were maintained, not only by the army of the Deccan, but also by the army engaged against the Mahrattas under the command of Zoolfekar Khan.*

Prince Mausum, under the provisions of his father's will, as well as by the right of seniority, was proclaimed at Cabul, with the title of Bahador Shah. The claims of these rivals were decided in a battle fought to the south of Agra, in which Azim and two of his sons, who had attained their majority, were slain, and his younger, yet in infancy, was taken prisoner. The new emperor treated the defeated adherents of his brother with great clemency. His accession to the throne was hailed with satisfaction by the great body of his subjects, who were disgusted with the arrogance of Azim, and glad to be released from the austere sectarianism, and the expensive wars of the late emperor.

The Rajahs of Marwar and Jeypore, having received some cause of offence, withdrew conjointly from the imperial camp, and entered into a league to resist the Mogul authority. Bahador Shah felt the importance of crushing this confederacy before it was matured, and as soon as affairs were arranged in the Deccan, he proceeded to Rajasthan. On his march intelligence reached him that Sirhind had fallen into the hands of the Sikhs, and that the unsettled state of the Punjaub demanded his presence. To conciliate the rajahs previous to his advance was his first concern. In this he succeeded.

The Sikhs, whose successes diverted the emperor's course to the north, were originally a religious sect, founded by Nanik, towards the close of the fifteenth century. Nanik was a deist, and the leading tenet of his creed was universal toleration; he had no other object in view than the reconciliation of the faiths of the Mohammedans and Hindoos.† His principles are contained in the *Adi-Granth*,‡ a work written by him, and highly

venerated by his disciples: "the great eminence which he obtained, and the success with which he combated the opposition with which he met, afforded ample reason to conclude that he was a man of more than common genius."* He was succeeded by his son Arjunmal, who, through the envious hostility of the Mohammedans, was persecuted, and is said by some to have died from the severities imposed upon him in his confinement, but according to others he was put to death in the most cruel manner. The Sikhs, who had till then been a quiet and inoffensive sect, looked upon his death as an atrocious murder, and, under the command of his son Har Govind, rose up in arms and fearfully avenged him, and the fiercest hatred was perpetuated between both parties. Govind is stated to have worn two swords in his girdle, and on being interrogated about this singular practice, he replied, "The one is to revenge the death of my father; the other to destroy the miracles of Mohammed." To subserve the aims of his lofty ambition, his efforts were directed to destroy those distinctions of caste which deprive the great mass of the Hindoos of those ennobling stimulants without which man must always be a degraded animal, and the absence of which was the security of the Moslems, who formed but a comparatively small section of the population. He threw open to all the lowest as well as the highest the prospect of distinction, power, and glory. The lowly Sudra, the scavenger, might aspire to the same rank as the highest caste Brahmin. He changed the name of his followers from Sikh to Singh, or lion, a title previously exclusively confined to the noble Rajpoots, the first military class of Hindoos; and thus he succeeded in making every man look upon himself as inferior to no other. Every man was a sworn soldier from the time of his initiation, was bound to carry steel in some form about his person, to wear blue clothes, allow his hair and beard to grow, and neither to clip or remove the hair on any part of his body.

book was compiled from the writings of Nanik, Anyad, Amara, Das, and Ram Das, by Arjunmal, the son of Nanik. It was enlarged and improved by his own additions and commentaries; some small portions have been subsequently added by thirteen different persons, whose number is, however, reduced to twelve and a half by the Sikh authors—the last contributor, being a woman, is admitted to rank in the list as a fraction only by these ungallant writers!—*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xi. p. 212, note.

* Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 416.

† *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xi. p. 206.

‡ *Granth* means book, but in the same way as Bible is applied to the volume which contains the Old and New Testaments, it is emphatically applied to this book. The

* *Ibid.*, p. 208.

The dietary observances, imposed on Hindoo and Moslem, he abolished, with an exception—the slaughter of cows; the customary forms of worship were forbidden; new forms of salutation, and new ceremonies on all memorable occasions were substituted for the old. The habits, manners, and feelings were reformed, and new moral and physical aspects produced, which became singularities, and constituted a distinct national character. Elphinstone describes the Sikhs as tall and thin, dark for a northern people, active horsemen, and good matchlock-men. Their valour has been recently tried, and also their fidelity. They have ceased to be fanatics, and have become soldiers.*

When Bahador Shah had his attention drawn to them they were commanded by an enterprising chief, named Badoo, who, to the ardour of a zealot, united a most sanguinary temperament and daring counsels. His path proclaimed his ruthless character. The blood of the mullahs crimsoned the smouldering ruins of temples. The young and the old, the feeble and the vigorous, were indiscriminately slaughtered, and their carcasses thrown to satiate the vulture appetites of birds and beasts. Sirhind, as has been said, was the chief arena of these atrocities, but the route of the fanatics, from the Sutlej and Jumna eastward to Seharunpore, was to be traced by similar outrages. Bahador compelled them to seek safety in the tract of country on the upper course of the Sutlej, between Loodiana and the mountains, which it appears was then their settlement. They were pursued to their haunts; Badoo was compelled at length to seek refuge in one of the mountain forts. Here he was besieged, and all supplies being cut off, was reduced to great extremities. The last faint hope left to the besieged was the desperate chance of cutting their way through the enemy. From this and its consequences they did not shrink; they made a determined sally. Several fell in the encounter; the fort was captured. A person who distinguished himself, and was obviously directing the movements of the besieged, and cheering them on to the conflict, and appeared to be the chief, was made prisoner, and carried off in triumph, but on closer examination he was discovered to be a Hindoo convert, who thus attracted attention to facilitate the escape of Badoo. Bahador, after achieving this success, retired to Lahore, where he died (1712), in the fifth year of his reign, and seventy-first of his age.

Jehandur Shah, not without opposition from his younger brothers, ascended the throne. He had made an alliance which was

offensive to his subjects, and more especially to the nobility; he aggravated his error by bestowing places of the greatest emoluments on the relatives of his wife, who had been a dancing girl. His want of popularity emboldened his ambitious vizier to arrogate to himself much consequence and power, and to treat with haughty indifference his royal master. This prince, to ensure his own safety, according to many Indian precedents, put to death all the princes of the blood within his reach. Among those who were fortunate enough to escape was his nephew, Ferokshere, who was fortunately in Bengal when Bahador Shah died. He sought the protection of Syed Hosein Ali, the governor of Bahar, and was hospitably received. This chief and his brother, Syed Abdullah, governor of Allahabad, warmly espoused the interests of this young prince. An army was soon enrolled, and in a decisive engagement, in which the imperial forces amounted to seventy thousand men, Jehandur and his vizier were defeated. The unfortunate emperor was then delivered by his faithless minister into the hands of the conqueror. The vizier received the recompence he merited: he was strangled before he left the imperial tent, and Jehandur shared the same fate, February 4, 1713.

Ferokshere, whose preservation and success were due to the fidelity and abilities of the two Syeds, was not forgetful of what he owed to them. Abdullah was made vizier, and Hosein, Ameer al Omra* (chief of chiefs). These brothers, as the name Syed denotes, were descendants of the Prophet. This harmony was of short duration, and the emperor soon began to devise means of ruining his benefactors. Hosein was first sent to chastise the Rajah of Marwar, Ajeet Singh, whose escape from Delhi has been previously recorded. The latter was spirited on by the Mogul to an obstinate resistance. Fully apprehensive of the dangers which might be created by his prolonged absence, Hosein offered advantageous terms, and at the same time honourable to himself as to his opponent, who readily accepted them. He then returned to court. Here he soon discovered the insincerity of the king's professions, and that for him and his brother there was no security but in arms. The Syeds assembled their troops about their palaces, and refused to attend the court. They shortly after possessed themselves of the gates of the citadel, in which was the emperor's palace, and then proposed terms of reconciliation. Mir Jumlah, a mean intriguing, but far from able favourite, and detested by the Syeds, was sent from the court as governor to Bahar—Abdullah

* Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii. p. 564.

* Omrah, chiefs, is the plural of ameer or emir, chief.

was confirmed in his office as vizier; Hosein was appointed to the important government of the Deccan, and proceeded without delay to that distant province. On his departure he threatened the king that, should any hostile proceedings be taken against his brother's authority, he should present himself in Delhi within fifteen weeks of the intelligence reaching him. Daood Khan was nominated to a command in Hosein's army. This man was renowned throughout India for his reckless courage, he was also an enemy to the Syeds, to whom he attributed the death of his friend, the late vizier. He was privately instructed to hasten to Candeish, to carry with him all the troops he could collect, and form an alliance secretly with the Mahratta chiefs, and, on the first opportunity, to compass the destruction of Hosein. The spirit of these instructions he observed, and in a short time set Hosein at open defiance, and met him in the field to decide their quarrel. The victory inclined to Daood. Hosein's troops, disconcerted and thrown into confusion by the impetuosity of the charge, fled in every direction, the person of Hosein was in imminent danger from an attack led by Daood, when a ball through the head of the latter deprived him of victory and life. Hosein concealed his cognizance of the part the emperor had in this matter (1716).

During the interval which elapsed from the lately repressed movements of the Sikhs up to the present time, they had been recovering from their disaster, and maturing their strength for a renewal of the war with the Mohammedans. Badoo had emerged from his mountain fastnesses, and having succeeded in defeating one of the imperial armies, he pillaged the country, with his usual effect. His progress was soon checked. He suffered repeated defeats from a new force that was sent against him, and eventually, with his chiefs and a great number of his followers, was made prisoner. Seven hundred and forty, with their chief, were forwarded to Delhi. Seated on camels they were paraded through the streets. In derision of their hirsute appearance, they were covered with black sheepskins, with the woolly side out; and having been subjected to the jeers and taunts of the multitude, were beheaded on seven successive days. They maintained their proud bearing to the last, and refused to barter their opinions for their lives. The fate reserved for the chief is too excruciating to be described. The reported atrocities of the late mutiny are no exaggerations of it. Those Sikhs who were still at large were hunted like wolves, and their strength so much reduced that it is only

recently they recovered from the blows then inflicted.

When Hosein was at liberty, by the defeat of Daood, to turn his arms against the Mahrattas, internal dissensions raged amongst them; yet parties of them still continued to ravage the Mogul territory, and some of them seized on several of the villages, converted them into forts, and under their shelter plundered the adjoining districts, and had actually intercepted the communication by the great road from Hindostan and the Deccan to Surat. The state of affairs at Delhi demanded Hosein's presence there. He therefore conceded the most favourable terms to the Rajah Saho. By these all the territories possessed by Sevajee, together with those recently acquired, were secured to him; the forts taken from him restored, and a fourth of the revenues of all the Deccan; and further payment of one tenth on the remaining revenue. In return Saho was to pay a tribute of ten lacs of rupees, to supply fifteen thousand horse, to preserve the peace of the country, and to make good any loss occasioned by depredations, by whomsoever made.* Ferokshere indignantly refused to ratify these stipulations (1717).

Abdullah secretly urged his brother to hasten with his forces to Delhi, as his situation was becoming daily more precarious. On his arrival Hosein marched into the city, seized on the vacillating monarch, and privately put him to death.

The Syeds placed on the vacant throne a young prince of the blood, to whom they gave the title of Rafi-u-Dirjat. He died, in three months after, of consumption; and was succeeded by another youth, Rafi-u-Doula, who filled the throne for a shorter period still, and died in May, 1719.

The object which the Syeds proposed to themselves in the elevation of these princes, was to virtually retain in their own hands the sovereign authority, and to use these nominal emperors merely as instruments. They had been both educated in the recesses of the seraglio, had shared the feelings and sympathies of its inmates, and were disqualified to discharge the duties of the crown. The next selection was of a prince of a more robust constitution, and though educated like his predecessors, he had the good fortune of having for his mother a woman of no ordinary ability, and he inherited her better qualities.

Roushen Akhteo was placed on the throne (1719), and assumed the title of Mohammed Shah. The untimely deaths of the two last sovereigns subjected the Syeds to very grave suspicions, in no small degree corroborated

* Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 445.

by the well-known murder of Feroکشهر; in consequence they had become odious, and their destruction was speculated on by the people. The brothers had not the prescience to foresee the coming storm, certainly they did not provide for it; they insanely quarrelled, and many of their adherents withdrew from them, and their weakness began to be felt at home and abroad. The Hindoo governor of Allahabad rebelled. Hosein proceeded against him, and he obliged him to return to his allegiance. In lieu of this government Oude was substituted. There were revolts also in Kosoor and the Punjab, and a religious war in Cashmere, attended by the loss of several thousand lives, and the sacrifice of a considerable share of property. The aspect of affairs in the Deccan was the most serious of all: an enterprising Turk, with the imposing title of Nizam-ool-Moolk (regulator of the state), established an independent sovereignty. He and his descendants have occupied a distinguished and prominent place among the princes of India in its subsequent history. The successes which attended the arms of this prince, in his successive wars with the Syeds, was viewed with pleasure by Mohammed Shah, who was anxious to be relieved from their restraint. He defeated the imperialists, with the loss of their general, Alam Ali, the nephew of the Syeds, at the battle of Ballapore, in Berar, June, 1720. The emperor, guided by the advice of his mother, prudently refrained from giving any grounds of dissatisfaction or suspicion to the Syeds, and cautiously awaited the opportunity to assert with safety his independence. Privately a party was formed, with the concurrence of the emperor, for his liberation, the chief agents in which were Mohammed Amin Khan and Sadat Khan, originally a merchant of Khorassan, who had risen to a high military post, and was the progenitor of the royal family of Oude. The result of this was, that Hosein was assassinated in his tent, on his march to the Deccan, and the emperor assumed the government. Abdullah, who assembled a formidable army to avenge his brother's fall, was defeated, the same year, in a battle fought between Delhi and Agra, and fell himself into the hands of his enemies. His life was spared, probably in reverence for his presumed descent from the Prophet Mohammed.

The success of the emperor did not secure the peace of the country nor the stability of the throne. The inherent evils of the Mogul government were every day becoming more manifest, and furnishing daily fresh evidence of the rapid decline of that incongruous monarchy. Ajit Singh, who had been re-

moved from his government of Gujerat, took up arms and marched on Delhi, nor was his advance stopped until his demands were conceded and secured to him, in 1721.

In the commencement of the year 1722 Asof Jah* was summoned to court to fill the office of vizier. Although a man of great abilities and promptitude, he was not able to command the confidence of his sovereign, nor the respect of his courtiers. Brought up in the austere observances of the court of Aurungzebe, his manners and dress were the sources of amusement and jest to the dissolute associates of the indolent and effeminate emperor. To remove him from attendance at the seat of government, when his presence had become odious, he was dispatched to chastise the refractory governor of Gujerat. In this mission he was eminently successful; and having reduced the province, he retained the government of it, and returned to Delhi.

Shortly after this Rajah Jei Singh was appointed governor of Agra, to avenge the murder of the deputy-governor of that province by the Jats.

The vizier did not long endure the disagreeabilities of his situation; he threw up his office, and returned to the Deccan. The emperor privately spirited on the governor of Hyderabad to make an attempt to dispossess him; his compliance eventuated in his destruction. He was defeated and slain in 1724.

During these later years the Mahrattas were perseveringly extending their territories, and wisely consolidating their power; the management of their affairs was in very able hands. Saho, the king of the Mahrattas, though placed upon the throne by the Moguls, had incurred their displeasure, and they lent the aid of their arms to his rival Samba, whom they supported from 1713 to 1716. The depressed fortunes of Saho owed their recovery to the consummate ability of his minister, Balajee Wiswanat. He rose from the condition of an accountant to the office of peishwa, the second next to the throne. This able minister obtained the ratification of a treaty from Mohammed Shah in 1720, by which, in addition to other advantages, he had the authority of Saho recognised, and his ascendancy over his rival Samba established; and before his death, which happened in this year, "he had the satisfaction of seeing his sovereign placed above the assaults of enemies either foreign or domestic."†

* *Asof Jah* is a title commonly given to viziers; it signifies in place and rank as *Asof*, who they say was Solomon's vizier.—FRASER'S *Life of Nadir Shah*, p. 64, note. Second edition.

† Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 596. Thornton, vol. i. p. 71.

This great man was succeeded by his son, Bajee Rao, a greater man still, and inferior in ability to none of his countrymen except Sevajee. Apprehending some danger by retaining at home the numerous corps of horse, so useful in war, and conscious that the establishment of a military command would insure an efficient internal government, he induced his sovereign to prepare for the invasion of the northern province. He had sagely concluded, from a consideration of the then state of the Mogul empire, that it was rotten to the core. "Let us strike," said he, "the withered trunk, and the branches will fall of themselves." And on another occasion he enthusiastically exclaimed to the rajah, "You shall plant your standard on the Himalaya." Shortly after operations were energetically commenced. He ravaged Malwa, and wrung from the Moguls a grant of the chout and *sirdesmuki*. At the close of the rainy season of 1727 he made an incursion into the territories of Asof, and marched on Boorhanpore. His course was diverted to Gujerat by the approach of Asof, now openly supported by Samba. He devastated that district with fire and sword. Samba was soon after reduced to submission (1730). He left Samba's son, still an infant, under the guardianship of his mother, on condition of the payment of half the produce through the peishwa to the government. Peelajee Geikwar, the ancestor of the present royal family of Gujerat, was left to administer his territories for the infant prince.

It may be well to mention here that, it was about this period most of the great families of the Mahrattas had their origin. When Bajee Rao marched into Malwa, the chief appointments were conferred on Udajee Porar, Malhar Rao Holkar, and Ranajee Scindiah. The first mentioned possessed a territory on the borders of Gujerat and Malwa, about Dhar, but never rose to such power as his colleagues or their descendants. Holkar was a shepherd on the Nira, south of Poonah; and Scindiah, though of a respectable family near Sattara, was in the humble position of a menial servant to the peishwa. None of them was, as was previously, usually, the case in the Mahratta army, the captain of his own followers, but held commissions from, and acting under the orders of, the peishwa.

After a long protracted contest, the peishwa and Asof Khan, convinced that it would subserve their mutual interests, entered into a compromise. In 1732 Bajee Rao entered Malwa in person, and prosecuted the war with such signal success, that, in the second year after, 1734, it was surrendered to him with the tacit consent of the emperor, from whom the territory was, nominally, held. These

concessions did not satiate his ambition; he prosecuted his appropriations with increased vigour, and at length insisted on the grant of a jaghire comprising the province of Malwa, and all the country south of the Chambul, together with the sacred cities of Muttra, Allahabad, and Benares. These demands were deemed too exorbitant even by the feeble emperor, and, in all probability, led to the reconciliation between him and Asof Jah, who now began to apprehend that he had more to fear from his weakness than he had formerly from his enmity. During the negotiations which led to this understanding, Bajee Rao was not inactive, he was engaged in ravaging the country beyond the Jumna; and though he received a severe check from Sadat Khan, the governor of Oude, he adroitly managed to escape the observation of the imperial army, and suddenly quitting the neighbourhood of the Jumna, and passing fourteen miles to the right of the Moguls, by extraordinary forced marches he suddenly and unexpectedly appeared before the gates of Delhi. This rapid and alarming approach to the capital, on his own evidence, appears to have been suggested by the fame which Sadat Khan had acquired by his recent victory over him. Nothing was talked of at Delhi but the hero who had, his panegyrists asserted, driven the Mahrattas back to the Deccan. "I was resolved," says Bajee Rao, "to tell the emperor the truth, to prove to him that I was still in Hindostan, and to show him flames and Mahrattas at the gates of his capital."*

The Mahratta on this occasion acted with great moderation. On reflection, he abandoned his intention of surrendering Delhi to the pillage of his soldiers, and withdrew to a distance to deprive them of the opportunity. On his retrograde march he was ill-advisedly attacked by a body of eight thousand imperialists, whom he repelled with the loss of six hundred men. The vizier, who had been reinforced by Sadat Khan, was on his march to the relief of the capital, and Bajee Rao thought it prudent to fall back on the Deccan, where the state of public affairs demanded his presence (1737). After his retreat, Asof Jah was invested with full powers, and the governments of Malwa and Gujerat were conferred on his son. To such a low ebb was the empire, by this time, reduced, that, with the absolute powers entrusted to him, and the prestige of his name, he could press into his service not more than thirty-four thousand men. He resolved to march against the peishwa, who was at the head of eighty thousand. The imperialists were reinforced by several contingents, and were not,

* Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 532.

numerically, inferior to their foes. Though advantageously posted, and under the protection of the strong fort of Bopal, his communications with his reserve were intercepted by the harassing attacks of the Mahrattas, and his losses were severe. To such extremities were the Moguls reduced, that Asof Jah engaged to cede the whole of the Malwa and the sovereignty of the territory between the Nerbuddah and the Chambul, to obtain a confirmation of it from the emperor, and a payment of fifty lacs of rupees to defray Bajee Rao's expenses * (1738). Asof Jah then proceeded unmolested to Delhi, and the peishwa took possession of the territories conceded to him; but before the treaty, he had entered into, could possibly have received the confirmation of the emperor, one of those unexpected visitations which, in the declining state of a distracted and effete government, cap the climax of misrule and disorder, in its overwhelming consequences absorbed all other considerations:—this was the invasion of Nadir Shah, otherwise called Thamas Khoolee Kahn, one of the most savage of the ruthless oriental conquerors.

Nadir Shah, like the founders of Rome, was originally a shepherd, he collected around him a band of freebooters, and appeared as the deliverer of his country. This occurred at the critical time when the Sophis were supplanted on the throne of Persia by the Affghans. The last prince of that dynasty was obliged to seek an asylum amongst the tribe of Kajar, on the confines of the Caspian; and the first gleam of good fortune that fell on his exile, was the adherence of this rising adventurer. As an advocate of the royal cause, he was enabled, without exciting jealousy or suspicion, to enrol an army and prepare the way for the realization of his own dreams of ambition. The ability which he displayed in his new position, the success which crowned his arms, the apparent loyalty of his proceedings and aims, appealed to the national and religious feelings of the Persians, and from a state of abject inactivity he imperceptibly, but successfully, infused into all a spirit of self-reliance, a confidence in their resources, and a passion for military glory and the re-assertion of the supremacy of Persia. The Affghans were fearlessly encountered and signally defeated, in 1729. The consequences were that Ispahan, the capital, was recovered, and the usurpers chased into Affghanistan; Ashref, who had been placed by them upon the throne, was murdered by a Beloochee chief near Candahar. He then turned his arms against the Turks, who, during the wane of the power of

the Sophis, had acquired large possessions in the western provinces of Persia. He had already recovered Tabreez, when he was called off by a rising in Candahar. After a siege of ten months, he took possession of Herat, and reduced the province; the Abdallees, who predominated there, and whose form of belief he embraced, were ever after the most devoted of his followers. He had now established his influence, and had attached the army, as well as the Abdallees, to his interests; he therefore determined to affect no longer to rule in his master's name. With his victorious army he marched to the plain of Moghan, and there convened an assembly of the leading men of Persia, both civil and military, to the number of one hundred thousand, and by their unanimous suffrages was proclaimed the sovereign of the kingdom (1736).

Soon after his elevation he led an army of eighty thousand men into Candahar, from which he expelled the Kiljees (1738); during this campaign he settled the greater part of the surrounding country, and his son, Reza Culi Mirza, who had marched against the Uzbecks, conquered the province of Balk, and defeated the King of Bokhara in person in an engagement on the Oxus. While Nadir Shah was thus occupied, several of the chiefs, in the decline of their fortunes, sought refuge in Hindostan, whose surrender he repeatedly demanded without any satisfactory result. This was conduct he was not disposed to tolerate; he therefore resolved to march on Ghizni and Cabul. Fraser states that he was encouraged to this invasion by letters from Nizam-ool-Moolk and Sadat Khan.* An ambassador whom he had sent to Delhi was attacked and killed, together with his escort, by the inhabitants of Jellalabad; the hesitation which he may have previously felt, was put to flight by this outrage. Furious with rage, he burst into Lahore at the head of a formidable army. Jellalabad suffered all the punishment he could inflict.† Almost unmolested he passed through the mountain district between Cabul and Peshawur, and met with nothing like opposition till he arrived on the banks of the Jumna, at a place called Kornal, within one hundred miles of Delhi, where he found himself in the face of an army led by the emperor Mohammed Shah in person, attended by the Nizam, Sadat Khan, and the principal nobility. An attempt to intercept Sadat Khan, who had arrived from his vice-royalty of Oude about the same time as Nadir Shah, brought on a partial action, which ended in a general engagement. Their

* P. 129. This statement is not at all probable.

† Gleig's *History of India*, vol. i. p. 263.

* Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 612.

close order and perfect discipline secured the victory to the Persians; Sadat Khan was taken prisoner, a vizier was mortally wounded, and thousands of the imperialists fell in the fight. The defeat was so complete that the Moguls had neither the courage nor the means to sustain further opposition. Through the treachery of Sadat Khan, whose fidelity seems to have been shaken by the frustration of his designs on the office of vizier by the superior influence of the nizam, the latter, as well as the unfortunate Mohammed, was brought into the enemy's hands, and the conqueror marched on Delhi. Nadir Shah's object seems to have been the acquisition of portable wealth, not of immovable territories; from the commencement of this invasion he professed that he was animated with pure zeal for Islam, and friendship for the emperor; that he could never have imagined the wretches (the Mahrattas) of the Deccan should impose a tribute on the dominions of the king of Mussulmen. He assured the emperor that the object of his approach was, that when the infidels moved towards Hindostan, he would be able to send his victorious army to drive them into the abyss of hell; he reminded him that history is full of instances of the friendship that had subsisted between the princes of his nation and the sovereigns of Delhi. He added a solemn oath that, excepting friendship and a concern for religion, he had no other views; and he concluded the letter here quoted with this assurance, "I always was and will be a friend to your illustrious house." The greatest order was preserved for two days after the capital had been possessed by the Persians, and commands of the most peremptory character were issued, to "spare no punishments, such as cutting off ears and noses, and bamboozing to death whoever molested the Indians, for which reason neither high nor low durst injure any of the natives."* On the night of the second a report was spread that Nadir Shah was taken prisoner and poisoned. The Delhians rose *en masse*, made an attack on the detached troops of the Persians, and cut off several of them. The following morning Nadir Shah appeared in the streets, on horseback, to disabuse the people of their false impression, and to quell the mob, who were perpetrating the excesses, by the mildest means possible: while thus engaged, a musket was designedly discharged at him, and killed one of the officers who stood next to him.† His passion being thus excited, permission was given to the soldiers to kill and plunder without re-

straint. One wide-spread scene of butchery and pillage was presented by the capital. Both sexes were indiscriminately put to the sword; the city was fired in various quarters, and for the space of twelve hours suffered all the miseries an infuriated and avaricious soldiery could, in the vengeance of the worst passions, inflict. A little before sunset Nadir Shah forbade further destruction—such was the discipline of his army, that within a quarter of an hour all outrages had ceased, and not a Persian was to be seen in the street. The number who fell victims, on this occasion, is variously stated at 150,000, 120,000, 30,000, down to 8000; the number must have been enormous, as twenty thousand Persians were engaged in the massacre. The imperial treasures, including the celebrated peacock throne, and the entire effects of several of the nobility, fell into the hands of the plunderers.

Nadir Shah, during his stay of fifty-eight* days, exercised all the rights of a sovereign, and imposed heavy contributions upon all ranks and classes. The amount of the booty in the hands of the conquerors is calculated at thirty-two millions of our money. He reinstated Mohammed on the throne, and addressed firmans to several of the rajahs, and among the rest to Bajee Rao, informing them of this act, and that he considered Mohammed as a brother, whose commands they all should obey, and did they not, he would return with his army and inflict punishment upon them.†

During these transactions, Sadat Khan died of a cancer in the back. This circumstance contributed to the further aggrandizement of his old rival the nizam, whose son was elevated to the distinction of Ameer-ool-Omra, and one of his dependents to the post of vizier. The nizam, however, was obliged to absent himself from court, to check the presumption of his son Nazir Jung, who had asserted his independence; Nazir was overthrown and order restored.

During the Persian campaign and temporary occupation, the Mahrattas, though not immediately involved, abstained from the prosecution of their designs on the empire; nor did Bajee Rao press for the ratification of the treaty so lately completed with Asof Jah. He wisely concluded that all intestine claims should be suspended, while the general safety was threatened by so terrible an antagonist as Nadir Shah. "Our domestic quarrels," he writes, "are now insignificant, there is but one enemy in Hindostan."‡

* Craig says thirty-seven. *History of India*, vol. i. p. 266.

† Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 550.

‡ Duff, vol. i. p. 547.

* Fraser, translation of a letter from Nadir Shah to Mohammed Shah, p. 188.

† Idem, p. 179.

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"Hindoos and Mussulmans, the whole power of the Deccan must assemble." That storm having passed away, he renewed his demands, and insisted on the formal ratification of the agreement with Asof Jah. He selected the Deccan as the theatre on which he would enforce his claim. He was not attended with his usual success. He was defeated, and involved in difficulties from which he was never afterwards extricated; he, on this occasion, describes himself as overwhelmed with debts and disappointments, and thankful if he could meet death.* He was shortly rescued from his troubles in accordance with his wish. Returning to Hindostan, for what object is not told, he expired on the Nerbuddah, April 28th, 1740, and was succeeded by Belajee Rao, as peishwa. This was not effected without strong opposition from some powerful and inveterate enemies of his father, but he baffled their intrigues by the aid of his uncle, Chimmajee, who commanded a portion of the late Bajee Rao's troops. Belajee, though not possessing the abilities of his father, was not his inferior in address, and was his superior as a financier. He soon accomplished the liquidation of all monetary claims upon him, which arose principally from Bajee's embarrassments. When this was arranged, he directed his attention to the recovery of some lands in Hindostan, which had been encroached upon by his enemy and rival, Ragoojee. He crossed the Nerbuddah, but was recalled from a campaign, which he was prosecuting with singular success, by an invasion of Malwa by Damajee Geikwar from Gujerat, another enemy of his house. This expedition was made as a diversion in favour of Ragoojee, and on the approach of Belajee, the invaders speedily retired. Being now in possession of that province, and having an effective and well-appointed force at his command, and no work to do, he thought it a favourable opportunity to exact from the emperor a confirmation of the grant of that province, extorted from Asof Jah by Bajee Rao, his claims to which had remained in suspense during the Persian invasion. The occasion was favourable to the accomplishment of his requirement. Ali Verdi Khan, the viceroy of Bengal, apprehensive of the attacks of Ragoojee, and alarmed for the safety of his government, readily secured the aid of Belajee on his own terms; the grant of Malwa was confirmed, and the peishwa fulfilled his part of the agreement, by immediately marching by Allahabad and Bahar, and met the Ragoojee, approaching from the south-west, in time to save Murshidabad, the capital

* Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 547; Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii. p. 634.

of the province, from attack. Ragoojee retired at his approach, but was pursued and defeated with the loss of all his baggage. Belajee was now earnestly devoted to the promotion of the emperor's interests, having recently received the payment of an assignment, granted to him by the emperor, on the revenues of Bengal. Having swept his enemies from that quarter, he returned to Malwa and thence to Sattara.

His arrival could not have been more opportune; Ragoojee, with the co-operation of his friend Damajee Geikwar, was on full march to his capital. This confederacy must have been formidable to him, judging by the enormous price which he paid to ensure its dissolution. He conceded to Ragoojee the tribute claimed by him from Bengal, Bahar, Allahabad, and Oude. This negotiation, however, was advantageous to the peishwa; the attention of his most formidable enemy was diverted from his territories to the east, where he soon found occupation enough for himself and his troops. On the side of the Deccan no annoyance was given to the Mahrattas by the Moguls. Asof Khan, after suppressing the revolt of his son, had enough of work to do in the regulation of the affairs of the subordinate government of Arcot, till his death, in 1748, at the advanced age of a hundred and four. The contentions amongst his sons, which succeeded that event, will be noticed in treating of the French and English in India.

Saho Rajah did not long survive this veteran chief. Having no children of his own, he adopted, as is the custom of the Hindoos, the Rajah of Calapore as his successor. This was an arrangement diametrically opposed to the ambitious schemes of the peishwa. Saho had become so imbecile, that, unable to act independently, he had yielded completely to the control of his wife, Sawatree Bae, who detested the peishwa, and was not only a supporter of the Rajah of Calapore's pretensions, but also closely related to him. The peishwa, to counteract these powerful influences, had recourse to a deep-laid and crafty scheme. The widow of Rajah Ram, the old rival claimant of the crown, was still living, and had for a long time spiritedly maintained the pretensions of her son, Sevajee the second, in opposition to Saho; to her Bajee had recourse, and though the old lady was far advanced in years and still retained her animosity against him and his family, her ambition was still sufficiently alive to make her embrace any measure which promised to restore her influence. Information was secretly conveyed to Saho, that a posthumous son of Sevajee was living. The

king communicated his supposed discovery to the peishwa, and suggested the prudence of instituting a strict inquiry into the matter, and, in order to sift it well, to subject Tara Bae to an examination. The evidence of Tara Bae corroborated the story; but the whole was treated as a fiction by the queen and the partizans of the Rajah of Calapore. The queen knew the extent of her power over the king, and had very little apprehension of being circumvented in this matter, as the ceremony of adoption was one which should be performed publicly. She had a man to deal with too cunning of fence for her *finesse*. The peishwa maintained that the rajah had signed an instrument transferring to him all the powers of the government, provided he maintained the royal dignity and title in the house of Sevajee, through the grandson of Tara Bae. On the death of Saho, acting on this authority, he proclaimed the grandson under the title of Ram Rajah. A council of the great chiefs confirmed this proceeding, and favours were liberally bestowed amongst them to insure their adherence. With several others, Ragoojee Bosla, Scindiah, and Holkar, were recipients of those favours to a large amount.

Sawatri Bae, the wife of Saho, was artfully induced, by an appeal to her pride, to immolate herself on the funeral pile of her husband; thus was removed out of Belajee's way an ambitious, intriguing, and dangerous enemy. The peishwa was not enabled to effect this revolution without opposition. Attempts were made at insurrection, and a quarrel provoked between him and his cousin Sedasheo Bhao. A reconciliation was at length effected. One of his first steps, when freed from the apprehended dangers of opposition, was to transfer the seat of government to Poonah, but he left the nominal king, Ram Rajah, at Sattara, in perfect freedom, under the control of Tara Bae; splendid provision was made for his maintenance.

The intrigues at court which preceded and followed the late king's death, had restrained the peishwa from availing himself of the favourable opportunities which, at this crisis, presented of extending his conquests in the Deccan, left completely exposed by the withdrawal of the armies of that province to prosecute the war in the Carnatic. The eldest son of the late Asof Jah, Gazeeood-Deen, had opened negotiations with him for his support against his younger brother Salabat Jung, who was in possession of the family inheritance. The peishwa agreed to support his pretensions; he marched into the nizam's territories, and was in the neighbourhood of Salabat's army when intelligence,

from home, reached him, of such an alarming character that he was obliged to hasten back to encounter the powerful confederacy which threatened the frustration of all his schemes of ambition.

No sooner had Belajee departed on this expedition than the old intriguante, Tara Bae, who had never ceased to entertain the bitterest enmity for him, began to plot his downfall. She first appealed to the young king, and used every persuasion to incite him to vindicate his independence, and get rid of his servant, who, she said, had actually become his master. Finding him impervious to her arguments and incentives, she began to dissimulate, in order to disarm him of his suspicions. She then applied, through her emissaries, to Damajee Geikwar, and suggested to him an immediate march to Sattara. He eagerly listened to her suggestions, led an army into the field, and avowed his intentions of rescuing the rajah and the Mahrattas from the rule of the Brahmins. On Damajee's approach, she seized on the person of the young rajah, reproached him with his pusillanimity, expressed her regret for having rescued him from ignominious obscurity, and ended by branding him as an impostor, and undertook the management of the kingdom.

The adherents of the peishwa, who were ignorant of the negotiations entered into by Tara Bae with Damajee and the march of his army, treated these proceedings as the aberrations of a mad old woman, but when the armed battalions of her ally made their appearance to enforce her authority, they appeared far more serious, and they fled precipitately from the threatened city to the village of Arla, on the banks of the Kistna, where they set up their standard. Although their forces soon reached to twenty thousand fighting men, they were defeated by an inferior number of the army of Gujerat. The character lost, in this discomfiture, was retrieved before the arrival of the peishwa, by an attack on the invaders, which succeeded in forcing them to retire to Jore Khora. In thirteen days Belajee had concluded a march of four hundred miles, and was now at hand. However, the issue was not committed to the sword. Damajee was artfully inveigled, his relatives captured, his camp treacherously stormed, and himself immersed in a dungeon in Poonah.

The defeat of her accomplice did not disarm Tara Bae. She refused to surrender the fort and the rajah, and induced every man in the garrison to bind himself by the most solemn oaths to stand by her to the last. A great majority of the Mahrattas recognising her as the rightful regent, Belajee prudently concluded that it would be politic to abstain

from driving her to extremities. It is more than probable that her escape was in no small degree attributable to the invasion of the territories of the Mahrattas by Salabat Jung, whose system of warfare was conducted on their own model. Since the days of Aurungzebe, a more formidable army was not seen in that quarter. It was accompanied by a French subsidiary force of five hundred men, and of five thousand disciplined and well-appointed sepoy, under the command of M. Bussy, the most distinguished French officer, who has commanded in the far East, and to whose superior skill the Moguls are stated to have entrusted the management of the war. Belajee was no match for this able officer; defeat followed defeat; the enemy were within twenty miles of Poonah; and to aggravate this troubled state of matters, the invaders were in communication with his other enemies, Tara Bae and the Rajah of Calapore. There seemed no hope of escaping the fury of this storm but by abject submission. To a happy combination of fortuitous circumstances, he owed his almost miraculous escape. With his superior abilities, Bussy was dependant on the resources of Prince Salabat, whose finances were now in a state of derangement; the troops were in arrear, and murmuring for their pay; the dissatisfaction became general, and the army was nearly ungovernable. At the same time Ragoojee Bosla, who had previously got possession of Cuttack, and a concession, by the peishwa, of the tribute of Bengal, availing himself of the opportunity of the war raging in Maharashtra, burst into the Deccan, captured Gawailghoor and Noornala, made himself master of Manikdroog, and the districts dependant on these forts, laid the whole country between the Payn Goonga and the Godavery under contribution, expelled the Moguls and substituted his own subjects. To repel this scourge from his door was an object of far deeper concern to Salabat Jung than the redress of others' wrongs, or the acquisition of foreign territories. An armistice was, unhesitatingly, concluded, and Salabat hastened back to his possessions (1752).

The Deccan was fated to become the busy scene of most important operations, in which the Mahrattas played no indifferent part. In order to be able to comprehend their transactions in that quarter, it is necessary to go back some years and notice events which, though secondary to these more exciting which have been recorded, are important in themselves and in their results.

On the departure of Asof Khan, in 1741, to his government of the Deccan, his eldest son, Gazee-ood-Deen, who was married to

the daughter of the vizier, succeeded him in his post at court. On the death of his father, though solicitous to return to his government, permission was not granted; and it is asserted that bribes were liberally bestowed by his brothers, amongst the favourites, to ensure his detention.

It was during this period that the Rohillas had grown into power, and excited the vizier's especial jealousy, as they threatened to overrun and appropriate his possessions in Oude.

The Rohillas were an Affghan colony, which obtained possession of an extensive and fertile district of the peninsula, lying between the rivers Ganges and Goggra, bordering on Oude, Gurwal, and Kumaon, and lying between the twenty-eighth and thirtieth degree of north latitude, and the seventy-eighth and the eightieth east longitude.* The Ganges and its tributaries, as also the Ramgunga, after traversing the country through its whole extent, before it pours its tributary waters into the sacred river, irrigate its plains. This tract is intersected by numerous canals and reservoirs, and springs are found a foot beneath the surface. With such natural and artificial advantages, it was, under the rule of its native sovereigns, in a high state of cultivation; though, when it was ceded to the British, in 1801, by the Nabob of Oude, it was neglected and desolate, in consequence of his tyranny and exactions. Being the scene of many of the incidents of the recent mutiny and revolt, it has become better known to the English reader. It may be pertinent to state that within this district are situated the following towns: Bareilly, Bissouly, Budaon, Mooradabad, Oulah, Pillibut, Rampore, Sambul, and Jehanpore. The various remains of magnificent edifices, palaces, gardens, mosques, colleges, and mausoleums are evidences that, in former times, it was in a very flourishing condition, and of great political importance. In the decline of the Mogul power, subjected to the vicissitudes of the various armed commotions which distracted the empire, it shared the general deterioration, and in the more recent times was overrun by the restless and warlike adventurers of the tribe of Roh or Rohillas. The founders of this state were two brothers, Shah Alum and Hosein Khan, who, about the year 1673, settled in this district, and were engaged in the performance of duties of great importance by Aurungzebe. Their descendants inherited the ability, ambition, and, it may be added, good fortune of their predecessors; they extended their dominions, cultivated their lands to a

* Its exact limits are from lat. 27° 15'—29° 51'; and from long. 78° 3'—80° 30'.—*TORNTON'S Gazetteer*.

high state of perfection, and liberally encouraged all those enterprises calculated to develop the resources of the country, and ruled with moderation and prudence.

About the year 1726, two of the Rohilla chiefs, Bisharoot Khan and Daood Khan, set out as military adventurers to find employment for their arms. They entered the service of Madhoo Sah, the zemindar of Serowly, who lived by his depredations on the surrounding districts. Amongst the most daring of his banditti, these were very soon distinguished by their daring exploits. In the sack of one of the neighbouring towns, Daood Khan captured a youth of the Jat tribe, whom he converted to Mohammedanism, named Ali Mohammed, and adopted as his heir, nor was he unworthy of this distinction. As a volunteer, Ali soon joined his martial brethren, and by his feats of courage and tact, was speedily placed in command of a troop of Affghans, who were engaged in the service of the vizier, and thus employed he acquitted himself with such satisfaction that he was introduced to the notice of the emperor, who bestowed on him a jaghire, and entrusted to his command several districts. During the confusion attendant on the invasion of Nadir Shah, he so adroitly availed himself of the opportunity presented, that he established an independent state of sovereignty in Rohilcund. A power rising into such great importance, necessarily soon arrested the attention of the court of Delhi. By the vizier, Gazee-ood-Deen, whose province of Oude was continuous with the newly-created kingdom, the danger must have been felt. He resolved to crush it before it should have acquired further extension. He thought the matter of such great moment, that he sent an army against Ali Mohammed, and publicly proclaimed that the object of the war was, not merely to enforce the payment of arrears of revenue, but to remove him altogether from his office. The latter did not quiescently await the explosion; he prepared for his defence. He met the imperialists in open conflict, he put them to flight, and amongst the slain was the chief who was named as his successor. The daring rebel was not only continued in his command, but greater powers were conferred upon him. Elated by his success, he carried his pretensions so far as to threaten the invasion and appropriation of some of the territories of Oude. The emperor was induced by Gazee-ood-Deen to take the field in person against him. After an unsuccessful resistance in the open country, Ali was obliged to seek the shelter of one of his strong forts. Reduced to extremities, on the intercession of the vizier, he received a full

pardon, but the conditions were entirely in favour of the vizier, to whom, apprehensive of his proximity, it was apparently of the greatest importance to have him removed to a distance. Ali agreed to accept the government of Sirhind, a small and barren spot to the north-west of Delhi, in exchange for his own fertile province. In removing thither he merely yielded to the exigency of the occasion, and was resolved, as the issue serves to prove, to abide a favourable opportunity of effecting his restoration. Thus was the foundation laid of a power destined at no distant period to give an emperor to India, and to dispute its sovereignty with the armies of Great Britain.

At the time of these transactions another portion of the Affghans was engaged in forming a more important combination within their ancestral territories. The consequences resulting from the death of Nadir Shah, who died in 1747, were not less serious to the empire of Delhi than those which followed his invasion of that country.

Nadir Shah, eight years after evacuating India, was assassinated in his tent, at Meshed, in Khorassan. His fate was provoked by the cruelty of his proceedings. On some vague suspicions he had put out the eyes of his eldest son, and such was the intensity of his remorse, that he reproached every one who sought his mercy with having neglected to intercede for him when in danger. His conduct became so savage and capricious that he may be pronounced an enemy to his species.* "His cruelties were equalled by his extortions, and both were accompanied by threats and expressions of hatred against his subjects. These oppressions led to revolts, which drew on fresh enormities, whole cities were depopulated, and 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. During the two last years of his life his rage was increased by his bodily sickness, until it partook of frenzy, and until his subjects were compelled to lay plots for ridding themselves of a tyrant whose existence was incompatible with their own. In his distrust of his countrymen he had thrown himself, without reserve, on the Affghans, and took a pleasure in mortifying his old soldiers, by a marked preference for their former enemies and his own. On the day before his death, while labouring under some presentiment of evil, he leaped on his horse in the midst of his camp, and was on the point of flying from his own army to take refuge in a fortress, when his mind was some-

* Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii. p. 652.

what calmed. After this act of madness he sent for the Affghan chiefs, appealed to their fidelity for the preservation of his life, and concluded by instructing them to disperse his Persian guards, and to seize on his principal nobles." These orders were not so secretly communicated as to escape the knowledge of the intended victims of his bloodthirsty caprice, and during the night which intervened between the instructions and the hour named, he was assassinated by some of the chiefs of his own tribe, and thus perished—"the beast, the terror, and the execration of his country." *

At the hour appointed by Nadir Shah, the Affghans, under the command of Ahmed Khan Abdalee made, as arranged, an assault on the Persians. Their immediate withdrawal to their own country shows that, though frustrated in the attempt, they had strength enough to secure their retreat to their own country, where their chief proclaimed himself king of Afghanistan, and effectively sustained his position.

Ahmed Shah Abdalee was the son of an Affghan chief, who was made prisoner at Herat, and was subsequently in the family of Nadir Shah, and by the aid of his superior abilities, rose from this humiliating grade to a high rank and reputation in the army. On the fall of his master he placed himself at the head of his countrymen, and his authority was acknowledged by many of the chiefs of his nation. On his journey homeward he fortunately fell in with a convoy of treasure, which, without scruple, he appropriated to his own purposes. In a short space of time he annexed Candahar and Cabul, and Lahore was treacherously delivered to him. These encroachments produced great terror and alarm at Delhi. The vizier, accompanied by Prince Ahmed, was sent to oppose him. An action was fought not far from the town of Sirhind, in which both sides suffered severely. The vizier was killed with a cannon-ball, and his disheartened followers took to flight, and the Affghans were thrown into great confusion by the explosion of a powder magazine, by which many lives were lost. The victory was claimed by neither. The Affghans retreated, and the imperialists did not molest by too close pursuit. Prince Ahmed returned to Delhi, but before he reached the end of his journey his father Mohammed Shah expired, in 1747, after a reign of twenty-nine years, and in the forty-ninth of his age.

The empire, which had been for some time in a state of decline, gave in this reign evidences of its approaching fall. Every day

* Père Bazin, *Lettres Edifiantes*, vol. iv. This Jesuit was his physician in the later years of his life, and gives the best account of this prince.

was disclosing its growing weakness. In 1738 Bengal had declared its independence, and was soon after invaded by a powerful army of Mahrattas; the Rohillas founded an independent state within eighty miles of the capital; and some of the best provinces on the east were wrested from it.

Ahmed Shah succeeded to the throne of Delhi vacated by the death of his father. The retreat, from Persia, of the Affghans to the Punjab, and the energetic character of their young king, were the sources of much anxiety to the Moguls. Instead of fulfilling the high expectations which the capacity he displayed in the late campaign generated, the emperor ingloriously surrendered himself to the indulgence of low debauchery, and sacrificed his independence for the purpose of conciliating such allies as he thought could secure him from aggression. The office of vizier was proffered to Asaf Jah, and declined on account of his great age. The old chief died very shortly after this offer had been made to him. On the rumoured approach of the Affghans, Nazir Jung, who, though the second son, had seized on the Deccan in violation of his elder brother's rights, was commanded to hasten to the assistance of the empire with all the forces which he could assemble. While these troops were on their way the court learned that there was no immediate danger to be apprehended from the Affghans, as their king was engaged in the western part of his dominions. Before Nazir Jung had yet reached the banks of the Nerbuddah he was ordered back to his province, fortunately for him, as his nephew, Muzzuffer Jung, during his absence, aided by Chunda Sahib and a body of French troops, had risen in rebellion against his authority. Safder Jung, the son of Sadat Khan, a man who had no qualification for that very important office, was viceroy of Oude; his ambition was unbounded, and to this fault in a minister was joined a greater still, the absence of all discretion.

During the confusion created by the invasion of Ahmed Abdalee, Ali Mohammed managed to escape from Sirhind, and having been well received in Rohilcund, re-established his authority though with difficulty. The first effort of the new vizier's government was directed to suppress the attempt, and this seemed the more easy of accomplishment as the Rohilla chief had recently expired, and left his authority, not yet well established, in the hands of a minor. To execute his designs he selected an Affghan of some distinction, Kaim Jung, the chief of the Bangasti tribe, and Nabob of Ferokabad. Risking an engagement under unfavourable circumstances, Kaim Jung sustained a defeat, and was left amongst

the slain. It would appear from the sequel that the vizier was animated by feelings of the purest selfishness in setting Affghan against Affghan, for the misfortune of his ally he turned to his own account. As soon as he learned the death of Kaim Jung he marched a force into his territories, and dispossessed the widow of the greater part of them. His treacherous conduct met with its well-merited retribution; the brother of Kaim having made terms with the Rohillas, raised an army with which he encountered the vizier, and totally routed his army. The victors in their turn became the aggressors, they invaded his territories, and with occasional reverses succeeded in penetrating to Allahabad, and defied his power, and that of the emperor. Safder Jung was driven from place to place, and eventually was obliged to seek refuge in Delhi. In this difficulty, with all his resources exhausted, he was left no hope but the humiliating one of seeking the aid of the Mahrattas. He induced, by presents and promises, Holkar, Scindiah, and the Jat prince, Sooraj Mal, to support his cause. They eagerly entered into the arrangements; Rohilcund was invaded by an overwhelming force; the Rohillas were defeated in a pitched battle, their country was laid waste, and the population were driven to the lower branches of the Himalaya for protection. Having thus accomplished his purpose by the aid of his auxiliaries, he found that it was not in his power to induce or force them to withdraw from the conquered country, he was obliged to consign to the Mahrattas, in lieu of subsidies, the greater part of it. By the ravages of these plunderers it was reduced to the state in which it was a half century afterwards found by the English.

The arms of the Mahrattas had achieved these successful results in Rohilcund, triumphing over all opposition; but in their absence, their capital in the Deccan, as has been noticed, was threatened by the advance of Salabat Khan. The peishwa, Belajee Rao, sent the most pressing letters to hasten to the Deccan. Holkar immediately marched southward, and had crossed the Ganges, when despatches from the vizier informed him that peace had been concluded in that province. Holkar wrote to the peishwa, assuring him of his readiness to submit to his orders, but in consequence of this intelligence would await further instructions.

The successes achieved in Rohilcund were overbalanced by the advantages which the Rajpoots of Ajmeer had gained by taking forcible possession of some fertile districts to which they had no legitimate claim. An attempt to expel them was ended in the de-

feat of the Moguls, and their expulsion with disgrace from the province. Contemporaneously with these events was the appearance in Hindostan of Ahmed Abdalee, who had recruited his army in Cabul, and having crossed the Indus, was subjugating Lahore. Mir Munnoo, the vizier's eldest son, had offered considerable resistance to the invaders, but after the loss of the bravest of his officers and several of his men, he was at length forced to submit, and to accept the government of Mooltan and Lahore under the conqueror. The vizier, in this emergency, was summoned to Delhi. On his arrival he found that these provinces had been, without consulting him, and at the instigation of a new favourite, conceded to the Affghans by the emperor, and thus the integrity of the empire was sacrificed. Had it not been for this precipitate arrangement, the vizier professed that with the aid of the Mahrattas he would have been able to expel the invaders.

Safder Khan was seriously disappointed in finding that his return did not restore his authority, and that the new favourite still continued to direct the king. He however suppressed his wounded feelings, and having invited the unsuspecting eunuch to an entertainment, had him put to death. The king was greatly offended by this undue stretch of authority, and devised means of revenging the outrage.

Allusion has been to the results which followed in his family the death of Asof Jah; how his second son Nasir Jung seized upon the Deccan. Gazee-ood-deen, the eldest, remained at the court of Delhi, and as soon as an opportunity presented itself of prosecuting his legitimate claims, he secured the support of the peishwa, and set off for the Deccan, accompanied by Holkar and Scindiah. After his arrival at Aurungabad he was attacked with a fit of illness which proved fatal. On his death his disorderly bands instantly dispersed. He left a son, a mere youth, of singular audacity, and of considerable ability, as reckless of consequences as he was regardless of principles, who, through the influence of the vizier, had been raised to the title of Gazee-ood-deen, enjoyed by his father, and appointed commander-in-chief. It was this young man who was made the instrument of accomplishing the designs of the sovereign.

The vizier saw clearly that his ruin was intended, and applied for permission to return to his government of Oude. This favour was denied. But seeing that his safety depended on his withdrawal from the power of his enemies, with a large body of armed retainers he resolved to force his way home. The emperor made preparations to intercept his

march, upon which the late vizier sought the aid of one of the rajahs of the Jats, whose friendship in days past he had secured. Thus strengthened he decided on aggressive measures to set up a rival to the throne, and marching on Delhi he shut up, in the castle, the emperor and his new favourite. After a siege of six months, on the reported approach of the Mahrattas under Malhar Rao, he consented to make terms, and was secured in the possession of Oude and Allahabad.

Gazee-ood-Deen did not wish that the Mahrattas should retire without having rendered some services. He therefore marched against the Jat rajah, Sooraj Mal, the partizan of the late vizier. The latter retired within his forts, but the former pursued him into his retreat, and sought from the emperor a train of artillery for his reduction. This request was refused through the influence of the vizier Intizam-ood-Dowlah, his uncle, who owed his elevation entirely to his influence. In this step the vizier was influenced by his knowledge of the unprincipled character of his ambitious nephew, and his advice was supported by the strong political remonstrances of Sooraj Mal. An envoy was sent by Gazee-ood-Deen to press his suit, who, finding all his entreaties fruitless, seduced several of the artillery from their duty, and began to plunder the environs of the city. The emperor took the field, but was unexpectedly attacked, and no preparations had been made for defence. A few rockets were thrown into the camp, the army, in the greatest alarm fled, precipitately, in every direction, leaving to the enemy all the baggage and camp equipments. The victorious troops hastened on to the capital, and Gazee-ood-Deen obtained the office of vizier, to the exclusion of Intizam-ood-Dowlah. He next deposed the unfortunate prince, deprived him and his mother of their eyesight, cast them into prison, and raised a grandson of Jehandar Shah to the throne, by the title of Alumgeer II., in the end of May, 1754. Safder Jung soon after died, and was succeeded by his son, Soojah-ood-Dowlah.*

The condition of the empire was at this crisis most pitiable. The long continuance of intestine broils, and the gradual assumption of independence by several chiefs, had reduced it to the verge of disorganization. Those viceroys, who had not asserted their independence, considered themselves entitled to regulate their provinces as they pleased. Mooltan and Lahore were, formally, separated from the empire, the Mahrattas were in actual possession of a large portion of it, the Deccan had, to all intents and purposes, become an

independent state, and the Europeans were fast rising into power.

After the appointment of Gazee-ood-Deen to the office of vizier, a longer period of tranquillity ensued than might have been expected under the administration of a man of his restless ambition. His internal government was as arbitrary as ever, and produced a military revolt, which very nearly led to his murder. He was seized by the infuriated soldiery, and, ignominiously, dragged through the streets, without his slippers or turban. In the midst of the danger he did not lose his presence of mind nor abate his arrogant tone; he reviled his assailants, and threatened that they should answer with their heads for their insolent audacity. When rescued from these indignities by the interposition of the officers, he commanded the instant massacre of the whole body of mutineers, and gave up their tents, horses, and property to plunder. Not a vestige of the corps was suffered to survive.

This dangerous revolt occurred as he was on his way to Lahore, on the pretence of celebrating his marriage with the daughter of Mir Manoo, the governor of the Punjaub, to whom he had been affianced previously to the death of his father. His present journey was influenced by other motives than those avowed. Without the slightest provocation he seized on the town, made the widow and regent prisoner in her bed, seized on all her treasures, and had them conveyed to Delhi. The injured princess broke into invectives against her faithless son-in-law, and prophesied the ruin of India, and the slaughter of its inhabitants, as the certain consequences of the vengeance of her sovereign, Ahmed Shah, whose arms had twice before been felt in the peninsula. Her forebodings were soon verified: Ahmed Shah Abdalee was enraged at this outrage on his authority, and speedily led an army across the Indus, and as he proceeded he expelled the inefficient garrisons lately placed in the forts of Lahore, and expeditiously arrived before the gates of Delhi.

In the interval, Gazee-ood-Deen had contrived to conciliate his mother-in-law, and to procure her intercession. He then presented himself to Ahmed Shah, and received pardon. But Delhi was subjected to the most cruel exactions; neither age nor sex was respected, and all were indiscriminately involved in one common ruin. The victor was not content with the plunder of the capital. The Doab was laid under heavy contributions, and the country of the Jats was pillaged to the walls of Agra. By this time the summer was far advanced, and a pestilence broke out amongst his troops, who were incapable of enduring the Indian heat; he was thus obliged to abandon the

* Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. ii. p. 79.

siege of Agra, and to be content with the money he had levied, and to quit Hindostan. During his stay in Delhi, he had married one of the princesses, and had contracted another to his son, Timoor Shah. The unfortunate emperor having entreated Ahmed not to commit him to the mercy of Gazee-ood-Deen, he entrusted the care of his person to Najeeb-ood-Dowlah, a Rohillah chief of ability and character. These events occurred in 1757.

No sooner had the Rohillas vacated the kingdom, than the vizier set Ahmed's power at defiance. He first of all secured the attachment and support of Ahmed Khan Bangash, the chief of Ferokabad, whose father had lost his life in a struggle with the Rohillas, whom he nominated to the office of commander-in-chief, of which he deprived Najeeb-ood-Dowlah; in addition he called in the aid of the Mahrattas, now in the zenith of their power.

Although Belajee had entered into terms of peace, as has been related, with Salabat Jung, 1752, this did not hinder him from establishing similar relations at a subsequent period with his elder brother and antagonist, Gazee-ood-Deen. This combination proved so powerful, that in all probability, though supported by Bussy, Salabat Jung could not have made head against the storm, had he not been rescued by the premature death of his adversary. After this occurrence, Belajee's attention was called off to the south, where he became involved in the disputes between the French and English, as will be hereafter recorded.*

Belajee's brother, Ragoba,† had distinguished himself in the subjugation of the province of Gujerat, 1755, and was sent in the following year into Malwa. It was to this chief that the vizier had now recourse, and supported by him, he advanced on Delhi, and laid siege to the fortified palace, which resisted his assaults for over a month. The Najeeb secured a safe passage to his own country—adjacent Seharunpore, to the north of Delhi, and divided by the Ganges from Rohilkund—by the payment of a large sum to Holkar; the emperor had already taken the precaution of sending his son, afterwards Shah Alum, to a place of safety, and then threw open his gates and received Gazee-ood-Deen as his vizier.

Ragoba continued for some time in the neighbourhood of the capital, till he was called away to an important and easy conquest. Although a splendid one, to it is fairly attributable the first check which the

progress of the Mahrattas encountered, and from it dates their decline. Before Ahmed Shah Abdalee quitted India, 1757, he left his son Timoor in the government of the Punjaub, and appointed, as his minister and counsellor, Jehan Khan. The latter intended to avail himself of the experience and wisdom of Adina Khan Beg, a man of a turbulent and an artful character, who had been deputy to Mir Manoo. Adina Beg was pressingly invited to Lahore, the seat of government of the viceroyalty of the Punjaub, but his suspicious temperament apprehended some sinister purpose in this solicitude, and he not only declined the invitation, but also withdrew to the mountains, and was denounced as a rebel. The attempts made to arrest him he successfully resisted with the aid of the Sikhs. The presence of the Mahrattas at Delhi led him into negotiations with them. His advances in this quarter were warmly embraced by Ragoba, who marched to his assistance, and shortly after his arrival, encountered and defeated the Abdalee governor of Sirhind, overran the country, and entered Lahore as conqueror in the month of May, 1758. The government of the conquered province was confided to Adina Beg, and on his death, shortly after, a Mahratta was appointed to fill the vacancy. Previously to this Ragoba had departed for the Deccan, leaving the Punjaub in apparent security, and the influence of the Mahrattas respected and feared throughout the peninsula. Datajee Scindiah had gone in pursuit of Najeeb-ood-Dowlah, who, unable to offer resistance, left his territories a prey to the invaders, and took up a strong position at Sakertel, a defensible post on the Ganges, and successfully maintained himself there during the rainy season. He also engaged in the task of organizing a confederacy of the neighbouring princes to repel the common danger. Soojah-ood-Dowlah, although he detested the Rohillas, was induced, by the magnitude of the danger, to sacrifice his enmities, and to unite with the Najeeb, as his only chance of resisting the Mahrattas, who now, publicly, avowed that nothing, less than the complete conquest of Hindostan, would satisfy them. When Datajee Scindiah was informed of this alliance, he sent Govind Rao, with a sufficient force, to lay waste the territories of the Rohillas. This order was executed with the greatest severity, and the whole of the chiefs were compelled to seek refuge in the recesses of the Kumaon hills.

Thirteen hundred villages were plundered and destroyed in little more than a month. The wretched condition to which the inhabitants were reduced, having been conveyed to Soojah-ood-Dowlah, he marched to their relief; and

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 669.

† Ragoba is the familiar name of Ragonath, or Rugonath.

having encountered the enemy, routed them with great slaughter, and drove them in great confusion across the river Jumna, in which many of them lost their lives. This was a severe defeat to Gazee-ood-Deen, but a more alarming danger was now approaching, and threatened his complete discomfiture. This was the fact that Ahmed Shah was in full march to support the Rohillas; and still further to aggravate his difficulties, it was discovered that Alumgeer was in correspondence with the enemy, and was laying schemes in co-operation with them for his destruction. Gazee-ood-Deen had recourse to very vigorous measures; he seized on the person of the unfortunate sovereign, and had him murdered; he extended a like fate to his uncle Intizam-ood-Dowlah, and he raised to the throne a son of Kaum Bukhsh, the youngest son of Aurungzebe, by the title of Shah Jehan. Shah Alum the son of the late nominal sovereign, having applied in vain for assistance to the Mahrattas, became a tool in the hands of Soojah-ood-Dowlah, and the nominal head of a confederacy against Mir Jaffier and the English, in the well-known warfare in Bengal,* the particulars of which will be hereafter supplied. After the murder of Alumgeer II., Gazee-ood-deen sought the protection of Sooraj Mal, the rajah of the Jats, who generously, but imprudently, received him into one of his forts. In this asylum he waited the issue of the coming contest between the Mahrattas and the Abdallees. The force which the Mahrattas had left in Lahore, was attacked and defeated by the Affghans before Datajee and Scindiah had timely intelligence of their approach. They had inflicted such cruelties on the natives of the country recently overrun and occupied by them, that they were execrated, and intelligence was purposely intercepted. The Mahrattas, though unaided, had at this time an army composed of thirty thousand horse in the field; but, unfortunately for them, it was divided into two bodies, which were at some distance from each other. Immediately after the affair in Lahore, Ahmed Shah led his victorious troops across the Jumna. The Mahrattas, who were negotiating with the rajah of the Jats for his assistance, retreated along the west bank of that river, without making an effort for the junction of their forces.

Ahmed Shah, having left a portion of his troops to engage the attention of the Mahrattas in the front, assisted by the local knowledge and intrepidity of Najeeb-ood-Dowlah, unexpectedly crossed the Jumna, near Delhi, and attacked the division commanded by Datajee Scindiah in the flank. Not prepared

Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas.

for this vigorous attack, the Mahrattas were, signally, defeated. One-third of their number did not escape from the field of battle, and Datajee was among the slain. Holkar, informed of this disaster, hastened towards Agra, and the country south of the Chambal. He was diverted from his direct route by the temptation of intercepting a large convoy of supplies intended for the Abdallees. In this attempt he was successful; he took or destroyed a greater portion of it, and then retired to Secunder, east of the Jumna, and south of the Chambal. He, while felicitating himself on his success and safety, was attacked by a detachment of the enemy, which had performed a most extraordinary march, and was defeated with great slaughter.

Ragoba, at the time of these reverses, was encamped on the banks of the Manjera, having concluded a treaty by which a large portion of the Deccan was conceded to him. More honour than emolument was gained by this success. The Mahrattas, who had returned from previous expeditions loaded with spoil, were embarrassed at the end of this campaign, in Bengal, by a debt of one million. The glory of the conquest did not reconcile the Mahrattas to the financial difficulty. Their disappointment was aggravated by contrast. The Peishwa's cousin Sedasheo Rao Bhao, best known in India as the Bhao, had remained at home as minister and commander-in-chief in the Deccan, he had recently obtained possession of Ahmednuggur, and was completing negotiations with Salabat Jung, by which he secured territorial and pecuniary advantages of great value, and so embarrassed the Mogul government by his impositions, that the Deccan never recovered from them. Elated by his success, he indulged in some invidious comments on the ill-success of the peishwa, and his own extraordinary good fortune. On one of these occasions, spurred on by his pride and jealousy, Ragoba retorted on his relative, and concluded by saying that "he had better undertake the next expedition, when he would find the difference between that and serving in the Deccan." Blinded by his successes, Sedasheo took him at his word. His force was a respectable one, composed of the Deccan army, amounting to about twenty thousand horse and ten thousand men, artillery and disciplined infantry, commanded by Ibrahim Khan Gardee, who had distinguished himself in the war against Salabat Jung. The equipment of this army was more splendid in appearance than that of any Mahratta force that ever entered on a campaign. The following description of it is given by Grant Duff, furnished to him by a highly respectable old Brahmin, employed in

the judicial department at Sattara, who was two days in the camp:—"The equipage, which in the former expensive campaign had been brought back from Hindostan by Rugonalto Rao, was employed as part of the decoration. The lofty and spacious tents, lined with silks and broadcloths, were surmounted by large gilded ornaments, conspicuous at a great distance. Immense particoloured walls of canvas enclosed each suite of tents belonging to the principal officers. Vast numbers of elephants, flags of every description, the finest horses, magnificently caparisoned, and all those accompaniments of an Indian army which give such an imposing effect to its appearance, seemed to be collected from every quarter in the Bhao's camp. Cloth of gold was the dress of the officers; and all seemed to vie in that profuse and gorgeous display characteristic of wealth lightly acquired. It was in this instance an imitation of the more becoming and tasteful array of the magnificent Moguls in the zenith of their glory."*

The power of the Mahrattas was now at its culmination. The Indus and the range of the Himalayas formed the northern boundary of their empire, and to the south it extended nearly to the Indian Ocean. All the territories within those distant limits that were not subject to their direct rule paid them tribute; and the peishwa, who had adjusted his differences with Tara Bae, and consigned the rajah to a minister, but one in name only, governed with uncontrolled authority.

Sedasheo Bhao was accompanied by Wiswas Rao, the son and heir of the peishwa, and all the great Brahmin and Mahratta chiefs without exception. Many of the Rajpoot chiefs sent bodies of horse; and crowds of Pindarries, and irregulars of all descriptions, hastened to swell the increasing host; and Sooraj Mal, at the suggestion of Holkar, reinforced them with thirty thousand men.

Sooraj Mal, whose caution for a long time prevented his taking a part against the Affghans, advised the Bhao to disencumber himself of the unwieldy impediments to an active prosecution of the war, and to leave behind him his infantry, artillery, and heavy baggage, in the Jat country, under protection of his strong forts, and to rely on his cavalry, and to confine himself to the Mahratta practice of harassing the enemy, and protract the conflict till the Abdallees, who had already been several months in the peninsula, would be coerced to withdraw to their native homes. This Fabian counsel, though supported and enforced by the matured experience of Holkar, was rejected. The pride of the commander-

in-chief, inflated by the success of his late campaign, irritated by the defeats of the two armies, and having an aversion to Holkar, which extended to his friend the Jat rajah, led him to place too much confidence in his own perceptions. He also had great reliance on Ibrahim Khan, and attached undue importance to his regular infantry and the train of artillery. He led his army towards Delhi, which was held by a small garrison of the Abdallees and their partizans, who had occupied it when it was abandoned by Gazeeood-Deen. The Mahrattas obtained easy possession. Contrary to the remonstrances of many of the principal chiefs, Sedasheo seized on the gold and silver ornaments of the hall of audience, destroyed the throne, plundered the palaces, shrines, and tombs, which had been spared by the Persians and Affghans, and was inclined to proclaim Wiswas Rao Emperor of India, and to make Soojah-ood-Dowlah his vizier. Though the remonstrances against this latter act did not induce him to abandon the idea, it prevailed upon him to postpone the proclamation till the enemy should have been driven across the Indus. Sooraj Mal, displeased by these extreme measures, withdrew to his own dominions. His defection the Mahratta treated with apparent indifference. The Rajpoot princes followed his example.

Ahmed Shah was encamped on the Ganges at Anoopshere, on the borders of Oude. Though in this situation he passed the rainy season, he was not led thither by that purpose. He awaited the assistance of the Rohillas, and wanted, by means of Najeeb, to secure the co-operation of Soojah-ood-Dowlah. This prince was too conscientious to declare war against the Mohammedans; he was also restrained both by his interests and the rankling remembrance of the hostility which existed between his father, Safder Jung, and Ahmed Shah. The influence of Najeeb-ood-Dowlah brought about a reconciliation; and he gave his adhesion to the Abdallees, and was made the medium of public negotiation, which continued to be carried on for several months between the belligerents.

Sedasheo had Mirza, the son of the absent Shah Alum, proclaimed emperor, and Soojah-ood-Dowlah as his vizier, and then set out for Kunjpoora, a strongly fortified town on the Jumna, about sixty miles above Delhi, which he took by storm almost under the eyes of Ahmed Shah, who hastened to its assistance, and on his arrival had the mortification to learn its fate, and that the garrison, all Rohillas, had perished by the sword. Enraged at the result, the emperor resolved to pass the river.

* Grant Duff, vol. ii. p. 140.

On the 17th October, 1760, Ahmed set out from his camp, and marching all night encamped next day at the ford of Bangpoot, about twenty miles from Delhi; not being able to find a footing, several horsemen who attempted to cross lost their lives. On the third day a ford was discovered, but very narrow, and of such depth on each side as to drown those who should lose their footing. With the aid of this, and by swimming, the whole army passed over in two days, but several lives were sacrificed in the execution of this bold undertaking. The Mahrattas who had stormed Kunjpoora, in order to command the passage of the river and to attack the Abdallees, confounded by this daring and successful feat, retired from their position and fell back on Paniput, having previously sustained an attack with the loss of two thousand on their side, and of half that number of the enemy. Here they pitched their camp, and enclosed both it and the town with a trench sixty feet wide and twelve feet deep, and threw up a formidable rampart, on which was planted the cannon. Ahmed Shah encamped at a distance of a few miles, and fortified his intrenchments at night with felled trees.

The army of Ahmed Shah was made up of forty-one thousand eight hundred horse, thirty-eight thousand foot, and seventy pieces of cannon. The irregulars not mustered were very numerous.

The Mahrattas amounted to fifty-five thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, including Ibrahim Khan's sepoys. There were also two hundred pieces of cannon, besides Pindarries and followers, of whom there are supposed to have been over two hundred thousand.*

The inequality of the forces forbade an engagement on the part of the Affghans, and during this period of suspense the affairs of the Mahrattas were becoming daily more embarrassed. Govind Rao Bondela, who, with ten thousand men, was ordered to hang on the rear of the enemy in order to intercept all supplies, rendered effective service, and produced a great scarcity of provisions, and consequently an exorbitant price was offered for them in the camp, until he was surprised, his men put to the sword, and his head brought to Ahmed Shah. This misfortune did not come alone; two thousand horse, who were sent to Delhi to convey some treasures to the camp, having lost their way, fell in with the enemy, were dispersed, and put to the sword. Every day, during the three months they continued in this situation, the armies were drawn up in line and the cannon placed,

followed by a distant cannonade and frequent skirmishes between the cavalry. During this interval the armies had some spirited though partial engagements. The Mahrattas were the aggressors. Three of these actions deserve notice. On the 29th of November, about fifteen thousand made an attack on the left of the Affghan camp, where the vizier was posted. His men were broken, and two thousand of them fell. The whole camp being roused and led to his assistance, the assailants, with the loss of one thousand, had to seek the protection of their intrenchments. Holkar commanded on this occasion. The second action was on the twenty-third of the following month, when the vizier was proceeding, to perform his devotions, to a mosque in the neighbourhood, and was attacked by a large body of Mahrattas with so much vigour that the strong guard, which accompanied him, was broken, and only fifty horsemen remained to defend him. With these he bravely maintained his ground, till a reinforcement, led by some of the most distinguished chiefs, advanced to the rescue. The Mahrattas fought with their accustomed bravery, and were on the point of victory when their leader was shot at the close of the day with a musket-ball. His friends, in the greatest affliction, retired to their intrenchments, bearing with them the corpse of their chief, but not until three thousand of the enemy had covered the field with their lifeless bodies. The third encounter was similar in its provocation and results.

Ahmed Shah fully sustained his reputation. He did everything that an able general, skilful and confident in his abilities, could achieve in his circumstances. The highest discipline was maintained, and his orders were obeyed, says the historian, like destiny, no man daring to hesitate or delay one moment in executing them. Thus were the two armies employed from morning to nine or ten at night. The Indian chiefs, harassed by these delays, at length became impatient, and besought the shah to come to a decisive engagement; his constant reply was "This is a matter of war with which you are not acquainted. In other affairs do as you please, but leave this to me; military operations must not be precipitated. You will see how I will manage this affair, and at a proper opportunity will bring it to a conclusion." During the whole of the time spent before the Mahrattas, he had a small red tent, nearly a mile in advance of his camp, to which he proceeded every morning at sunrise to offer up his prayers. Having performed this duty, he mounted his horse, and accompanied by his son, Timoor Shah, and a small guard, visited every post, and

* *Asiatic Researches*; Grant Duff.

reconnoitred the enemy. Everything was submitted to his personal inspection; he remained all day in his saddle, and before he retired for the night he had ridden fifty or sixty miles. At night a body of five thousand horse was placed within a convenient distance of the enemy's camp, as a corps of observation. They remained there till dawn under arms, others were sent round the whole encampment, and Ahmed used to say to the Hindostanee chiefs, "Do you sleep, I will take care that no harm befalls you."* The persevering resolution to resist those importunities which urged an immediate engagement, was shown in the sequel to have been the best policy, and that he was acquainted both with men's minds and the science of war. The embarrassments in which he was involved displayed to him the severe straits to which his more helpless antagonist was reduced, and that a short delay would deliver him into his hands. In these extremities, the Mahratta commander saw the impossibility of avoiding any longer a general engagement, as all the attempts which he had made, through Soojah-ood-Dowlah, had been unavailing; the repeated reply of Ahmed to these proposals being, "I am only an auxiliary, and have no views of my own. I claim the entire management of the war, but leave to the Indian princes the negotiations." Several of the latter were disposed to an accommodation; it was energetically opposed by a few, who were of opinion that they would be exposed to utter destruction if the Affghans withdrew leaving the Mahratta power in its integrity.

The camp of the Mahrattas was strictly watched to prevent the approach of any convoys, and both provisions for man and beast had failed. One night about twenty thousand of the camp followers had gone out to seek some supplies; they were attacked by the enemy, and cut to pieces. This sad news quickly circulated, and the chiefs and soldiers in a body surrounded their commander, and vociferously demanded to be led to battle, as death itself was preferable to their misery. He approved of their resolve, and with his usual composure distributed the usual pan and betel at the breaking up of the assembly, and orders were issued to prepare for the attack the next morning before daybreak. All the grain in store was then prepared to supply a full meal that night. An hour before daybreak on the 7th of January the troops were in motion, with their artillery stationed in the van. They were all prepared for the worst, and their countenances exhibited the fixity of hopeless despair rather

than steady resolution; the ends of their turbans were loose, and, just before the final order for marching was issued, Sedasheo dispatched the following laconic note to Casi Rao, Pundit, a native of the Deccan, acquainted with the Mahratta language, and who had some friends in the Mahratta army, and was then in the service of Soojah-ood-Dowlah. "The cup is now full to the brim, and cannot hold another drop. If anything can be done, do it, or else answer me plainly at once: hereafter there will be no time for speaking or writing."

This note reached its destination about three in the morning. It was forwarded to Ahmed Shah, and accompanied with the startling intelligence that his enemy was advancing to the charge. He instantly mounted his steed, which stood caparisoned at the door of his tent, and in the dress he then had on rode in front of his camp, and as he proceeded he ordered the troops under arms. He then commanded Casi Rao to his presence, who confirmed the authenticity of the information previously communicated, and assured him that the Mahrattas had quitted their lines, and would attack his army as soon as it was light. At the moment this conversation had ended some of the Abdallees passed by with their horses loaded with plunder from the enemy's camp, and reported that its late occupants had taken flight. A sudden peal of artillery in front revealed the true state of affairs. Upon hearing this discharge the shah, who was in his saddle smoking a Persian killian, handed it to his servant, and with great calmness remarked that Casi Rao's information was true. He then sent for the grand vizier, Shah Wullee Khan, and Shah Pussund Khan. The latter he ordered to lead his division to the left of Najeel-ood-Dowlah, and form the extreme of the line in that direction, and the vizier he directed to take post in the centre, and Berkhordan Khan, with some other chiefs, he placed on the right. The whole were divided into nine divisions in line, with the Persian musketeers and artillery drawn up in advance. Their faces were to the westward. The Mahratta force was drawn up in eight divisions, with their artillery, as has been said, also in front, with their faces to the east. Ibrahim Khan, with his mercenaries, was posted on the extreme left; Scindiah on the right; Sedasheo, with Wiswas Rao and Jaswint Rao Powar, were opposite the grand vizier. The great *bhugwa jenda*, or standard of the nation, was displayed in the front. The dispersion of the night mists disclosed the colours of the advancing columns, as they marched slowly and regularly to the encounter. Ahmed took his stand at his little

* Casi Rao; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 110; Grant Duff, vol. ii. p. 14.

red tent, which, by the approximation of the armies, was now in the rear of his. As the armies were closing Ibrahim Khan rode up to Sedasheo, and, having saluted him, thus addressed him:—"You have been long displeased with me for insisting on the regular payment of my men; this day I will convince you that we have not been paid so long without meriting it:" he then seized a colour, and, commanding the artillery and musketry of his division to cease firing, at the head of his battalions, with fixed bayonets, he advanced fearlessly to the charge, while the battle-cry of the Mahrattas, "Hur, Hurree! Hur, Hurree!" rang in the ears of the Mohammedans. This tremendous charge was directed against the centre, where the troops of the vizier—ten thousand of whom were cavalry—were posted. These were Rohillas. They received the charge with undaunted resolution, and maintained the conflict hand to hand. Their undisciplined courage added to their loss; near eight thousand were killed or wounded; and such was the carnage, that after this exploit few remained with their chiefs. The flanks of the mercenaries during this conflict were defended with equal intrepidity by two battalions which Ibrahim had ordered on that service, and though repeated efforts were directed against them, they repeatedly repulsed the Affghan columns. They broke through and laid open the right of the grand vizier, who was now attacked by Sedasheo and Wiswas Rao, with the flower of the army. A fierce contest was here maintained, the combatants confusedly mingled together, and involved in a cloud of dust, could not be distinguished from each other but by the iteration of their respective war-cries: the Mohammedan Allah! and Deen! and the Mahratta Hurree! Mahdeo! which rent the air. The vizier leaped from his horse to inspire the few faltering survivors; the bravest of his men followed his example. To some who endeavoured to seek safety in flight he cried, "Our country is far off, my friends; whither do ye fly?" Attai Khan, his brave nephew, fell by his side; his men were forced to give way; he still maintained his ground with three or four hundred horsemen, the broken remnant of his force. Such was the vigour and desperation of the attack, which lasted for three hours, that six out of ten of Ibrahim's battalions were almost destroyed, and the brave chief received several spear wounds and one musket ball. Soojahood-Dowlah, to whom the vizier sent for assistance, with the assurance that if he did not hasten to his support he should perish, though commanding the next division, was prevented from doing so, as he alleged "that the enemy

being so near, and likely to charge him, the worst consequences might follow to the whole army if he made any movement at that time which might enable the enemy to pass through the line." The left wing of the Mohammedans remained still unbroken. The action was maintained till noon, and then the victory inclined to the Mahrattas. At this hour the shah learned the critical state of affairs in the centre and on the right, and the perilous position of his brave vizier. In this emergency he displayed his great military capabilities, and made the necessary disposition of his forces to remedy the evils which threatened. From his reserve he sent ten thousand to the support of the vizier, and four thousand to cover the right flank; the former column was instructed to charge in close order, at full gallop, and sword in hand; at the same time he gave directions to the two divisions on the remote left to attack the enemy's flank as often as the vizier should charge them in front. These directions were faithfully executed. At once the vizier was in a position to become the assailant, though his onsets were repeatedly repelled. In the meantime Ahmed dispatched five hundred of his personal guards to his own camp, with orders to drive out of their tents all the armed people, and fifteen hundred to intercept the fugitives from the battle, and to put to the sword every man who refused to return to the charge. By this precaution the return of eight thousand men was enforced. The battle was stationary for near an hour, and maintained on both sides with spears, swords, battle-axes, and even daggers. Though the slight frames of the Mahrattas rendered them an unequal match for the more muscularly developed Affghans, they fought valiantly on this terrible day; and none of their chiefs subjected himself to animadversion, except Holkar, whose courage no one could question, but whose fidelity to the cause of his nation several have impugned. All agreed that he did not do his duty to his prince in this critical affair. Between two and three o'clock Wiswas Rao was mortally wounded, and dismounted from his horse. Sedasheo had him placed upon his elephant, while he himself mounted his famous Arab charger, and encouraged his troops; sustaining the fight near half an hour longer at their head, and shunning no danger, in the confusion of the fight he disappeared, and was seen no more. All at once, for no perceptible cause that has been related, as if by enchantment, the whole Mahratta army turned their backs and fled with the greatest precipitation. The field of battle was covered with the slain. They were pursued with the greatest fury in

every direction for a space of fifteen or twenty miles; no quarter was given, and thousands were mercilessly slaughtered. The men, women, and children, who had indiscriminately fled to the shelter of Paniput, on the following day were led prisoners to the Affghan: the men were butchered, the women and children doomed to slavery. The heads of the fallen were reared in ghastly and revolting piles to commemorate the victory. A spectator of the carnage states, "There were five hundred thousand souls in the Mahratta camp, of whom the greater part were killed or taken prisoners, and of those who escaped from the field and the pursuit, many were destroyed by the zemindars." The Affghans accounted for their cruelty by saying "that when they were leaving their own country, their mothers, sisters, and wives desired that whenever they should defeat the unbelievers they would kill a few of them on their account, that they might also possess a merit in the sight of God."

The plunder found in the camp was enormous. A common soldier, with ten camels laden with valuable effects was not an exceptional sight; horses were brought away in flocks, like sheep, and great numbers of elephants were also taken. The inferior officers and privates were left to continue the plunder and pursuit at discretion.

Ahmed Shah, to his everlasting infamy, made no effort to check these enormities; he rather sanctioned them by his acts as well as connivance. He instituted a rigid search for Jancojee Scindiah, who, he had heard, was concealed by one of the Affghans. To save him from being discovered he was put to death. He compelled Soojah-ood-Dowlah to surrender the gallant Ibrahim Khan, and meanly descended to reproach a warrior whose deeds should have won respect, and his misfortunes sympathy. He then confined him; death saved him from further indignity; in a week he died of his wounds. Wiswas Rao's body was found, and Ahmed Shah, having demanded it from Soojah-ood-Dowlah, who had ransomed it for the sum of two thousand rupees, ordered that it should be taken care of, and exhibited it to all the army before his tent. The Affghans exclaimed, "This is the body of the king of the unbelievers, we will have it dried and stuffed to take back to Cabul;" this demand the shah conceded, but Soojah-ood-Dowlah afterwards prevailed on him to permit it to be burned. Over

twenty miles from the scene of battle a decapitated trunk was found, and a few days after the supposed head, which were identified, by several private marks, as the remains of Sedasheo.

The chiefs of the Mahrattas nearly all perished. The survivors, beside those who had been left with a force at Delhi, were Holkar, accused of treachery; Mahajee Scindiah, who afterwards founded a great state; and Nana Farnavis, whose services were for a long time the principal support of the peishwa. Sooraj Mal hospitably entertained the fugitives who reached his territory, and to this day the memory of that kindness is cherished, and the Jats are revered by the Mahrattas.

The following letter, which reached the peishwa when crossing the Nerbuddah, communicated the news of the defeat: "Two pearls have been dissolved, twenty-seven gold mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper the total cannot be cast up." From these words the fate of Sedasheo, Wiswas Rao, the officers and soldiers, was understood. The consternation when the disastrous intelligence reached home was universal, every family had a loss to mourn. The peishwa never recovered the shock. By very slow marches he retraced his steps to Poonah. His faculties began to fail; his physical powers rapidly decayed; he expired in the end of June, in the temple of Parbuttee, which he had erected in the environs of the city of Poonah.

The wreck of the once magnificent army retired beyond the Nerbuddah, and the acquisitions in Hindostan proper were evacuated. The power of the peishwa never recovered this blow. Ahmed Shah, had he been inclined to reap the advantages of his victory, was frustrated by the dissensions in his camp, and the mutinous demands for arrears and the immediate return to Cabul. He received forty lacs of rupees in compensation for his services. No sooner had the native Mohammedan princes been released from the formidable danger which threatened their independence, than the coalition, lately so successful, was dissolved. The Mogul empire, after this period, ceased to exist as an independent power. The title of emperor was only a name. In the history of the British empire in India we must seek the subsequent history of the kingdom of Delhi, as well as that of the other nations of the great eastern peninsula.

CHAPTER XLIII.

REVIEW OF THE MOHAMMEDAN PERIOD.

THE character of this period of Indian history has been very variously estimated at different periods, and by diverse schools of European politicians. Some modern authors have panegyricized it in terms which had they not been blinded by the motives which impelled them thus to write, could hardly fail to discover their own errors of statement and extravagance. The disposition to laud the Mohammedan rulers of India, and to give exaggerated descriptions of whatever was favourable in the condition of the country during that period, proceeded in a large degree from personal, commercial, or political hostility to the East India Company. That once mighty corporation has been dissolved since the commencement of this History, and the descriptions given in these pages of the constitution and government of that body belong already to the past. No motive could remain—if such had existed—for vindicating the company's character or administration but the love of justice and truth. Thus uninfluenced, the historian cannot fail to compare, favourably to the company, India under its *régime*, and the genius and spirit of its government, with India under the dominion of its Mohammedan conquerors, and with the government they administered. The commercial jealousy of the East India Company made many enemies among British merchants, and its valuable privileges created among that class extensive envy, as well as conflicting interests. To this cause chiefly the dissolution of the company in the session of the British parliament, which closed in August, 1858, may be attributed, after a long-sustained opposition to its monopoly, both of trade and power, by numerous sections of English mercantile men. The grievances inflicted upon traders and residents in India by the jealousy which the company felt towards independent British settlers, especially if connected with the press, created intense animosities in England against many of its superior officers personally, and against the continuance of its power. These animosities grew in England with the facilities of communication with the East, the knowledge of the resources and value of British India, the enterprise of modern commerce, and the freedom of modern opinion; every personal injustice which the company visited upon intrusive settlers or travellers, and which, without its authority, was inflicted by its officers, was related in the English newspapers, and spread upon the

pages of the cheap press, ever multiplying its issues, and extending its influence, until a public sentiment, adverse to the justice of the company, grew up among the middle classes. The ultra-liberal sections of English politicians eagerly decried the policy of the company, and reviled with an indignant spirit of nationality the sway of a corporation over an empire where the British nation, represented by its sovereign, alone should reign. All these circumstances procured a favourable audience for any lecturer or orator who had anything to say against the company. Associations were formed to employ such men; eloquent speakers were paid to lecture against the company; India stock was purchased in the name of certain of these popular lecturers, by which they were entitled to attend the meetings of proprietors, and inveigh against the directors, their management at home, and what was called their tyranny, speculation, and aggressive policy abroad. Efforts, occasionally successful, to place some of these advocates of "free trade and free government in India," in the House of Commons, were made. The members of the Peace Society considered the company too warlike, and opposed it on that ground. The Quakers, with whom "the peace principle" is a religious tenet, joined those who, in this "agitation, entertained it as a policy." The Manchester school, hating war on grounds of political economy, and on the utilitarian principle of maintaining commercial intercourse with nations, however those nations might inflict personal injury on individual British subjects, or insult on British dignity, naturally associated themselves with the other sections of English citizens just named, and charged the company with the wars and misgovernment of India, even when the Board of Control had, in spite of the company, carried out the policy for which it was censured. As many of the leaders of these classes of the English people which opposed the company were wealthy, and took an active part in local or imperial politics, and were men of intelligence and virtue, they exercised an influence, upon public opinion at large, formidable to the company, and were unintentionally the means of creating a numerous class of needy adventurers, who to obtain places or employment, which there was no hope of gaining at the India-house, libelled unscrupulously the government and character of the company; nor were individual members of the "committee" at Leadenhall

street, or the council and presidential governments of India, spared in this venal and truthless warfare. It was under such circumstances that contrasts between Mohammedan and British India were drawn in favour of the former. The European press in India, for the most part illiberally treated by the local governments and great officers of the company, and therefore hostile, furnished in its columns ample materials for the opponents of the company to work with. Editors and writers, and proprietors of Indian newspapers, who returned to England, circulated accounts highly prejudicial to the company—generally true as it regarded the treatment they personally experienced, generally false or perverted as to the principles and procedure of the company in the civil or military transactions of the times. To meet these injured or interested opponents, confute the calumnies of hirelings, the mistakes, and erroneous, imperfect, or exaggerated information of those who employed them, the company made no adequate exertion. Now and then some *employé* at Leadenhall Street wrote a leader for the London daily press; or a civil or military officer, fresh from the neighbourhood where some misdeed of the company's was represented as having taken place, wrote a pamphlet contradicting the falsehood. Books were occasionally published on the great historical events passing in the East, such as the Sikh or Affghan war, by actors on the great stage; and in these an *exposé* was made of the calumnies circulated against the company; but the writers of these works were generally too ignorant of the state of society at home—especially political and commercial society—to comprehend the animus with which the attacks upon the company proceeded from different quarters. Thus a bad character of the company gradually spread among all ranks in England, but especially among the classes who resided in the great commercial cities of England, and possessed the elective franchise. Among these pamphlets, written *ad populum*, were circulated, showing what good rulers the great Moguls were, how well Saracen and Affghan governed, how stupendous their public works, and how much they cared for their people. The changes were rung upon the phrase paternal government, as applied to those despotic Mohammedan rulers, by men who professed to teach at other times that people needed not paternal sovereigns, that they were able to walk alone, or must learn to do so; and that for princes to treat citizens as children, to be petted or chastised at their will or pleasure, was a usurpation of government, which belonged to the people, whose will and law constitutional princes should

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feel themselves honoured in faithfully administering.

On the continent of Europe, and in the United States, the grand military triumphs of the company excited an intense envy, but more especially in France and Russia than anywhere else. The press of those countries culled articles from that of India and of England, written under the circumstances and from the causes just named, and perverted those materials, working out from them attacks upon the justice, integrity, and humanity of the company, and of the English government and people at large. These were reproduced in the English press, and very frequently consisted of ingenious and specious contrasts between the grandeur, dignity, glory, greatness, and comfort of Mohammedan India, and the tyranny, meanness, excessive taxation, and general wretchedness exhibited in the condition of British India. In this way false ideas of both Mohammedan and British India were propagated in Europe. The British people were unjust to themselves, and to their countrymen, men whose part in life was played in their most magnificent possession; while a truthless homage was paid to the character, government, and civilization, of as ruthless and tyrannous a race as ever stained the earth with blood, or bound its inhabitants in the chains of despotic government. The perusal of the chapters of this History immediately preceding the present, can hardly fail to remove much of this popular and unjust prejudice in favour of the Mohammedan conquerors of India, although in writing them the author has scrupulously adhered to the obligation of an historian—"Nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice."

Indeed there is a considerable difficulty in unravelling the skein of Mohammedan history in the East, so entirely faithless are the Mohammedan chroniclers themselves. It was justly said by Elphinstone concerning the history of Akbar, written by a Mohammedan writer, now commonly quoted, Abul Fazel, "An uniform strain of panegyric and triumph is kept up, which disgusts the reader with the author, and almost with the hero. Amidst these unmeaning flourishes, the real merits of Akbar disappear, and it is from other authors we learn the motives of his actions, the difficulties he had to contend with, and the resources by which they were surmounted."

It has been very much the fashion to rely upon all early writings which treat of Mohammedan history; this strange indiscriminate confidence, where the utmost caution and the soundest criticism were necessary, has contributed also to a more favourable judgment upon the Mohammedans in India,

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and in Asia generally, than comports with an enlightened opinion. Dr. Sprenger correctly says: "There has been a time when every Arabic, Persian, or Turkish work, containing the history of Mohammed and his successors, or any part of the history of the East, was considered as a source of information, the authority of which was above all doubt and question." There is a tendency to commit the fault censured by Dr. Sprenger, not only by the writers of Mohammedan history, but by those also who relate the history of other nations. The eagerness to obtain the narratives of contemporary authors, induces a forgetfulness of the facts that all contemporary history is not equally trustworthy, and that the kinds of testimony given concerning contemporaneous events are, however reliable, of different relative value. "Our scholars have written Greek history as if every contemporary record were of equal value; and they have drawn their conclusions from the sneers of the satirist as unhesitatingly as from the gravest statesmen. To the historian satires and libels are invaluable aids; they may sometimes throw a new light on a period, and they will always illustrate its manners and views. Thus every classical scholar who has read Thucydides and Aristophanes, hand in hand, taking each comedy in its order, as he reached the corresponding year of the Peloponnesian war, will know how vivid the interest is which the comedy will throw on the sober history. . . . But satire and comedy are to illustrate, not to prove; and if we use them as evidence they must mislead. Mr. Grote's chapter on the Sophists is a memorable illustration of this. For ages men have accepted satire as proof, and of course it has prejudiced their views. The *Punch* of our day will be an invaluable aid to the future historian, as representing the present time in its lighter traits and feelings; but alas for historic truth if he forgets what *Punch* is, and treats it as many a scholar has treated Aristophanes."*

In judging of the character of Mohammedan princes in India, of their governments, and the condition of the people under them, it seems to have been very much forgotten by modern historians that the writers of such accounts as are handed down to us were influenced by fanaticism, policy, and interest, to place all matters in a light favourable to their party, as of course they regarded all subjects from a Mohammedan point of view. Where conquerors write accounts of their own deeds and motives, which the vanquished dare not controvert, or know not how to do so, it is absurd to rely upon such relations. "To

* *Calcutta Review*.

this class belongs Mohammedan history: even at its best we have only the records of Islam, not of the nationalities which Islam crushed. Thus the great blank in the history of Mohammedan India is the absence of any Hindoo account of the struggle; we have only the annals of the invader. Not one voice from the millions which were conquered has dared to tell us of his countrymen's struggles or despair. Even when a Hindoo has written he only writes as a Mohammedan."* "From one of that nation we might have expected to learn what were the hopes, fears, yearnings, and efforts of his subject race; but, unfortunately, he rarely writes except according to order or dictation, and every phrase is studiously turned to flatter the vanity of an imperious Mohammedan patron. There is nothing to betray his religion or his nation, except, perhaps, a certain stiffness and affectation of style, which show how ill the foreign garb befits him."†

When the accounts given to us by Mohammedan writers are subjected to just principles of historical criticism, the laudations bestowed by so many modern writers on the continent of Europe, in America, in England, and even in India, upon the Mohammedan rulers and their works, will vanish as empty declamation, or praise invidiously bestowed. From the earliest advent of the Arab armies on the western confines of India—during the latter part of the seventh century—to the time when the glory of the Mohammedan rule faded with the reign of the treacherous and unfilial Aurungzebe, or perished utterly when the late sanguinary and crownless King of Delhi was sent a convict from the palace whose marbles he stained with the blood of English women and children, the Mohammedans have been rapacious, perfidious, bigoted, sanguinary, cruel, and vindictive. Their history is a story of fanaticism, lust, and slaughter; and their traces in India will soon sink from view, except as the memory of their misdeeds shall continue, or the Christian philosopher shall point out the purposes for which an all-wise Providence overruled their career.

When the Arab armies penetrated to Cabul, and pushed their conquering way down to Mooltan, penetrating into Scinde, and along the banks of the Indus, their valour and military capacity were proved to be far superior to those of the natives. At times a chivalrous patriotism was shown by the Hindoo people, especially when the Rajpoots came into conflict with the impetuous intruders, but gene-

* *Calcutta Review*.

† Sir H. Elliot's *Biographical Index*, Introduction, p. xviii.

rally this quality was confined to those to whom defeat was the loss of honour and riches, territory and power. The Arab conquests were, on the whole, easily effected—a few of the invaders sometimes making fugitives a native host. In the struggles between the Rajpoots and the intruders, by which the latter were eventually driven out of Scinde, a most unequal contest was maintained, the Arab cavalry bravely encountering all odds, charging ten times their number, and achieving prodigies of valour. They were greatly gallant during the conflicts which issued in their expulsion, as well as in those which made them conquerors of Scinde.

The various hordes which subsequently, under chiefs of mixed Turkish and Mogul descent, swept fiercely over the northern provinces of India, were scarcely less brave, and showed even more address in war than the armies of the caliphs. When eventually the founders of the Mohammedan empire in India laid the basis of a dominion which, for long after, was the wonder of the world, the same military capacity and heroism which characterized their predecessors was displayed. It was not until after the European period had commenced, and especially during the sway of the British, that the lofty courage and adaptation for military enterprise of the Mohammedan conquerors of India abated. Then, however, such qualities rapidly disappeared, until a “handful” of British soldiers could chase ten times their number of Mussulman troops or fanatics from the field.

A few of the Mohammedan princes of India governed well; their fiscal regulations were wise; their concessions to the vanquished were politic; clemency shone brightly where generally a ruthless vengeance had reigned; and public works, ornamental and useful, were carried on in the great cities and rural districts. Notwithstanding all the care with which it is necessary to approach the narratives of partial Mohammedan and hypocritical Hindoo writers, it is to be credited that several of the great Mohammedan princes were not only men of genius, but of justice and of mercy. At the close of the tenth century Sebektigin, who ascended the throne of Affghanistan from the condition of a slave to the former ruler, and whose name is favourably identified with the Mohammedan history of the period, was one of those chiefs who knew how to conduct war, and employ the advantages of peace. “A story is told of Sebektigin, while yet a private soldier, which proves the humanity of the historian, if not of the hero. One day, in hunting, he succeeded in riding down a fawn; but when he was bringing off his prize in triumph, he observed

the dam following his horse, and showing such evident marks of distress, that he was touched with compassion, and at last released his captive, pleasing himself with the gratitude of the mother, which often turned back to gaze at him as she went off to the forest with her fawn. That night the Prophet appeared to him in a dream, told him that God had given to him a kingdom as a reward for his humanity, and enjoined him not to forget his feelings of mercy when he came to the exercise of power.” * By narratives such as this the illustrious deeds of the Mohammedan princes are obscured, and rendered less credible. The great objects pursued by most of them were renown, plunder, and fanaticism. The glory of conquest had as great a charm for the Mohammedan victors of India as for a modern Frenchman; and Napoleon the Great did not more indiscriminately seize the objects of art, or quarter his troops upon the people of unoffending provinces of Europe, than did the greatest heroes of the various Mohammedan dynasties seize upon the palaces and treasures of the vanquished.

When Mahmood, the successor of Sebektigin, made his first incursions as far as the Jumna, he stormed cities and razed fortresses, putting their garrisons promiscuously to the sword, and marking his whole route by rapine, returned to Ghizni laden with the riches and spoils of extreme northern India. He had been as zealous for religion as avaricious of gold, or vainglorious of conquest, for he struck down idols, and defaced, desecrated, or destroyed all the temples in the line of his marches. The career and conduct of this man will furnish the reader with a fair estimate of the character of even the best of the victorious leaders of the hordes of Mohammedan cavalry which poured down like a living torrent upon north-western India during the eleventh and succeeding century.

“Mahmood, if not the greatest sovereign the world ever saw—as maintained by most Mohammedan writers—was assuredly the most famous of his age. Uniting in his person many brilliant and estimable qualities, he possessed but few of the failings so peculiar to the time in which he lived. To the character of a great general he added that of a liberal encourager of literature and the arts; and although he was not wanting in religious zeal, and lost no opportunity of humbling the power of Hindoo authority, he cannot be charged with any acts of cruelty against his heathen adversaries; and it is said that he never took the life of a Hindoo save in battle, or during the storming of a fortress. This, it must be remembered, is the character of a

* Elphinstone, vol. i. p. 526.

prince who lived in an age when imprisonment and murder were ordinary steps in a royal career. Perhaps his great failing, and one which grew with his years, was that of avarice. His Indian conquests helped to fill his treasury to an extent unknown in any previous or future reign. It is reported that upon his hearing of the great wealth of some contemporary monarch, who had managed to amass a considerable treasure, more especially in precious stones, he expressed it to be a source of pious consolation to him that he was possessed of yet superior treasures.*

As among the earlier sovereigns, so among the later, the passion for aggrandizement, and the indulgence of an unprincipled ambition, which disdained no means, however unworthy, and abhorred no instruments, however cruel and sanguinary, which might be employed for its gratification, in most instances were cherished. The picture given by Sir Thomas Roe, who was dispatched by King James I. at the beginning of 1615 as *Ambassador to the Great Mogul, or King of India*, portrays how vicious and tyrannical was the court of one of the best specimens of the more modern Mohammedan emperors. When Sir Thomas reached Berhampore he found the emperor's third son, Sultan Parveiz, the chief person in authority, and presented himself, that, as the ambassador of England, he might pay his respects. Among the presents which he brought was a case of European wine, which the prince opened immediately after the state audience terminated, and continued to drink until he became too much intoxicated even to speak to the representative of King James.

As the son, so the father, whom Sir Thomas describes as addicted to intoxication, to the serious injury of his health and capacity for business. This was the great Jehanghire. The family of the emperor lived, among one another and with the emperor himself, in a state of continual feud. Sir Thomas found that the eldest prince, and heir-apparent to the throne, was a prisoner, having been guilty of rebellion; and every member of the family was in some manner committed to an intrigue as to the succession. Sir Thomas, admitting the talent for governing and for the home direction of military affairs possessed by this great padishaw of India, complains of his petulance, puerility, meanness, cruelty, and bigotry,—“flattered by some, envied by others, loved by none.” As one of the objects of the British minister was to form a commercial treaty, his accomplishment of that object brought out the character of Mohammedan princes and a Mohammedan court.

* Elphinstone, vol. i

It was only by bribery the most open that he could obtain the necessary signatures and formalities to give validity to the agreements actually made by the padishaw. The Portuguese were rivals, and their bribes appear to have been more skilfully dispersed—the venial court caring nothing for its dignity, truth, and honour, but anxious only to stimulate the rivalry of the two European powers, so as to secure the largest possible amount of bribes. Sir Thomas at one time despaired of success, because of the “rubies, ballaces, emeralds, and jewels, which so much contented the king and his great men, that we were for a time nearly eclipsed.” The Prince Khurram, afterwards known as Shah Jehan, and holding so distinguished a place in Mohammedan Indian history, was among those towards whom the process of bribery was as necessary as to those who bore no royal blood in their veins. By dint of presents Sir Thomas succeeded at last. The following description of one of his interviews will show the folly, meanness, falsehood, and treachery which characterized the Mohammedan imperial court at a time when it was at the acme of its glory and renown, and tend to remove, if anything can, the allegations made in Western Europe and America of the justice of Mohammedan rule, and the glories of its civilization:—“The thirteenth at night I went to the Gussell Chan, where is best opportunitie to doe businesse, and tooke with mee the Italian, determining to walke no longer in darknesse, but to proove the king, being in all other wayes delayed and refused; I was sent for in with my old broaker, but my interpreter was kept out, Asaph Chan mistrusting I would utter more than he was willing to heare. When I came to the king, he appointed mee a place to stand just before him, and sent to aske mee many questions about the King of Englande, and of the present I gave the day before, to some of which I answered, but at last I said, my interpreter was kept out, I could speake no Portugall, and so wanted means to satisfie his maiestie, whereat (much against Asaph Chan's desire) he was admitted. I bad him tell the king I desired to speake to him; he answered willingly, whereat Asaph Chan's sonne-in-law pulled him away by force, and that faction hedged the king so, that I could scarce see him, nor the other approach him. So I commanded the Italian to speake aloud, that I craved audience of the king, whereat the king called me, and they made me way. Asaph Chan stood on one side of my interpreter, and I on the other; I to enforce him in mine owne cause, he to awe him with winking and jogging. I bad him say, that I now

had been here two moneths, whereof more than one was passed in sicknesse, the other in compliments, and nothing effected toward the ende for which my master had employed mee, which was to conclude a firme and constant love and peace between their maiesties, and to establish a faire and secure trade and residence for my countreyemen. He answered, that was already granted. I replied, it was true, but it depended yet on so light a thred, on so weake conditions, that being of such importance, it required an agreement cleare in all points, and a more formall and authentique confirmation, then it had by ordinary firmans, which were temporary commands, and respected accordingly. He asked me what presents we would bring him. I answered, the league was yet new, and very weake; that many curiosities were to be found in our country of rare price and estimation, which the king would send, and the merchants seeke out in all parts of the world, if they were once made secure of a quiet trade and protection on honourable conditions, having been heretofore many wayes wronged. He asked what kind of curiosities those were I mentioned; whether I meant jewels and rich stones. I answered, no; that we did not think them fit presents to send backe which were brought first from these parts, whereof he was chiefe lord; that we esteemed them common here, and of much more price with us, but that we sought to finde such things for his maiestie as were rare here and unseene, as excellent artifices in painting, carving, cutting, enamelling, figures in brasse, copper, or stones, rich embroyderies, stufes of gold and silver. He said it was very well, but that hee desired an English horse. I answered, it was impossible by sea and by land: the Turke would not suffer passage. He replied, that hee thought it not impossible by sea; I told him the dangers of stormes and varietties of weather would proove it. He answered, if sixe were put into a ship, one might live, and though it came leane, he would fat it. I replied, I was confident it could not be in so long a voyage, but that for his maiestie's satisfaction I would write to advise of his request. So he asked, what was it then I demanded? I said, that hee would bee pleased to signe certaine reasonable conditions which I had conceived for the confirmation of the league, and for the securitie of our nation, and their quiet trade, for that they had bene often wronged, and could not continue on such termes, which I forbore to complaine of, hoping by faire means to procure amendment. At this word Asaph Chan offered to pull my interpreter, but I held him, suffering him

onely to winke, and make unprofitable signes. The king hereat grew suddenly in to choller, pressing to know who had wronged us, with such fury, that I was loath to follow it, and speaking in broken Spanish to my interpreter to an answer, that with what was passed I would not trouble his maiestie, but would seeke justice of his sonne, the prince, of whose favour I doubted not.*

The foregoing quotation shows the Mogul in his relation to the ambassadors of other states and the princes whom they represented; the following picture of his relation to his own people is drawn with equal fidelity and graphic effect:—"The king hath no man but eunuchs that comes within the lodgings or retyring roomes of his house: his women watch within, and guard him with manly weapons; they doe justice one upon another for offences. Hee comes every morning to a window called the *jaruco*, looking into a plaine before his gate, and shewes himselfe to the common people. At noone he returns thither, and sits some houres to see the fight of elephants and wilde beasts. Under him within the raile attended the men of ranke; from whence he retyres to sleep among his women. At afternoone he returns to the durbar before mentioned. At eight after supper he comes downe to the *guzelcan*, a faire court, wherein in the midst is a throne erected of free stone, wherein he sits, but sometimes below in a chaire, to which are none admitted but of great quality, and few of these, without leave, where hee discourses of all matters with much affabilitie. There is no businesse done with him concerning the state, government, disposition of war or peace, but at one of these two last places, where it is publickely propounded and resolved, and so registered, which, if it were worth the curiositie, might be seene for two shillings; but the common base people knew as much as the council, and the newes every day is the king's new resolutions, tossed and censured by every rascal. This course is unchangeable, except sicknesse or drinke prevent it; which must be knowne, for as all his subjects are slave, so is he in a kind of reciprocall bondage; for he is tyed to observe these houres and customs so precisely, that if he were unseene one day, and no sufficient reason rendered, the people would mutinie; two days no reason can excuse, but that he must consent to open his doores, and be seene

* These statements are confirmed by the chaplain of Sir Thomas, in a work entitled, *A Voyage to the East Indies*, observed by Edward Terry, then Chaplain to the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, Lord Ambassador to the Great Mogul. Reprinted from the edition of 1655. London, 1777.

by some to satisfy others. On Tuesday at the jaruco he sits in judgment, never refusing the poorest man's complaint, where he hears with patience both parts, and sometimes sees, with too much delight in blood, the execution done by his elephants. *Illi meruere, sed quid tu ut adesces.*"

An able reviewer has justly estimated the testimony of the witness, and the character and civilization of the courts of the Moguls at that particular period, and since then until the most recent period of their tyranny, in the following paragraph:—"Sir Thomas's account is amusing and valuable, as the evidence of an honest and intelligible witness, relative to the habits, forms, customs of the court and camp at that period, when the Mogul empire was nearly at the zenith of its prosperity and splendour. It shows how little it differed, save in wealth and power, from the native courts of more modern date. He dwells continually on the same exhibitions of display and meanness, childishness and intrigue, cruelty and weakness, rigid formalities and gross ignorance, which constitute the record of more recent travellers who have visited the durbars of the descendants of Jehanghire, or of the independent successors of his powerful viceroys."

The atrocious cruelties practised upon their people by the Great Moguls have their counterpart in those perpetrated by the more modern Mohammedan princes. The inexorable severity ever characteristic of Mohammedan rule was displayed to Sir Thomas on various occasions. A few of these instances depict the spirit of Mohammedan government in a light at once so true and so striking, that one may believe it impossible to peruse the like, and yet compare the government of the Moguls with that of the East India Company. "This day a gentle-woman of Normall's was taken in the king's house in some action with an eunuch: another capon that loved her killed him; the poore woman was set up to the armpits in the earth, hard rammed, her feet tied to a stake, to abide three days and two nights without any sustenance, her head and armes exposed to the sunne's violence; if shee dyed not in that time, shee should be pardoned: the eunuch was condemned to the elephants. This damsell yielded in pearles, jewels, and ready money, sixteen hundred thousand rupias."

While on his journey he made the following entries in his journal:—"I remooved foure course to *Ramsor*, where the king had left the bodies of an hundred naked men slaine in the fields for robbery. . . . I overtook in the way a camell laden with three hundred men's heads, sent from Candahar by the

governor, in present to the king, that were out in rebellion." In an earlier entry in his journal he records that "a hundred thieves were brought chained before the Mogul with their accusation: without further ceremony, as in all such cases is the custom, he ordered them to be carried away, the chiefe of them to be torne in pieces by dogges, the rest put to death. This was all the process and form. The prisoners were divided into several quarters of the town, and executed in the streets, as in one by my house, where twelve dogges tore the chiefe of them in pieces, and thirteen of his fellowes, having their hands tied down to their feet, had their necks cut with a sword, but not quite off, being so left naked, bloody, and stinking, to the view of all men, and the annoyance of the neighbourhood."

Shah Jehan, the mighty successor of this monarch, was frequently, while yet bearing the name of Sultan Khurram, as well as subsequently, brought into diplomatic contact with Sir Thomas Roe, and his descriptions of his character and administration present features of tyranny and cruelty characteristic of the race. In the narrative given in a previous chapter in this History of the reign of these princes, the events of chief importance have been brought out in consecutive order, and such notice taken of their character as was necessary to a proper appreciation of the incidents recorded. The sketches given by Sir Thomas Roe afford an insight as to the spirit and genius of the men and their government as both appeared at the time to an acute English observer, and afford valuable assistance in tracing the comparative claims of Mogul and British rule. Sir Thomas says of Shah Jehan—"The prince sate in the same magnificence, order, and greatneese, that I mentioned of the king; his throne being plated over with silver, inlaid with flowers of gold, and the canopie over it square, borne on foure pillars covered with silver, his armes, sword, buckler, bowe, arrowes, and lance on a table before him. The watch was set, for it was evening when he came abroad. I observed now he was absolute and curious in his fashion and actions: he received two letters, read them standing, before he ascended his throne. I never saw so settled a countenance, nor any man keepe so constant a gravitie, never smiling, nor in face shewing any respect or difference of men, but mingled with extreame pride and contempt of all; yet I found some inward trouble now and then assaile him, and a kind of brokenesse and distraction in his thoughts, unprovidedly and amazedly answering suitors, or not hearing. If I can judge any thing, he has left

his heart among his father's women, with whom he hath liberty of conversation. Normahall, in the English coach,* the day before visited him, and took leave; she gave him a cloak all imbroydered with pearles, diamonds, and rubies, and carried away, if I erre not, his attention to all other businesse."

When the Rev. Mr. Terry, who had been sent out from England, arrived in India, he proceeded to join Sir Thomas, and brought with him a considerable convoy of necessaries for the ambassador, and presents to the padishaw. At Berhampore both Mr. Terry and his treasures were stopped by Shah Jehan, the future Great Mogul, who simply acted as a common robber, appropriating to himself whatever he desired, however necessary to the chaplain or the ambassador; in fact, whatever was not designated as a present for the emperor, his father, he made more or less a spoil for himself. Even the royal gifts were not sent on until the complaints of the ambassador to the padishaw led to the transmission of commands from the latter. When the treasures arrived at the camp of the emperor, the latter, no more honest than his son, seized the packages, opened and examined them, and would have retained them, had not the boldness and firmness of the ambassador either awed or shamed him. The great padishaw was then as despicable in his flattery and poor artifices of conciliation as he had previously been in his curiosity and cupidity.

With Aurungzebe the glory of the Moguls may be said to have departed. He was the last of the *Great Moguls*; and whatever the splendour of his career, it was equalled by his guilt: to his sire and king, treacherous, unfilial, and disloyal; to his brothers, deceitful and unnatural, ambitious, tyrannical, and unscrupulous, his name and life are stains upon the reputation of Mohammedan India.

The rise, progress, and decline of the Mahrattas, related on their appropriate pages in this History, further exemplify the sanguinary, tyrannical, and unprincipled character of Indian chiefs, heathen and Mohammedan; for the struggles of those times, whether Moslem or Hindoo bore the sword in triumph, reveal the blood-thirsty, rapacious, and perfidious character of all Indian courts and peoples. The stratagems, excesses of cruelty, and breaches of faith, practised by the Mohammedan emperors towards the Mahratta chiefs, and the wild lawlessness and violence of the latter, form a strange chapter in Indian and in human history.

It has been sometimes argued against the

* An English carriage which was presented by Sir Thomas to the emperor, and which, he relates, cost one hundred and fifty pounds.

wisdom and humanity of the East India Company's administration that frequent famines have prevailed, from the like of which the people of India were exempt during the Mohammedan rule. This is simply false as to the period of Mohammedan sway. One of the few redeeming features of the character and conduct of Aurungzebe was his solicitude to mitigate the horrors of a famine which broke out during his reign, from which, nevertheless, multitudes perished. The same causes which operated in producing these terrible visitations during the sway of the East India Company also existed during that of the various Mohammedan dynasties. Notwithstanding the devotion of their subjects, especially when a sense of religious obligation existed, Mohammedan princes, whether petty rajahs, or seated on the throne of empire, have been often heartlessly indifferent to the welfare of the people, whom they professed to be bound by the most sacred ties of religion and political duty to protect and cherish. To the Hindoos they were generally fiercely intolerant. Aurungzebe especially illustrates this fact. His father was often forbearing, his grandfather indifferent, on religious matters, but Aurungzebe himself, with less religion than either, was a persecutor. The fiercest robber of the Mahrattas was in many things more to be commended than Aurungzebe. The code of military honour that prevailed among that rude and low caste people was much higher than what was practised or acknowledged at the court and camp of the emperor. The people of all classes groaned beneath the sway of the most glorious of the Moguls. Raj Singh of Odeypore described the true condition of the people when he addressed the emperor in these terms:—"Your subjects are trampled under foot, and every province of your empire is impoverished; depopulation spreads, and difficulties accumulate; the soldiers are murmuring; the merchants complaining; the Mohammedans discontented; the Hindoos destitute; and multitudes of people, wretched, even to the want of their nightly meal, are beating their heads throughout the day from destitution. How can the dignity of the sovereign be preserved who employs his power in exacting tribute from a people thus miserably reduced?"* This state of things was not so very different from what existed under others, even the most magnificent of the Moguls, as to require much variety in describing the condition of their subjects; yet it suits the purpose of certain parties and classes in England to degrade their country by lowering British rule and British rulers in

* Orme's *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*.

India to the level of Mohammedan princes and the despotism which they exercised.

The architectural taste and zeal displayed by some of the Mohammedan princes are justly entitled to praise. It should, however, be understood that an intense fanaticism led them to lavish upon gorgeous mosques the wealth plundered from heathen temples. The injunctions of the Koran caused a vast expenditure upon tombs; hence the resting-place of the dead is peculiarly dear to the Mohammedan, and is exhibited in this age as well as by the remains of past centuries. Whether in the care bestowed upon the turbaned tombs of Smyrna and Stamboul, or in the costly tombs reared for their deceased relatives by modern princes, the Mohammedans prove their veneration for their beloved dead. In the crisis of his ruin, the heir of the fallen house of Oude built in 1858 a beautiful tomb at Paris, in the picturesque burial-ground of Père-la-Chaise, for his mother.

The pride of power, as well as religious and filial piety, originated many of the great structures of Mohammedan India. The palatial glories of Ghizni, Delhi, Agra, and Lucknow, had their origin in the towering ambition and love of despotic splendour characteristic of Mohammedan kings and conquerors.

The means for executing the vast and brilliant works which were accomplished in the Mohammedan ages of India, were found in the oppressive taxation or plunder of the people. Frequently the costly glories of the rajahs caused such extensive suffering among even the Mohammedan people, that sedition and bloodshed ensued; or, in spite of the dazzling results, the gorgeous rulers were cursed in the midst of the glittering cities they created or decorated with a taste so ornate and peculiar. It was in the countries of India subject to Mohammedan power, with rare exceptions, as it is in Turkey to-day, where the extravagance of the court is maintained amidst the decay of the empire, humiliation of the government, and imminent perils of the state. The following quotation from the Constantinople correspondent of a London journal presents, in the state of the sultan's court and government, a striking illustration of the way in which mighty festivals and enterprises of grandeur in Mohammedan India, were proofs of weakness, of the presence of elements of social and political decline, and of the inherent viciousness and self-destroying tendency of that especial form of political despotism which the Mohammedan religion creates. The communication was made from Constantinople in August, 1858.

"The sultan's expenditure has increased,

is increasing, and ought to be cut down.' Such is the universal cry which resounds through the whole empire. The minister, who is at the end of his wits and financial legerdemains, whispers it with a sigh; the *employé*, who gets paid in paper, murmurs it cautiously; the army, which is months—not to say years—in arrear, raises it loudly; the people, who see the sweat of their brows squandered, utter it indignantly; and even the usurer, who makes a fortune by this recklessness, afraid of the consequences, has begun to join in it clamorously. Never was the *vox populi* more clearly heard, and never was it more justly raised. Before it all mincing and delicacy would be out of place. It is high time to speak out plainly, and expose the cancer which is consuming the vital forces of this empire. There is no secret about it, for it has become table-talk, and the evil has reached such a point, that, unless some remedy be found for it, the most serious consequences must follow.

"No sovereign in Europe has a larger civil list than the Sultan of Turkey. According to the last arrangement, made about two years ago, it amounts to £1,200,000 sterling in round numbers, which surpasses by far that of any other sovereign, if we compare it with the whole revenue of the empire, which is between £7,000,000 and £8,000,000 sterling. However formidable this proportion must appear to European minds, it might pass without comment in a country which might have the cheapest administration of any if it were strictly adhered to. But this civil list represents only the nominal expenditure of the palace. In reality, the latter knows no bounds except the impossibility of finding money. As the revenues come in the civil list lays its hand on them, under the title of 'advances,' which are never repaid; and, if this resource fails, loans are contracted, for which the government becomes answerable. The consequences of this system, which has been going on for the last five years, are of course felt. A considerable part of the revenues has been anticipated; both the military and naval departments are in arrear; in the army alone a sum of well-nigh a million of money is owing; the officials have been paid for the last two months in treasury bonds, which had to be discounted at seven per cent. loss against paper money, which was itself at a discount of sixty to seventy per cent. against coin. At the beginning of this year two millions' worth of these treasury bonds had to be issued to pay the most urgent debts of the civil list, and in spite of all this the obligations of this department are estimated at more than twice that amount;

articles of the first necessity required for the palace are left unpaid-for for months; and most of the jewels have taken a pilgrimage to one or other wearer, and are hawked about by the brokers. All these miseries, instead of producing a lucid interval, seem only to heighten the folly of extravagance. While one set of jewels is pawned, another, richer, is bought on credit from adventurous individuals. Two nuptials were celebrated this year, for which the bill will not fall far short of from £700,000 to £800,000 sterling, and two others are under consideration which will not cost much less.

"Besides, and far above all this, stands the building mania. If the thing were not patent it would be incredible, but at this moment no less than eight palaces and five kiosks and other smaller buildings are in process of construction. Among the first is the new palace of Tcheragan, on the spot where the old wooden building stood, and for which the estimate amounts to £2,500,000; a palace near it for guests of distinction; two palaces for the newly-married daughters at Sali Bazaar; another for the eldest sultana at Arnaut Koi, for which several large pieces of ground had to be bought at an extravagant price; one at Arnaut Koi for the two daughters of the late Fethi Ahmed Pasha; one at Kandili for the sister of the sultan; and one which is to grace or disgrace the shores of Therapia. Of the five kiosks one is at the old seraglio, on the spot where the old one was burnt down; another on the top of the hill of Tcheragan; another at the Sweet Waters of Asia; and a music-hall and theatre, which are almost finished, at the new palace of Dolma Bakshi. These buildings, if they are now completed, will cost at least from £8,000,000 to £10,000,000 sterling. You will naturally ask, How could this evil attain such a point without some one trying to stop it? The answer to it is simple. There is not sufficient union and moral courage in the leading men to do anything effectual. Nay, more than one man is responsible for having encouraged this recklessness to promote his own private interests.

"In 1845 the civil list was fixed by the sultan himself at about £500,000 sterling, and, in spite of this smaller revenue, the civil list was more than once enabled to make advances to the other departments. It is difficult enough to follow the changes which take place in the character of our most intimate friends; it is almost impossible to follow the changes in the mind of an absolute sovereign so removed from contact with the world as the sultan is. It may have been the habit of uncontrolled power, or bad

counsels, or false ideas suggested by flatterers; at any rate, a great change has taken place. In the continual rivalry between the competitors for power he had full liberty to follow a growing disposition for extravagance. Anxious to secure their places, those in office took good care not to jeopardize their position by an untimely resistance, while those out of power thought of coming in by showing the necessary pliancy. Thus a disposition, which, perhaps, might have been stopped in the beginning, was developed until it has led to such appalling results. This could go on as long as there was a possibility of meeting the demands; but the thing has lately assumed such proportions, that the ministry, despairing of being able to do so, decided on making an attempt to check it.

"The first step took place some weeks ago, when a memorandum, signed by all the ministers, was given in, to ask for a reduction of the pay of divers functionaries, and for the abolition of certain other posts which were unnecessary. This was a measure affecting only indirectly the expenditure of the palace. It had become the habit to send away palace officials, and order a place to be given to them in some government office. The councils attached to the different departments were by this means augmented to an enormous extent, without gaining thereby in efficiency. Each of these councils ought to have six members and a secretary, and most of them have now from twenty to thirty, and every one of them is paid at the rate of £2000 to £3000 a year. It was represented that a great saving could be effected by the suppression of such a number of useless officials, and that consequently more money could be made available for the purposes of government. The representation was graciously received, and an answer promised. A few days after the minister of finance was called in, and informed that his majesty had a running account with his French *fournisseur*, who had furnished the new palace, and was now finishing the theatre. His account was one hundred and fifty thousand purses, or about £500,000, of which one-third was to be paid now, and it was hoped the faithful minister would provide the necessary sum. The next day a loan of sixty million piastres was hawked about Galata, and part of the sum found."

This account so strikingly exhibits the character of the sovereigns, courts, and people in Mohammedan India during the waning splendour of their power, that it is scarcely possible for the philosopher and the politician to avoid seeing that like causes produced the effects so strikingly displayed

at Constantinople now, and formerly in the great Moslem capitals of India.

Whatever may have been the magnificence of the Mohammedan courts in India, the people seldom caught the infection. Few buildings of magnitude or taste, except mosques and tombs, and occasionally tanks, were erected anywhere by the citizens or zemindars. In this respect also the western Mohammedan nations exemplify the condition of India from the advent of the first hordes of Saracen robbers to the fall of the last of the Moguls. Occasionally the architectural enterprise of particular princes would spread as an infection among the people, and buildings for private enjoyment would spring up, resembling in their degree those erected by the monarch, but no lasting impressions of taste and skill remained as the result. When Mahmood of Ghizni expended in that place in a manner so gorgeous the vast plunder he brought thither from India proper, his people emulated his splendour and architectural ambition, but the effort was fitful, and the community soon collapsed into the coarse apathy and sensual sloth from which Mohammedan peoples are seldom aroused but by the voice of fanaticism, and the lust of carnage, which their fanaticism so deeply fosters.

The condition of the kingdom of Oude, previous to its annexation under the administration of Lord Dalhousie, was, with all its tyranny, corruption, and anarchy, a correct representation of the tendencies of Mohammedan government, and bore a family resemblance to the Mohammedan states throughout India, ancient and modern. Sir W. H. Sleeman, who had opportunities of becoming well acquainted with Oude, its court, land tenures, talookdars, soldiery, and people, represents rapacity and corruption as reigning everywhere. The extravagance of the court, the oppressive collection of taxes, the remorseless tyranny of the feudal chiefs and officers of government, as he describes them, corresponds so closely with the records of the Mohammedan people in the annals handed down to us, even by the hands of "the faithful," as to make it wonderful how the power of Mohammedan dynasties and governments held so tenacious an existence in regions where so large a portion of the inhabitants hated its sway. Notwithstanding exceptional instances of good government, and impartial administration of justice, the general current of Mohammedan affairs resembled that which had so long prevailed in Oude until the suppression of its native government. The officer* just named gives an instance of the anarchy,

* *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oude.* By Sir W. H. Sleeman.

cruelty, treachery, and faithless government: of that ancient kingdom, illustrating the condition of the people of India under the yoke of Islam during the greater portion of the Mohammedan period. In a particular district Sir William met with a certain nizam, a rajah (of Bulrampore), and a banker, one Ramdutt Pandee. The nizam by his extravagance became a debtor to the banker for a large amount, but requiring more, he invited the money-lender to his camp, and with him the Rajah of Bulrampore. The sequence is thus related by General Sleeman:—"The nizam and Ramdutt talked for some time together, seemingly on the most friendly and cordial terms; but the nizam at last asked him for a further loan of money, and further securities for landholders of doubtful character, before he went to bathe. The banker told him that he could lend him no more money till he came back from bathing, as he had lent him eighty thousand rupees only the day before, and that he could not increase his pledges of security without further consultation with the landholders, as he had not recovered more than four out of the seven lacs of rupees which he had been obliged to advance to the treasury on the securities given for them during the last year. He then took leave, and rose to depart. The nizam turned, and made some sign to his deputy, Jafir Allee, who rose, presented his gun, and shot Ramdutt through the right side, close under the armpit. Exclaiming, '*Ram, Ram!*' (God, God!) the banker fell, and the nizam, seizing and drawing the sword which lay on the carpet before him, cut the fallen banker across the forehead. His nephew and deputy drew theirs, and together they inflicted no less than twenty-two cuts upon the body of Ramdutt. The banker's three attendants, seeing their master thus shot down, and hacked to pieces, called out for help; but one of the three ruffians cut Towahir, the Brahmin lad, across the shoulder with his sword, and all ran off and sought shelter across the border in British territory. The nizam and his attendants then buried the body hastily near the tent, and ordered the troops and artillery to advance towards and fire into the two camps. They did so: and the Bulrampore rajah had only just reached his tents when the shot came showering in upon them from the nizam's guns. He galloped off as fast as he could towards the British border, about twenty miles distant, attended only by a few mounted followers, some of whom he sent off to Bulrampore, to bring his family, as fast as possible, across the border to him. The rest he ordered to follow him. His followers, and those of the

murdered banker, fled before the nizam's forces, which had been concentrated for this atrocious purpose, and both their camps were plundered. Before the rajah fled, however, the murdered banker's son-in-law, who had been left in the camp, ran to him with a small casket, containing Ramdut's seals, the bond for the eighty thousand rupees, as also the written pledges given by the nizam and his commanding officers of corps for the banker's and the rajah's personal security. He mounted him on one of his horses, and took both him and the casket off to the British territory." After these transactions the nizam attacked the banker's villages, and plundered from them property to the value of £100,000. He then complained to the King of Oude that the banker had attacked and plundered him, and was rewarded by the chief potentate of the realm for his good conduct by presents of honour! Soon after the nizam was defeated by the banker's brother, and became a fugitive, but found by bribery at the court of Lucknow protection and immunity. Thus, in every part of India, and in every century since it was invaded by the Saracens, the Mohammedan rule has been a curse to the people, socially and politically, as it has been in every other part of the world subjected to its baleful power. In sweeping away idolatry, and, to a certain extent, in abolishing caste, the religion of the false prophet was better than that which it superseded; but its inexorable tyranny, and that of the political system it fostered, crushed the people, deluged the land with blood, and familiarized those dignified as "true believers" with rapine, treachery, and injustice, in every form.

The conduct of the princes to one another, whether rulers of great states or petty rajahs, was utterly perfidious. The rules of the Koran, which obliged them to do justice, and show hospitality and alliance to princes of their own faith, were so loosely laid down, that great latitude of interpretation was a consequence, and this was stretched to the uttermost by the kings and rajahs of India. The moral obligations of their religion being so propounded, and of such a nature as not to press very sternly upon conscience, every advantage was taken of this fact by those sovereigns who affected or felt religious principle. There are no cruelties recorded upon the page of history as practised by monarchs against monarchs, which have not been rivalled by those of India, and generally the latter far surpass in atrocity the most appalling deeds perpetrated by the most ruthless tyrants in any other part of the world. The history of the various dynasties recorded in previous

chapters reveals a sad narrative of turpitude and faithlessness on the part of many of the proudest, and, religiously, the most zealous of the princes of Islam, to one another. No treachery appears to have been too base for a Mohammedan king, zealous for his religion, to practise against another equally zealous; and when war decided their relations to one another, as victor and vanquished, with a few generous exceptions, the former exacted from the latter the most shameful humiliations, and inflicted cruelties, from the mention of which humanity shudders. Here again we perceive the genius of Mohammedanism in India, illustrated by its phenomena in more western regions. The history of the sovereigns of Turkey, Egypt, and Persia, during the memory of living men, has displayed the same utter want of principle, where honour, treaty, and the most sacred pledges, given on the Koran, might have been expected to bind; and the same cruel disposition has been shown so far as the nature of the events, and the proximity of the rival sultans and pashas to Europe, permitted. During the wars of the present century between Turkey and Russia, the latter succeeded in forming alliances with various Asiatic chiefs, who treacherously sold their allegiance, and inflicted upon the loyal who fell into their hands, in defiance of the Koran, all manner of indignities and cruelties. The habit of mind which the religion of the Arabian prophet begets in his votaries, of hating all who differ from them in religion with an implacable and remorseless enmity, extends itself to all who differ from them in any way politically or socially, and even to such as have opposing commercial interests; and thus Mohammedan is made to suffer from Mohammedan in the result of the spirit of hatred so keenly nursed in the bosom of every Mussulman to members of an alien creed. There is a moral retribution thus brought home to the abettors of this most bigoted of all religions, showing in a striking manner the retributive principle of God's moral government, which brings upon every man, or association of men, the consequences of the evils they perpetrate upon others. As the electric spark travels back by the quickest media to the spot from which it issued, so the hostilities and evil deeds of men come back again, under the influence of another law, not less sure, to their own breasts.

The spirit of the Mohammedan invaders, and the consequences of their invasion, have been thus faithfully described by an old author:—"The invasions of the Mogul Tartars overturned the Hindoo empire, and,

* *Sketches of the History, &c., of the Hindoos*. London, 1792.

besides the calamities which immediately attend conquest, fixed on succeeding generations a lasting train of miseries. They brought along with them the spirit of a haughty superstition; they exacted the conversion of the vanquished; and they came to conquer and to remain. The success of the first invaders invited many to follow them; but we may consider the expedition of Tamerlane as that which completed the ruin of the Hindoo government. Wherever he appeared he was victorious; neither Mussulman nor Hindoo could resist his fortune, nor could any one who opposed him expect mercy. The march of his army was marked with blood, from the banks of the Attock to the eastern side of the Ganges, and from thence back by a different route to Samarcand. The disappearance of this angry meteor was followed by a long scene of warfare among the Mohammedan invaders themselves."

It has been the fashion of late years with a certain class of writers, especially in connection with the periodical press, to laud the policy of the Mohammedan rulers of India towards the vanquished Hindoos. The foregoing chapters, written with impartiality, disclose a different state of things, even when the settled government of the conquerors had existed for centuries, and there was no prospect of any extensive revolt. It is true that some of the wisest of the settled monarchs of the various dynasties brought in by the sword were just and tolerant to the Hindoo population. During the long reign of Akbar this was to a great extent the case. "He endeavoured," said the author last quoted, "to correct the ferocity of his co-religionists; was indulgent to the religion and customs of the Hindoos; and wishing to revive the learning of the Brahmins, which had been persecuted as profane by the ignorant Muftis, he ordered the celebrated observatory at Benares to be repaired, invited the Brahmins to return to their studies, and assured them of his protection."

Although there are other instances of the haughty princes of the new faith not only showing tolerance to Hindooism, but appearing to sympathize with it personally, they were generally restrained by the fanatical spirit of the people, and thus, against their own judgment, driven into an intolerant and inhuman policy by the multitude of "the faithful." The mild enactments of Akbar excited a deep jealousy in the minds of his subjects of his own creed. Elphinstone,* beyond all comparison the best authority generally on the condition of Mohammedan India and its history, says, "Akbar's innova-

tions had shocked most Mohammedans, who, beside the usual dislike of the vulgar to toleration, felt that a direct attack was made upon their own faith." It is doubtful whether the tolerant spirit of some of the Mussulman sovereigns was any mitigation of the miserable state of the Hindoos under their yoke, for the indulgence thus shown them provoked the bigotry of the mass of the conquering race, who left no opportunity unused that might otherwise have passed, for purposes of indignity and injury against the subject people. Elphinstone represents the toleration of Akbar as affecting the throne of his successors, and for generation promoting civil war among them, as well as inciting the furious fanaticism of their more immediate subjects.

In the journal of Sir Thomas Roe this fact in reference to the celebrated Jehanghire is fully brought out. The hypocrisy of the monarch in the toleration he affected, the prostitution of religion to ends merely political, the jealousy of his own children, the utter want of confidence between him and the heir to the throne, and the shrewd recognition in his policy of the relentless bigotry of his people, are all characteristic of the Mohammedan princes and policy in India. Sir Thomas, after alluding to the lax opinions of Akbar on this subject, who at one time contemplated establishing a new religion, with himself as its head, observes that Jehanghire, "being the issue of this new fancie, and never circumcised, bred up without any religion at all, continues so to this hour, and is an atheist." He describes him as very liberal, not only in his own opinions, but towards those of others, and with an equal dislike to proselytism and apostasy. "He is content with all religions, only he loves none that changeth." He is represented as observing all the festivals of the Hindoos, and invariably paying marked respect to the Christian doctrines, granting perfect freedom of worship; ample privileges to the ministers and followers of that faith, both Protestant and Catholic, and frequently encouraging disputations between the professors of different creeds, "often casting out doubtfull words of his conversion, but to wicked purpose." He further mentions that Jehanghire sent two of his own nephews to a school kept at Agra for some years by Francisco Corsie, a Portuguese priest, where they were not only taught the Portuguese language, but instructed in the Christian religion, and finally "were solemnly baptized in the church of Agra with great pomp, being carryed first up and down all the citie on elephants in triumph, and this by the king's expresse order, who often

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 521.

would examine them in their progression, and seemed much contented in them." Sir Thomas adds, however, that many considered this a measure of policy intended to render the young princes, who might at any time become rivals and aspirants for the throne, odious, and incapacitated for government, in the eyes of a Mohammedan population.*

The history of the sovereigns, votaries of Islam, viewed in relation to one another, and to their people, verified the just remarks—"Under a despotic monarch, while the liberty and life of the subject are constantly exposed to danger, the crown totters on the head of the monarch; he who is the most absolute is frequently the least secure; and the annals of Turkey, of Persia, and of the Mohammedan conquerors of Hindostan, teem with tragic stories of dethroned and murdered princes."† It is remarkable that, notwithstanding the lust of conquest for its own sake, and of rapine, the iconoclastic spirit of the conquerors, and the fanatical enthusiasm they entertained for the spread of their religion, they were never able entirely to subjugate the native communities. What was described as the case three-quarters of a century ago was true when the British wrenched, during the recent rebellion, the remnant of power from the Moslem tyrants. "Throughout Hindostan there are many rajahs to be found who still enjoy the territories of their ancestors. Some, happily, never were subdued, and owe their independence to the natural situation of their possessions, which renders invasion difficult. Others were permitted, from policy or necessity, to retain them on condition of paying a stipulated tribute."

One of the causes of the ultimate decline of the Mohammedan rulers, as will be shown in those chapters which record the European period, especially during the progress to power of the British, was the want of good faith always cherished, and sometimes openly displayed to the Europeans. The Portuguese had many pretexts afforded to them for cruelty and rapacity by the breach of engagements by princes with whom in peace and war they came in contact. The Dutch had fewer transactions with the rajahs, and managed with better policy than the Portuguese, but they also found the sirdars faithless. The British are frequently accused by writers among themselves of having acted without faith to Mohammedan princes from whom they had experienced justice and truth, and from whom they had every reason to expect such virtues. That some of the agents of the British government stood no higher

than the Mohammedan rajahs in political morality is, unfortunately, too true, and that presidential governors, the governor-general at Calcutta, the East India Company, and the British cabinet, have all in turn not only erred in judgment, but proved themselves deficient in justice and candour, are facts, unhappily, beyond dispute; but such impeachments were of exceptional application, while the rule of Mohammedan government, as well as of heathen government, in India, was unprincipled and perfidious. This was shown in the treatment of the first English ambassador by the Great Mogul in the beginning of our Indian career, and recently by the reckless violation of treaty and honourable obligation by the King of Oude, whose deposition was one cause of the violent catastrophe which befel India in our own time. A glance at the treatment received by a British ambassador from the Great Mogul and his heir, has already been given in this chapter. The reader desirous of following out the subject can have further proof by consulting Purchas* and Churchill.† Astonishment may well be felt upon the perusal of these and other true narratives of the spirit and character of Mohammedan princes, that the British were able to maintain with them any alliances, treaties, or negotiations whatever. In a letter directed to the company by Sir Thomas Roe, a brief but correct picture is given of the utter want of honour and truth which he found in the emperor to whom he was accredited, and in the princes, one of whom soon ascended the imperial throne. Sir Thomas also shows the general spirit of insolence as well as chicanery which, towards Europeans especially, pervaded the Mogul court. "This I repeat for instruction, to warn the company, and him that shall succede me, to be very wary what they send may be subject to no ill interpretation, for in that point this king and people are very pregnant and scrupulous, full of jealousy and trickes. . . . I must plead against myself that an ambassador lives not in fit honour here. I would sooner die than be content with the slavery the Persian is content with. A meaner agent would, amongst these proud Moors, better effect your business. My qualitie often for ceremonies either begets you enemies or suffers unworthilie. The king has often demanded an ambassadour from Spain, but could never obtain one, for two causes: first, because they would not give presents unworthy their king's greatness; next, they knew his recep-

* *Purchas his Pilgrimes*. London, St. Paul's Church-yard, at the sign of the "Rose." 1625.

† Churchill's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*. London, at the "Golden Ball," Paternoster Row. 1744.

* *Calcutta Review*.

† *History of Hindostan*. 1792.

tion should not answer his quality. I have moderated according to my discretion, but with a swollen heart. *Half my charge shall corrupt all to be your slaves.*"

The Mohammedan people, in spite of the policy of several of their princes, never amalgamated with the Hindoos. Their habits and customs were always distinct, and so even were the callings which they pursued, when choice influenced the selection. "The Hindoos are the only cultivators of the land, and the only manufacturers. The Mohammedans who came into India were soldiers, or followers of a camp, and even now are never to be found employed in the labours of husbandry or the loom." Such was the testimony of an observer written before the present century, and it is still extensively borne out. The mutiny and insurrection of 1857 may lead persons to conclude that there is at present some affinity between the two races. That there is a nearer approach than formerly in their manners and customs is a fact which all recent authorities announce; but the mutiny would be a deceptive indication of the like, for it was the union of two dissimilar peoples for a common object—a political phenomenon known in all ages. The Mohammedans scorned the Hindoos too much to amalgamate with them, and their hatred was as keen as their contempt. Bigotry and fanaticism appear to have been the chief elements of this disdain and hostility, and in the reluctance to assimilate which proved so stubborn. The Hindoos, servile and crafty, soon learned to look on the bold and rude Mohammedans as their natural masters: even the Brahmin regarded them with awe; his demeanour giving expression to the words of Goldsmith—

"Pride in their port, defiance in their eye,
I see the lords of human kind pass by,
Intent on high designs."

The opposition of the Hindoo to the Mohammedan, religiously and politically, was, for the most part, passive but not the less obstinate. "The thorough amalgamation of the Hindoo faith with the whole national and individual life rendered speedy conversion impossible, and made it clear that by violence alone could any empire over the people of Hindostan be obtained and preserved. Thus was the spread of Mohammedanism in India slower and more difficult than anywhere else, long after it had made a lodgment within the territory; the lapse of time tending, meanwhile, to relax the forces of fanaticism, and to turn the warriors of the Prophet from apostles into politicians and princes."*

* Harriet Martineau.

The genius of custom often keeps separate contiguous people, and even citizens or subjects of the same state who are brought into close and constant contact. This was the case in India throughout the Mohammedan period. "The Hindoo dwelling of bamboo, with its curved thatched roof, and placed, if possible, apart and under trees, contrasted with the Mohammedan cottage or house of clay, or unburnt brick, or stone, with its terraced roof. The Hindoo swathed himself in two scarfs of white cotton or muslin, rubbed his skin with oil, eat rice, thought his lank hair and moustaches a sufficient covering for his head, was conscious of the grace and suppleness of his carriage, and delighted in conversation and indolent and frivolous amusement, while yet his cast of character was quiet and thoughtful. The Mohammedan, on the other hand, covered his head with a turban, and wore trousers, tunic, ornaments, and arms; tiled his roof; ate wheaten bread (unleavened); shut up the women of his family, and was not much of a talker in society. The Hindoo village had always a bazaar, a market day, and an annual fair; one temple and one guest-house, where the wayfarer might find shelter. Each hut and each mansion had its mat, its earthen pot and dishes, its pestle and mortar, and baking plate, and its shed for cooking. The husbandman prayed and went forth at dawn with his cattle to the field; his wife brought him his hot dinner at noon, and his evenings were spent in smoking and amusement. The women meantime had been grinding and cooking, washing, spinning, and fetching water. In the towns, the tradesmen and artisans lived in brick or stone houses, with shops open to the streets. The bazaar loungers—mendicant priests, smoking soldiers, and saucy bulls which lorded it over everybody—distinguished the towns where the Hindoos predominated; and so did the festivals in which the townspeople took at one draught the pleasure which the villagers spread over all their evenings. The observances at death and burial were unlike those of the conquering race. The Hindoos burned their dead, except those belonging to religious orders; and they seldom or never set up tombs, except to warriors fallen in battle, or widows burned with their husbands. When Leedes was at Delhi, widows were not allowed to sacrifice themselves. In almost every other case, Hindoo observances were carefully cherished by Akbar, and Mohammedan peculiarities subordinated to them."*

In spite of the efforts of Akbar, the contrast in customs and manners continued, and

* *British Rule in India.* By Miss Martineau.

even where in many respects the same habits were adopted, and the same jubilee festivals enjoyed, the spirit and feeling of the two peoples remained distinct. Thus was it when the commercial enterprise of the Portuguese led them to the realms of such reputed wealth, and when afterwards their rivals, the Dutch, entered upon the same field of aggrandizement and ambition. When the French and English measured swords on the plains and coasts of India they were struck with the same contrast; and though under the dissolving power of English influence there has been more blending of the customs of the two races as they stooped together to mightier conquerors, yet the broad marks of distinction remain. The hand of England has lifted up the debased Hindoo in the presence of his oppressor, and has forced the latter aside from the path of his tyranny; but except as both may desire the removal of the constraining power, they have no identity of feeling, no sympathy in religion, no kindred of race, no sympathy of nationality. Freed from the controlling power of Great Britain, heathen and Mohammedan India would break loose

again, and only mingle as when separate torrents meeting, the stronger sweeps the weaker onward in its more voluminous current. Christianity and infidelity are mighty solvents of all superstitions, and both are now at work in India with an activity which must bring to pass ultimate changes which few contemplate. Before these two powers, Brahminism and Mohammedanism must together perish. The signs of this great transition are two significant for any persons acquainted with India to doubt its advent. The final struggle in India and everywhere will be between the two most potent principles, Christianity and Infidelity. That Christianity will triumph reason and revelation assure us; but, nevertheless, long after the follies and wickedness of Hindoo mythology shall have perished, and the crescent and scimitar shall have ceased to be the symbol and the instrument of a sanguinary and tyrant creed, infidelity and Christianity shall wage their warfare within the confines of those wide-spread and glorious realms. Faith and hope alike teach us to exclaim, "*Magna est veritas et prævalebít.*"

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE PARSEES: THEIR RELATION TO INDIAN HISTORY.

THE Parsees have filled a part by no means unimportant in the history of India. In describing the religions of India, the creed and devotional practices of the Parsees were shown, and in the account given of the presidency, island, and city of Bombay, more particular notice was taken of the social peculiarities and position of that people. Several learned Parsees have demurred to those descriptions of their religious opinions and observances, but both have been stated with unswerving fidelity. It has been objected, that the Parsee people do not worship the sun or fire, as is stated in this History, but only pay them a relative honour, as the symbols and representatives of the divine nature and presence. The talented author of *The Parsees, their History, Manners, Customs, and Religion*, Mr. Dosabhoj Framjee, has, in conversation with the writer of these lines, strongly objected to such a representation of the Parsee religion; but he has nevertheless confessed, what his published views also show, that whatever may be the devotional exercises of the more enlightened members of that profession, the mass of those who are in communion with it

pay an idolatrous worship to the sun and to fire,—to the former in the great temple of nature, and to the latter in the temples erected for Parsee devotion. Anxious to present truth impartially, and entertaining a high respect for the intelligence, enterprise, and loyalty of our Parsee fellow subjects in India, it is desirable to offer confirmation of the picture of the devotees of the sun, drawn in a previous chapter, and at the same time to show the opinions entertained of that people by men eminent for knowledge in the history, literature, and political and social relations of India. It is the more important to do so, because of the growing importance of this people. The language of the manager of the *Bombay Times* is appropriate:—

"Of all the races inhabiting India, the Parsees are the most intelligent and energetic. Not trammelled by that cursed system of 'caste,' they are at liberty to trade in and inhabit all quarters of the globe, and follow whatever profession they think will be conducive to their advancement in life. They may justly boast that, upon the first opportunity the race has possessed for a thousand years of rising into eminence, they have

proved themselves the worthy descendants of a renowned ancestry.

"Although insignificant in point of numbers, the Parsee community can never be absent from the European mind when contemplating the vast empire of India. The Parsee has been flatteringly described as the Saxon of the East, and, under the ægis of the just and enlightened rule of England, has entered with success into competition with the Saxon of the West in the meed for honourable distinction.

"The wealth acquired by the Parsees, we are proud to say, is rarely misspent. There are, of course, as in all communities, some who wisely hoard up their riches, while others squander away large fortunes in luxury and debauchery, without contributing a penny towards any charitable fund or object of public utility. But it cannot be denied that the majority of the Parsees are benevolent to a great degree; some even forget that charity begins at home, and are liberal beyond their means. The race has inherited this spirit of liberality from its ancestors, who were conspicuous for their love of charity. It is enough to show to a Parsee an object deserving of relief or support, and his purse is at once opened."

Dr. Hyde, in his work on the ancient religion of the Parsees, gives a picture of it with which most eminent writers on the subject concur, but which is somewhat too favourable for even the best periods of that religion, and which certainly would not apply to the superstitious views so generally held by Parsee devotees at present. "The Persians, from the beginning of their existence as a nation, always believed in only one and the same true and omnipotent God. They believed in all the attributes of the Deity believed by us; and God is called in their own writings, the Doer, the Creator, the Governor, and the Preserver of the world. They also believed that the Deity was eternal (without beginning or end) and omnipotent, with a great many attributes, which to enumerate particularly would be tedious. They also believed this Deity to be the judge of all men, and that there was to come a general resurrection of every man, to be judged and accounted according to his merits or demerits. And they also believed that God has prepared for the blessed a place of happiness called heaven or paradise. And as there was a heaven for the good, there was also a place of torture for the wicked (as may be proved from their old works), where they undergo a punishment for their faults and misdeeds. They acknowledged that they sinned daily, but proposed themselves to be penitent for all the sins

committed by them either by thought, word, or deed."

Dean Prideaux, Sir William Ouseley, Hanway, Captain Pope, and many other writers of eminence, express themselves as strongly in favour of the monotheism and morality of Parseeism. It is, however, evident that the ancient theory of worshipping the Supreme Being as the light and life of the world, using the sun as his most glorious emblem, and when the sun was not in view using fire as the most appropriate representation, has become obsolete, the majority of the worshippers adoring the material media rather than the Being to whom they profess to look, or at all events associating them idolatrously with him in worship. And not only are the sun and fire linked with the Creator as objects of adoration, but the air, earth, and nature generally, are so adored as to make modern Parseeism pantheistical. This is often indirectly conceded by even the most partial writers, who extenuate these superstitions, and are carried away by the subtlety and beauty of ancient Zoroastrianism, to admire indiscriminately all the usages of modern Parsees. The Indian journals are in their business departments often in the hands of Parsees, and an influence over the press there is thus acquired, which has much conduced to the laudation of sun-worship, which has almost become fashionable with certain classes of European writers. Thus, in one of the numbers of the *Asiatic Journal* the following passage occurs:—"The observances paid to fire (it is unjust to call them worship) are only parts of a ritual which prescribes a similar respect for, and mention in prayers of, all the classes of animated nature, and some objects inanimate. The respect paid to fire is more prominent than the other parts of the ritual, inasmuch as that element is considered the terrestrial image of the Supreme Being."

Mrs. Postans, whose beautiful work on *Western India* has been quoted in a former chapter, was influenced by such representations to write in even stronger terms:—"I have used this title (fire-worshippers) in conformity with the popular English notion of Parsee worship; but the term is, I believe, quite unfounded. They do not worship either the elements or the heavenly bodies, being, in fact, pure Deists, and regarding the works of God's hand as to be revered only as proofs of the Divine power."

Were these descriptions exact, the practices of the Parsees would still fall under the Scripture denunciation of idolatry, which declares that it is incompatible with the pure worship of Jehovah for the worshipper to make to himself the likeness of anything that

is in heaven above, the earth beneath, or the waters under the earth, either to worship them or bow down to them. God prohibits all religious honour to any creature whatsoever. The following passages from friends of the Parsees (of whom no writer has spoken more favourably than the author of this History) show that, however partially regarded, the religious customs of the modern Parsees are idolatrous, and, when they fall short of that degree of error, generally superstitious. Forbes* says, "These fires (the sacred fires of the Parsees) are attended day and night by the *andiaroos*, or priests, and are never permitted to expire. They are preserved in a large chafing-dish, carefully supplied with fuel, perfumed by a small quantity of sandal-wood or other aromatics. The vulgar and illiterate worship this sacred flame, as also the sun, moon, and stars, without regard to the invisible Creator; but the learned and judicious adore only the Almighty Fountain of Light, the Author and Disposer of all things, under the symbol of fire. Zoroaster and the ancient magi, whose memories they revere, and whose works they are said to preserve, never taught them to consider the sun as anything more than a creature of the great Creator of the universe: they were to revere it as His best and fairest image, and for the numberless blessings it diffuses on the earth. The sacred flame was intended only as a perpetual monitor to preserve their purity, of which this element is so expressive a symbol. But superstition and fable have, through a lapse of ages, corrupted the stream of the religious system, which in its source was pure and sublime."

Sir John Malcolm, in his *History of Persia*, declares that Zoroaster, the founder of the Parsee religion, taught that God existed from all eternity, and was like infinity of time and space. "There were, he (Zoroaster) averred, two principles in the universe—good and evil. Light was the type of good, darkness of the evil spirit; and God had said unto Zoroaster, 'My light is concealed under all that shines.' Hence the disciple of that prophet, when he prays in a temple, turns towards the sacred fire that burns upon its altar; and when in the open air, towards the sun, as the noblest of all lights, and that by which God sheds his divine influences over the whole earth, and perpetuates the works of his creation. . . . His religion inculcated the worship of one immortal and beneficent Creator. Whatever might have been his (Zoroaster's) intention, his introduction of flame from an earthly substance, as the symbol of God, opened a wide door for

* *Oriental Memoirs*.

superstition. There can be no doubt that the devotion intended for the Deity by Zoroaster has been given to the symbol by many of his followers, who have merited by such a practice the reproachful name of worshippers of fire."

Mr. Dosabhoy Framjee,* himself a Parsee, and the able advocate of his people both in India and in England, thus defends them from the charge of idolatry:—"The charge of fire, sun, water, and air worship has, however, been brought against the Parsees by those not sufficiently acquainted with the Zoroastrian faith to form a just opinion. The Parsees themselves repel the charge with indignation. Ask a Parsee whether he is a worshipper of the sun or fire, and he will emphatically answer, No. This declaration itself, coming from one whose own religion is Zoroastrianism, ought to be sufficient to satisfy the most sceptical. God, according to Parsee faith, is the essence of glory, refugence, and light; and in this view, a Parsee, while engaged in prayer, is directed to stand before the fire, or to direct his face towards the sun, as the most proper symbols of the Almighty."

"All Eastern historians have acknowledged that the Persians, from the most early times, were no idolaters, but worshipped one God, the Creator of the world, under the symbol of fire, and such is also the present practice among their descendants in India."

In this strong denial of idolatrous or superstitious practices, Mr. Dosabhoy must be supposed as writing in behalf of the lettered and refined of his persuasion, for he has *viva voce* acknowledged to the author of this History that the vulgar have departed from what he considers the purity of their fathers in worship. In his work, already referred to, Mr. Dosabhoy makes admissions that seem to go farther than this, and to acknowledge a general prevalence of idolatry among the Parsee people, however some among them may abhor what they would themselves consider the worship of the creature, for, after describing the fundamental principles and early rites of his religion, he makes the following statements:—

"It is unnecessary to defend the morality or excellence of such sentiments as these; but many causes have operated to place the religion of the Parsees in a false light. A persecuted race, destitute of many of its sacred books, and coming in contact with a people highly jealous of their own religion, and to whom the slightest touch from one of

* Author of *The Company's Raj contrasted with its Predecessors*, a work published in Marathi and Gujarati, highly commended by Colonel Sykes, M.P.

another caste was a source of impurity, it was natural that the Parsees should have contracted, as time passed on, many of the practices of their neighbours.

"The first Parsees in India had of necessity to follow certain of the Hindoo practices, in order to secure the protection, assistance, and good-will of the Hindoo princes, in whose country they took refuge. Time rolled on, and succeeding generations of Parsees fell into the error that these borrowed practices were sanctioned by their own religion. 'Our forefathers did so,' and, according to Asiatic ideas, the children thought that their ancestors could do no wrong. The study of the few religious books which they had with them was not cultivated, for there were few learned men among the body. The result was that many of the usages, customs, practices, and prejudices of the Hindoos were received and acted upon by the Parsees. It is thus that we may easily explain how it is that an ignorant Parsee, or his wife, at the present day, sends an offering of a cocoa-nut to the *Holi*, or a cup of oil to the *Hunooman*, or cakes, sugar, and flowers to the sea.

"The Parsee punchayet some twenty-five years ago took steps with the view of eradicating such ceremonies and practices as had crept into their religion since their expatriation from Persia; but they did not succeed to the extent of their wishes with the majority of the people. Religious usages which the Parsees of India had observed for nearly twelve centuries could not be easily eradicated.

"What the punchayet failed to do by compulsory measures is now sought to be done by an appeal to the sense of the people. An association composed of many influential and wealthy Parsees, and a number of young and educated men of the race, was formed in the year 1852, under the title of the *Rah-numai Mazdiasna*, or Religious Reform Association, which has for its object the regeneration of the social condition of the Parsees, and the restoration of the Zoroastrian religion to its pristine purity.

"In the face of considerable opposition from the ignorant classes of the community, this association has done much good, and wrought considerable changes in the social condition of the Parsees. Essays, composed in language eloquent and impressive, showing the disadvantages resulting from adhering to practices and usages which really do not belong to the religion, are read in public meetings before a crowd of eager listeners. Pamphlets by thousands have been circulated among the people; and judging from present appearances, the efforts of this body seem to

have had a beneficial influence on the minds of the people.

"The committee of the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy Translation Fund lately contributed its quota to this much-desired object. An essay on the 'Origin and History of the Zend-Avasta, with an account of the investigations of European authors regarding the Zend books, with suggestions for enhancing religious education among the Parsees, and particularly among the priests,' was invited, and a prize of five hundred rupees, or fifty pounds, offered to the successful competitor."

The condition of the Parsee priesthood demands improvement: very few of them understand their liturgical works, although able to recite, parrot-like, all the chapters requiring to be repeated on occasions of religious ceremonies, for which services they receive the regulated fees, and from them mainly they derive a subsistence. The priesthood is an hereditary profession among the Parsees. The priest does not acquire a position from sacerdotal fitness or superior learning. Strictly speaking, he cannot be called a spiritual guide. The son of a priest is also a priest, unless he chooses to follow another profession, which is not prohibited to him. But a layman cannot be a priest. "The Parsee, religion does not, however, sanction this hereditary office; which is, indeed, contrary to the ancient law. The custom is merely derived from usage. Ignorant and unlearned as these priests are, they do not and cannot command the respect of the laity. The latter are more enlightened and educated than the former, and hence the position of the so-called spiritual guides has fallen into contempt. The consequence is that some of the priests have of late years given up a profession which has ceased to be honourable, and have betaken themselves to useful and industrious occupations, whilst a few have become contractors for constructing railroads in the Bombay Presidency. It is, however, very gratifying to notice an attempt that is now being made to impart a healthy stimulus to the priesthood for the study of their religious books. In memory of the late lamented high priest of the Kudmi sect of the Parsees, an institution, styled the 'Mulla Firoz Mudrissa,' has been established, under the superintendence of competent teachers. Here the study of Zend, Pehlvi, and Persian, is cultivated, and many of the sons of the present ignorant priests, it is confidently hoped, will occupy a higher position in the society of their countrymen than their parents now enjoy."

That a great reformation is going on from within among the professors of Zoroastrianism

is pleasingly evident, not only to enlightened Parsees but to Europeans ; still it ought not to be denied by either that superstition and idolatry prevail among the people, and the priests are the abettors of these things, and set an example calculated to encourage them.

The origin of this religion, and of the people who avow it, is well known to have been in Persia. The ancient creed of the Persians, like that of all other nations, was pure ; it was that of the patriarchs recorded in the Old Testament. Gradually idolatry crept in : men, wise in their own conceit, strayed from the counsels of the All-wise, and adored what they conceived to be his likeness. The sun, moon, stars, and terrestrial elements, received from them a relative worship, as media through which the Jehovah revealed his glory. This was the early departure from truth among the ancient settlers in Hindostan, who probably carried it with them from Persia, or countries further west. In Persia the usual progress of error took place—the spiritual worship of the only one God was gradually lost in the material reverence paid to the more striking phenomena of nature ; and the sun, the most glorious of them all, and fire, by which the sun itself was represented, became the objects of adoration. It would appear from the earliest historical evidence extant, that when Zoroaster appeared as a prophet in Persia, he was sincerely bent upon a great work of reformation. He desired to call back the people from the grosser forms of idolatry to a pure theism, but found such difficulty in his work that he yielded to expediency, making the chief objects of nature media of approaching the Divinity, and the luminary of day, by which the world was blessed with light and heat, the grand medium of devotion. It is evident that in the form his system ultimately took, and from the writings and traditions handed down by Zoroastrians from ancient times, he was much influenced by his notions of philosophy in his system of theology. He believed in the independent existence of a good principle and an evil principle eternally at war with one another, the good being destined ultimately to prevail by its own inherent and superior power. Light and darkness were made by him the emblems of these principles, and ultimately were regarded by the great majority of his followers as personalities. Zoroaster bore, in several respects, a resemblance to Mohammed in his personal character. Like the Arabian, he was sincere and earnest in his desire to sweep away the corruptions that prevailed, and especially the gross idolatry into which all, but especially the vulgar, had fallen. Like the

Arabian also, he allowed expediency to prevail where principle should have been his only guide. He did not rely upon the force of truth, and the conviction of duty on his own part in respect to it, any more than the reformer of Arabia ; but, anxious to enlist instruments of power and the prejudices of the vulgar in the accomplishment of what appeared to them to be a good purpose, they espoused principles, made pretensions, and employed agencies, incompatible with the grand objects they had originally in view—the love of mankind and the glory of the Supreme. It can scarcely be doubted by any one who studies the character and history of Mohammed, that he was at first a sincere reformer, that he put forth pretensions to divine authority under the influence of fanaticism and delusion, and that he ultimately became an impostor, feigning what he did not feel, professing what he did not believe, and imposing upon the credulity of his age. The course of Zoroaster was similar : he laid claim to a divine commission, which he might have supposed committed to him for a great purpose, but he eventually did not scruple to affirm what he knew to be false as to a divine inspiration. Even to the last Mohammed was as much deceived as a deceiver ; a love of truth, and the practice of imposture, were strangely blended in the man, in a manner and to a degree which it is difficult to believe, and which probably no man could have supposed possible, if so many instances of the like had not been authenticated. Zoroaster was one of these, and one of the most striking. He believed and lied like the prophet of Mecca ; he deceived and was self-deluded ; he desired to propagate truths, and hesitated not to resort to fiction and falsehood for their propagation and support. The scripture philosophy of the natural character of fallen man can alone account for these paradoxes—“The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked : who can know it ?”

Zoroaster succeeded in filling Persia with his doctrines, from whence they spread to surrounding countries ; and at this day, while his disciples in Persia are few, feeble, and persecuted, in British India they are increasing in numbers, intelligence, wealth, and influence, and are by far the most enlightened of its native population. The student of antiquity is aware that various persons went by the name of Zoroaster in different ages and nations, and hence the opinion that the name was originally assumed as expressive of a principle. Chaldaea, Bactria, Pamphylia, Armenia, as well as Persia, are each said to have had eminent persons bearing this name. In a very learned and remarkable work,

written by an Indian Parsee, Nurozjee Furdoonjee, translator and interpreter in her majesty's supreme court of Bombay, there is furnished the most extensive and complete evidence extant on this subject.* He proves that Zoroaster promulgated his philosophy and religion in Persia, in the sixth century before Christ, during the reign of Darius Hystaspes. This opinion had been pronounced by many authors† of eminence in Europe. He was born at the city of Rai, his father, named Poroshup, being a philosopher; his mother, Doghdo, being a person of singular excellence. The fables related of the parents of Zoroaster in Pehlvi works, in which he is termed Zurtoisht, Zerdusht, and Zerasusht, and which are also related of the great lawgiver himself, are as numerous and absurd as those which the followers of Mohammed believe concerning him and his family. The Parsees themselves are not agreed as to the precise date of the birth of their prophet, but believe in many miraculous stories of his early life. The governors of the province in which he was born, hearing that his birth was predicted by an angel, sought to destroy him, but were baffled by "the good principle," in ways as wonderful as they were various. This story is evidently founded upon either the history of the persecution of the infant Christ by Herod, or the Old Testament prophecy concerning that event. According to the Pehlvi books (written at different times by the disciples of Zoroaster), he remained in his native town until he was thirty years of age, when he proceeded to the capital, and ten years afterwards he sought the presence of the king, Darius Hystaspes, or Gushtasp, as he is called in those writings. This, according to the chronology of the Pehlvi works, was the thirtieth year of the monarch's reign, and the fortieth of the life of Zurtoisht. On that occasion the prophet bore with him to the foot of the throne the "Ader Boorzeen Meher," or sacred fire, and a cypress tree. The monarch having demanded his name and purpose, the so-called prophet replied:—"The Almighty God has sent me to you, and has appointed me a prophet to guide you in the path of truth, virtue, and piety. Learn the rites and doctrines of the religion of excellence, for without religion there cannot be any worth in a king. When the mighty monarch heard him speak of the excellent religion, he accepted from him the excellent rites and doctrines."

Such is the account given of the first inter-

* See *Tureekh-i-Zurtooshtee*; or, *Discussion on the Era of Zurtoosht or Zoroaster*.

† Sir William Ouseley, Hyde, Anquetil, Kluwer, Herder, Gorres, Von Hammer &c.

view between the prince and the assumed prophet, by Ferdousi, the poet, esteemed as the Homer of the Persians. The king, his prime-minister, and some of the *magi* or sages of the kingdom immediately embraced Zoroastrianism, notwithstanding much opposition from the gayer circles of courtiers. The prime-minister and chief counsellor of state became missionaries of the new faith, and travelling through Persia, backed by the king's authority, succeeded in winning the whole nation to their views. Efforts were made by the king and his chief ministers to extend to other countries a knowledge of this persuasion, and with success. According to ancient Persian authorities, Zoroaster produced sacred books called *Avasta*. These were written in the Zend language, the antiquity of which the Parsees maintain to be very great, so that it was an obsolete language in the reign of Darius Hystaspes. Philologists differ as to this claim to so great an antiquity, some maintaining that the Zend is derived from the Sanscrit, others ascribing to it an age as remote as that alleged by the Parsees. Mr. Framjee says that the language in which the Parsee scriptures are written, first originated in the province of Bactria. The Sanscrit, he maintains, "was first spoken in the country situated to the south of Bactria, or in the region bordering the north of Afghanistan, in the vicinity of the range of mountains known as the Hindoo Koosh, any similarity of these languages is accounted for by the proximity of the countries in which they originated, but it has never been satisfactorily proved that the Zend has been derived from the Sanscrit."

The celebrated Professor Bopp is of opinion that the Zend is a much more improved language than the Sanscrit, and is as old as the language of the Veda, which was composed three or four thousand years ago. This learned author, who has compiled a comparative grammar of several European and Asiatic classical languages on the basis of the Zend, says, "that the Zend displays that independence of the Sanscrit which Rask claims for it perhaps in too high a degree;" and adds that "we are unwilling to receive the Zend as a mere dialect of the Sanscrit, and to which we are compelled to ascribe an independent existence, resembling that of the Latin as compared with the Greek, or the old Northern with the Gothic. It in many respects reaches beyond, and is an improvement on the Sanscrit."

The books alleged by the Parsees to have been produced by their prophet were twenty-one in number; these are comprised under the general designation of *Avasta*. Most of these books are lost; their destruction is

attributed to invaders. Alexander the Great, who, in his Persian conquests, is said by the Parsees to have been animated by an idolatrous hatred to their purer faith as professed and practised by their fathers, destroyed such as he could find; and the Arab Mohammedans, still more deadly foes to the faith of Iran, prosecuted a more complete search, and accomplished a more extensive destruction. Only a few of the sacred books survived. They are thus described, and their claims to antiquity thus asserted, by Mr. Doshoy:—

“They are the Vandidad, Yagna, or Izashné, and Vispard. These three together are designated Vandidad Sade. Ogum Decha, Khurdah-Avasta, and the Yeshts, and fragments of Vistasp Noosk, Hadokht Noosk, and Damdad Noosk, are also to be found. The first, fourth, seventh, eighth, and ninth of these works are mostly filled with prescriptions for religious ceremonies and instructions for the practice of the Zoroastrian religion. They also contain injunctions for the adoration of the Almighty, and abound with moral precepts. The Izashné, Vispard, Khurdah-Avasta, and the Yeshts, are books of prayers.

“It may be mentioned here that the oldest manuscript copies now existing of the Vandidad and Izashné were deposited in the Royal Library at Copenhagen by Professor Erasmus Rask, who, in the year 1820, visited Bombay, and passed through Persia. The copy of the first-named work bears date the twenty-fourth day of the fourth month of the year of Yezdezard (692—i.e. A.D. 1323). The latter work is dated ten months later.

“In India the oldest manuscript copy of the Vandidad is to be found in the library of the late Mulla Feroze, High Priest of the Kudmi sect of the Parsees. Manuscript copies of these works are also deposited in the Imperial Library, Paris; in the University Library, Oxford; and in the British, as well as the East India Company's, Museum, London. Professor N. L. Westergaard, of Copenhagen, published an edition of the Vandidad Sade, in the Zend character, in the year 1854. Professor Spiegel has also published the Avasta in the original Zend text, together with the original Pehlvi translation, and is said to be preparing an English version of the same for the press.

“While enumerating the liturgical works of the Parsees now extant, it may be mentioned that it has been asserted by Richardson, Kennedy, Jones, and some other European authors, but without any satisfactory proof, that the Zend books of the Parsees were fabricated by the Parsee priests upon

their arrival in India in the seventh century. Other orientalists are of opinion that they must have been written after the days of Ardeshir Babekan, who restored the religion of Zoroaster in the third century. The former hypothesis is utterly gratuitous. It is altogether improbable and beyond belief that a persecuted race of men, driven from their native country, and suffering vicissitudes of no ordinary kind,—refugees, indeed, flying for their lives,—could have compiled such elaborate works as the Vandidad, Vispard, and Izashné.

“On this point we have the opinion of a learned German author. Adelung, in his *Mithridates*, says, ‘In the Zend some writings still exist which have been made known by Anquetil du Perron; and these, when the grounds on which their antiquity are maintained are duly considered, will be found to be the oldest works extant except those of the Hebrews and the poems of Homer.’ Professor Rask has also maintained that the Zend was a living language, and the spoken language of Media, and that the Vandidad, as it exists, was written before the time of Alexander the Great.

“Dr. Bird, in his discourse on oriental literature, read at the anniversary meeting of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, in the year 1844, declares that ‘Professor Rask supposes, with great probability, that it was the popular language at least of a great part of Iran, and not merely a sacred dialect introduced for religious purposes.’ Professor Heeren declares that ‘few remains of antiquity have undergone such attentive examination as the books of the Zend-Avasta. This criticism has, however, turned out to their advantage; the genuineness of the principal compositions of the ancient Persians has been demonstrated.’”

The early Mohammedan writers also testify to the existence of the Zend-Avasta.

The Parsees regard these writings as most sacred, and profess to regulate their lives by the lessons of purity they inculcate.

There appears to have been an ancient hostility of a religious nature between the ancient Persians and Greeks, the former hating the idolatry of the latter, while the Greeks regarded their antagonists as sceptical and profane. The classic writings of the Greeks throw little light on this subject; but some Persian authorities ascribe the great invasion of Greece by Xerxes to the hatred with which that monarch was inspired to idolatry. When Alexander subverted the Persian monarchy, Zoroastrianism began to decline, and continued to do so for a period of five and a half centuries, when a reformer

arose, to whom the Parsees give the glory of having restored the ancient faith. This social regenerator was Ardeshir Babekan, whose work of revival began A.D. 226. This zealous religionist was monarch at that date. He collected the books written in the ancient Zend language, and had them translated into Pehlvi, the language then spoken throughout Persia. Fire-temples were erected by him, and the ancient glory of Zoroastrianism restored. The results of this great moral and ecclesiastical change lasted for four hundred and sixteen years, and was then extinguished by the Arabs A.D. 641. At that period the Arabs swept over the land of Persia, as the locusts over the fields and forests, destroying all that was verdant and fair. The Caliph Omar decided the destiny of the Persian monarchy and religion together at the battle of Nabravand, fought at the village of that name, about fifty miles from the ancient city of Ecbatana. The forces arrayed in the conflict, which was sanguinary and fierce, do not correspond with the results. The Persian army, although usually computed at a higher number by Western writers, according to Parsee relation, numbered but fifteen thousand properly disciplined troops, and the Arab horsemen by whom they were overthrown were still fewer in number. The overthrow of the Persian army was complete, and the monarchy fell as it fled. Yesdezird, the forty-fifth king of the race of Kaimur, became a fugitive, wandering about in the meanest disguises over the realms he had ruled; he lingered ten years, pursued with implacable hatred by his conquerors, and was at last betrayed and basely slain by one to whom the secret of his rank was confided. This perfidy was perpetrated A.D. 651. The dynasty of the Sussarian kings of Persia perished with the life of Yezdezird. The work of Cyrus the Great—the *Kaikhoshr* of the Persians—was thus destroyed. The great empire his genius founded vanished before the scimitar and lance of the Arab. The name of Mohammed triumphed over that of Zoroaster, and the ancient glory of Persia disappeared for ever.

The Parsees delight to represent their religion as shining in the light of purity at the period of its overthrow, and the people of Persia as intelligent, prosperous, and happy beyond all nations at the juncture when the hoofs of the Arab horsemen trod out the sacred torches of religion and liberty. These representations are, however, partial, for there is evidence sufficient in the history of the early Christian Church to show how superstitious and idolatrous the first oriental missionaries found the land of the Parsees. Jew

and Gentile had often groaned under the persecutions of a proudly dominant and essentially idolatrous system; and the Arabs, if they had no images to provoke their iconoclastic propensities, beheld in the Persians, worshippers of nature in a manner as hateful to the monotheistic conquerors. To the Mohammedans the fire-temples were the symbols and sanctuaries of an abominable idolatry, and they therefore razed or desecrated them. The Parsees complain of the intolerance of these early ravagers; but while it cannot be denied that the present Parsees of India are enlightened in the doctrines of religious liberty, their forefathers in Persia were not strangers to intolerance in their own policy and practice. The bigotry of the conquerors was, however, savage; they believed themselves divinely commissioned, as undoubtedly they were providentially raised up, to punish idolaters, and they spared neither the idols nor their worshippers. It is not to be wondered at if the altars of the sun met with no more respect than those of Vishnu, and the temples of fire-worship were in Mohammedan esteem as obnoxious to destruction as those of Brahminical worship were at a later period. The Mohammedans were not nice in their casuistry as to degrees of idolatry; the sun, the elements, a hideous representation of Hindoo mythology, Greek painting or Latin sculpture in honour of Christian saints, all fared alike before those who held that all idols and the makers of them ought to perish together, for the honour of God, and in the name of Mohammed, his prophet. The soldiers of the caliphate of Bagdad were among the truest to their mission in this respect that ever went forth for the glory of their faith. They overran every province of Persia, and gave the Ghebers no rest until they accepted the Arab creed, or were made martyrs by the Arab sword. Many of the Persians perished, but generally they preferred recantation to martyrdom. One hundred thousand daily renounced their religion, which ought not to excite surprise; for if they were sincere in the monotheistic creed which modern Parsees are so anxious to ascribe to them, they would find it in Mohammedanism more simply and rationally than in their own professed monotheism but virtual pantheism. It required a shorter time than ever before or since sufficed to change the faith of a nation, to overthrow that of Zoroastrianism in Persia. In a few years after the conquest the professors of the ancient faith were a despised and persecuted remnant, insignificant in numbers, and such they have continued to this day. Eastern writers have described the moral results of the change according to their

sympathies with the creeds of the victors or the vanquished, and European writers have given little attention to that subject. Weighing the evidence impartially, the ancient Persian professors of the religion of Zoroaster were more moral than the present Persians, many of whom are nominally Mohammedans, but actually atheists. It is certain that since the power of Islam prevailed Persia has retrograded both socially and in her relation to other nations. She wore once the glory and splendour of empire, and nations bowed the neck to her yoke; now none so poor as to do her homage.

During the first fiery career of the Mohammedan conquerors, many of the Persians fled to the mountains of Khorassan. Here for a century they found freedom to adore God in the elements, in a fitting theatre for their peculiar worship. But at last the avenging sword of the Mohammedan sought their blood even in the defiles and ravines of that rocky and precipitous realm. The Persian settlements were dispersed after a feeble resistance, and the fugitives sought various sanctuaries of liberty and peace. A considerable number found a retreat in the Island of Ormuz, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Even to this island retirement they were pursued; the ships and scimitars of the Arabs soon appeared, and the persecuted wanderers became fugitives once more. They resolved to seek an asylum beyond the reach of their conquerors, and considered India as a likely country to afford it. The emigration of this little company has a better authenticated history than that of other sections of those who became exiles for their religion and freedom, but the records preserved of any of the bands of fugitives are imperfect. Learned Persians had found honoured residence in India, as eminent Hindoos had in Persia from very remote ages; for, as has been proved in other chapters of this history, the intercourse between the two countries had been very great from the remotest antiquity. It would appear from recent investigations that from the very beginning of the Arab incursions, various bodies of Persians sought refuge in Hindostan. The traditions and stories of the exiles of Ormuz, and their various wanderings before they found a final settlement, are very numerous, and often contradictory, as they exist among the Parsees of India. A learned Parsee, named Behram, who lived at Nowsari, a town near Surat, at the close of the sixteenth century, wrote a work entitled *Kissah-i-Saryan*, which professed to be a compilation of the traditions which existed in Western India at that period, respecting the immigrants from Ormuz and

other places in Persia. The first place at which any body of the refugees sought a home, was, according to Behram, Diu or Diew, a small island in the Gulf of Cambay, to the southwest of the peninsula of Kattywar. This was a very appropriate place for their purpose. Briggs, in his work entitled *Cities of Guzzarashtra*, as quoted by Mr. Framjee, thus describes it:—"Diu or Diew was one of the earliest seats of the Portuguese power in India. It was regarded by Albuquerque as an excellent port for a settlement, one that would secure, from its advantages, both marine and terrine, the permanency of the country's influence in Hindostan. After several fruitless efforts, the infamous Nugna d'Acunha succeeded, in 1535, in obtaining possession of Diew, and within a very short time rendered it almost impregnable to the assaults of the native powers. . . . History asserts that the trade of Surat was destroyed to encourage commerce at Diew; and Osorio makes mention of the splendour of its buildings and the greatness of its maritime powers. Upon Surat recovering itself, Diew declined, and is now said to be a vast pile of dilapidation."

At this place the fugitives disembarked, and found a shelter for nineteen years. The reason of their departure at that period, as given by Behram, is a most strange one:—"An aged *dastoor* (high priest), reading the tablets of the stars, made an augury that it behoved them to depart from that place and seek out another abode; all rejoiced at his words, and sailed swiftly for Gujerat." Incredible as it might seem that a people, who for so long had found an undisturbed shelter, should on no better grounds forsake it, a knowledge of the superstitions of the Parsees, both of antiquity and of the present day, renders it explicable. The old Persians were famous augurs, soothsayers, and astrologers: their wise men, or magi, were held to be eminent as sages in proportion to their knowledge of ethics and the heavenly bodies. Astronomy was studied, but the heavens were chiefly contemplated for astrological purposes. The present race of Parsees, both in Persia and India, are influenced by similar delusions, and in their sacred services, and social ceremonies, astrology performs an important part. The exiled inhabitants of Diew departed, encountering fierce storms in their course. During their perils almost all hope was abandoned, and the Parsee interest was in imminent danger of being extinguished. A prayer was offered by the storm-tossed exiles, composed on the spot by their *dastoor*, which exhibits them in a more favourable light than the astrological auguries which sent them on

the expedition. As the strictures upon the high pretensions of Parsees to purity of creed and practice in the foregoing pages may be regarded as somewhat stern, it will be considered by the reader as impartial and just to give this prayer, which is, moreover, in itself, calculated deeply to interest those who trace the providence of God in Indian history, not in one race, or creed, or power, but in every element of the great social mass ever upheaving in the peninsula, like the ocean that surges against its coasts. "O wise God, come to our assistance in this jeopardy; and we pray to Thee to deliver us from the impending danger. O glorious God, we beseech Thee to gladden our hearts by removing those difficulties with which we are now surrounded. On Thy goodness, O Lord, we fully depend, and hope that the storm which has overtaken us will soon be over through Thy Divine Grace. As long as we have hopes of Thy aid, O God, we tremble not at this calamity. We have implicit faith in Thee, as the hearer of those who cry to Thee. Deliver us, therefore, O Merciful Providence, from this trouble, and lead us to the right path, that we may escape from this sea to the shores of India, and we promise, O Lord, to kindle on high the flame sacred to Thee in grateful remembrance of Thy kindness and protection." The storm abated, and the little fleet was wafted in security to Saujan, about twenty miles south of Damaun, at which place they disembarked. This is believed to have occurred A.D. 717. The territory of Saujan was then governed by a prince named Jadao Rana, a man of reputed wisdom and liberality. A high priest was sent, with the usual oriental gifts when it is necessary to conciliate power and bespeak favour from princes. The priest seems to have had some diplomatic qualities, and gained a ready and impartial audience. According to the Parsee traditions, the prince was somewhat awed by the martial bearing of the immigrants; which, judging of the easy conquest made by the Arabs, need not have caused him any apprehensions. Fearing that the strangers might ultimately, and perhaps speedily, constitute an *imperium in imperio*, or haply overthrow his throne, he demanded clear and specific statements of the affairs, objects, and history of those who sought so abruptly to become citizens of his dominion. The Parsees, well aware of the faith and customs of the Hindoos, and masters of the language of that part of India, were at no loss to provide a reply likely to interest the governor or ruler whose protection they sought. He was convinced of their merits, and his own obligations of hospitality. He required an explicit state-

ment of their religious opinions. This the dastoors, or priests, professed to provide; but as our Parsee fellow-subjects in India are never deficient in *finesse*, so it appears that their forefathers were not deficient in this quality, for an abstract of Parsee faith was given more cunning than correct. The object was not to offend their expected benefactor by too startling an *exposé* of a creed so much at variance with their own; and to effect this object they affected a coincidence of opinion and custom which was not real. It is not unlikely, however, that some conformity to Hindoo practice and opinion had been conceded or acquired at Diu, and so far the representations made by the dastoors may have been more honest than otherwise they would appear. Modern Parsees deny the validity of the doctrines and practices contained in the *Schlokes*, put forward by their forefathers on this occasion as an *exposé* of Zoroastrianism, and maintain that their ancestors yielded to a great temptation to secure a footing in the land of hope. The following *schlokes*, or distiches, were put forth, however, as a full exposition to the Hindoo prince, of the religion of his visitors:—

1. We are worshippers of Hormuzd (the supreme), and of the sun, and the four elements.
2. We observe silence while bathing, praying, making offerings to fire, and eating.
3. We use incense, perfumes, and flowers, in our religious ceremonies.
4. We are worshippers of the cow.
5. We wear the sacred garment, the *sadra*, or shirt, the *kusti*, or cincture, for the loins, and the cap of two folds.
6. We rejoice in songs and instruments of music, on the occasion of our marriages.
7. We ornament and perfume our wives.
8. We are enjoined to be liberal in our charities, and especially in excavating tanks and wells.
9. We are enjoined to extend our sympathies towards males as well as females.
10. We practise ablutions with *gaomutra*, one of the products of the cow.
11. We wear the sacred girdle when praying and eating.
12. We feed the sacred flame with incense.
13. We practice devotion five times a day.
14. We are careful observers of conjugal fidelity and purity.
15. We perform annual religious ceremonies on behalf of our ancestors.
16. We place great restraints upon our women after their confinements.

Jadao Rana was well pleased with this form of faith, and gave the petitioners authority to reside in the city on certain conditions. These were, that they should adopt the language of the country, giving up the use of their own; that they should dress their women in the Hindoo fashion, perform their marriage ceremonies by night, like the Hindoos, and wear no armour. The Parsees reluctantly con-

sented to these terms, which were only accepted as a sad alternative to being sent forth again vagrants upon the deep. They were permitted to select a tract of waste land in the neighbourhood of Saujan.

The industry and perseverance of the Parsees—which qualities then, as now, characterized the race—turned the desert into a garden; and they performed the vow to God made by them on board ship, “to kindle on high the flame sacred to him.” They erected a grand fire temple, to which purpose the rajah munificently contributed. The structure was completed, according to the chronology of Parsee tradition, A.D. 721.

The colony increased, and sent off outshoots to Surat, Nowsari, Broach, Variao, Ukleser, and Cambay. Their brethren in Persia, who survived under terrible persecution or concealed their faith, found their way in small companies to most or all of these places. For a period of five hundred years but few incidents occurred in the history of the Parsees in India; nevertheless, their influence increased, and they lived in harmony with the people of the land. Their employments were chiefly agricultural, and they avoided all meddling with political affairs.

Their old enemies, the Mohammedans, however, still crossed their path, and pursued them with a vengeance which seemed destined to be successful. As shown in the chapters devoted to the history of the Mohammedans in India, those fierce marauders cut their way into Hindostan, blood and triumph marking their career. For a long time the Parsees escaped any especial exposure to their wrath or their power, but step by step the squadrons of the common enemy pressed onwards, and Hindoo and Parsee alike bowed to the thralldom. The conduct of the Parsees who were exposed to these troubles was passive and submissive generally. Early in the sixteenth century Sultan Mohammed Begada, of Ahmedabad, collected a large army under a general of reputation, named Aluf Khan, and invaded the territory of Saujan. The Hindoo rajah, unable to cope with the force sent against him, summoned the Parsee elders to his presence, reminded them of the favours lavished upon their ancestors by his, and appealed to their justice, gratitude, and honour for what succour they could render in that hour of danger. To the address of the rajah they are represented as having replied, “Fear not, O prince, on account of this army: all of us are ready to scatter the heads of thy foes, and will fight as long as a drop of blood remains in our veins. In battle we never give way; not one man of us will turn his back, though a millstone were dashed at

his head.” The past conduct of the Persians before the Arabs did not justify so magniloquent a speech, but their descendants at Saujan were prepared to make good on their own part what they vowed. Fourteen hundred Parsees, under the command of Ardeshir, a man eminent among them, joined the army of the rajah. The enemy approached the vicinity of Saujan with a force of thirty thousand men, chiefly cavalry, confident in their numbers, contemptuous of their foes, and proud of a long line of deeds of chivalry and daring, which had rendered terrible the Mohammedan name. The Hindoos marshalled in much inferior numbers and confidence; they, however, fought well, sending showers of arrows upon the enemy, in which their superiority was well asserted. The Mohammedans sought closer combat, but were received by the javelin men of the Hindoos fiercely and effectively; the usual irresistible charge of Mohammedan cavalry, however, at length overthrew bowmen and javelin men together, and the Hindoos broke away, retiring in disorder from the field. The Parsees were reserved to cover a retreat; and like the Irish Brigade in the French service at the memorable battle of Fontenoy, they rendered a more effective service; they charged the victors with such heroic impetuosity, that their line, already too extended, was broken, a panic ensued, under the impression that the rajah was performing a grand stratagem in the previous retirement of his force. Aluf Khan, with his cavalry, galloped from the field, while Ardeshir and his Parsee auxiliaries cut up the infantry, but few of whom escaped, and these only in utter rout. The movement of Ardeshir, and its execution by his devoted band of followers, were worthy of the reputation of Persian arms when, in the great days of that empire, its name and its glory filled all Asia.

The gratitude of the rajah placed the Parsee colonists in a position of great honour and esteem. None seemed to envy, all to admire them. But this happy state of things was not permitted to endure. Mohammed was enraged, and, with the characteristic pertinacity in war of his race, renewed hostilities. Aluf Khan organized a larger army, and advancing against Saujan, occupied the same battle-ground. The rajah was dismayed, but the heroic alacrity with which his Parsee subjects flew to arms reassured him, notwithstanding the overwhelming superiority of the enemy in numbers and oriental appurtenances of war. Ardeshir was sent for to the rajah's presence, and consulted. His opinion and counsel were against timidity, avowing that the safety of the rajah and his dominions lay

in energy, promptitude, and dauntless resolution. He is recorded as having concluded his address in the following terms, which were more intrepid than prophetic:—"O prince, the enemy has appeared in greater numbers than before. They are a hundred to our one, but behold our courage! We will either yield our lives, or take those of our foes; and in this resolve may God befriend us, since he always removes our difficulties." The rajah and his army went out against the foe, and a sanguinary conflict ensued. The Hindoo prince was unfortunately slain, and his men wavered, and gradually gave way. Ardeshir and his Parsees, as in the previous battle, charged the enemy with terrible fury. The Mohammedan general was prepared for this, and offered a resistance as desperate, led by a chief of great prowess. This redoubtable leader and Ardeshir encountered each other hand-to-hand, and the Mohammedan was slain. Aluf Khan, perceiving that fortune again favoured the Hindoo cause, chiefly in the person of Ardeshir, charged down upon him with the main portion of his force, and was received with unshaken fortitude. During this crisis a dart pierced the breast of Ardeshir, and he fell dead from his horse. The Parsees appear to have yielded to the panic common to oriental nations when their chief falls—they fled from the field. The enemy entered Saujan, dealing bloody retribution around them. The dynasty of the rajah, as well as his life, terminated on that day, and the Parsees of Saujan, like those of Iran, bowed the neck to victors the same in creed, and in enmity to them.

The Parsees who were not slain or subjected to slavery fled to the mountains of Baharout, saving nothing but their lives and the sacred fire. Saujan was never again occupied by them. Not one Parsee is to be found there even now, nor is there any memento of their influence and distinguished career at that spot, once so happy a refuge for them, except a *dokhma*, or tower of silence, for the dead. It would appear that the mountain fastnesses afforded a defence, or the enemy was too much occupied to pursue them, or deemed them unworthy of pursuit, for they continued in their mountain refuge for about twelve years unmolested.

A small company of Parsees existed at Bandsa at that time, with whom a correspondence was opened, and the fugitives moved down from their highlands, and found hospitality among their brethren. Thither of course the sacred fire was brought; for the more a superstition is persecuted, the more its devotees cling to it, unless—as in the case

of the Parsees in Persia upon the conquest by the Arabs—death is made the alternative of conformity; and the latter is chosen once for all, at least in outward adhesion.

At Nowsari the Parsees had become somewhat numerous and rich; to that place the sacred fire was soon after removed, and ultimately to Oodwarra, thirty-two miles from Surat, where it still is, within the oldest and most venerated fire-temple in India.

Previous to the overthrow of the Rajah of Saujan many Parsees emigrated from that place to other cities of Gujerat, and almost all that is now known of them is that they peacefully prosecuted the pursuits of industry, contributing to the social importance and prosperity of those cities. Their lives were spent too tranquilly for many records of them to remain such as constitute the more exciting pages of history. Some few obstructions, however, to this easy current of their affairs were presented, and these were generally removed by passiveness on the part of the aggrieved. Sometimes, however, the ancient warlike spirit of their race burst upwards, as the fervent fires of their altars. An instance of some note occurred at Variao, near Surat, when it was under the sovereignty of the Rajah of Ruttunpore. This potentate attempted a heavy exaction in the form of an especial tax from his Parsee subjects, their reputed riches having tempted his rapacity. After petitions and remonstrances had proved unavailing, the objects of his plunder obstinately refused the tribute, and the rajah sent what the Parsees call an army, but which numerically did not deserve the name, to enforce his demands. An engagement ensued, in which, notwithstanding that their numbers were extremely disproportionate, victory was won by the Parsees. The rajah did not attempt a second time to accomplish his purpose by force, but resorted to an act of perfidy characteristic of his age, country, and creed. He surprised the Parsees at a grand marriage festival in Variao, and while they were with their wives and children enjoying themselves, all were put to the sword—not a woman or even a child was permitted to escape. The same sanguinary barbarity which was shown at Cawnpore, and elsewhere in India ages after, was practised on the Variaoan Parsees. To this day at Surat the members of the community celebrate certain religious rites in honour of those who perished by the cowardice and bloody treachery of the Hindoos of Ruttunpore.

It was not until after their flight from Saujan that the Parsees acquired much wealth or influence in the west of India generally. At Nowsari and Surat they

became gradually rich and influential. The nawabs of the latter city, although Mohammedans, were not unfriendly to the refugees, and frequently conferred upon them small situations of trust and honour. From time to time, there, and in other parts of India, the more enlightened Mohammedans were more favourable to the Parsees than to the Hindoos; but this was very seldom the case, except among such as were not reputed, or were not at heart zealous for the religion of the Prophet. By the more devout adherents of Islam the Parsees were regarded as the most dangerous of idolaters, because their idolatry was subtle and refined. There was no fear of the faithful being proselytized by the monstrous idolatries of Hindooism; but there was something insinuating and ethereal in the Zoroastrian system, which had a tendency to captivate alike the sentimental and philosophical.

On a few occasions even the Great Mogul condescended to treat with some consideration distinguished members of the Parsee community. About the middle of the eighteenth century a jaghire in the zillah of Surat was conferred by the Mogul upon one Nek Saut Khan, for services rendered by him at the court of Agra in mechanical and mathematical philosophy. This enlightened Parsee was instrumental in gaining concessions and privileges on behalf of the English at Surat. But throughout the long period of Mohammedan oppression acts of kindness on the part of their rulers to the Parsees were rare. The orthodox Mohammedans followed them with ruthless persecution, unless such was restrained or mitigated by political considerations, as one champion of Islam endeavoured to plunder or subdue the territory of another. Sometimes this persecuted race purchased immunity from torment, and at other times the general toleration, rendered necessary by the overwhelming number of dissidents from Islam, as a matter of course comprised the Parsees, comparatively so insignificant in numbers. To the good faith, generosity, or toleration of the Mohammedans, the Parsee community owed little in any age, and to this day it is scoffed at and hated by them everywhere in India.

The prosperity of the settlers at Nowsari continued down to a late period. In the sixteenth century it seems to have reached its acme, but for a long time the community there has been on the decline, and is now composed of priests. From this sacerdotal colony the Parsees at Bombay and other places derive their ministers.

The settlement at Surat maintained a respectable position up to the time of the arrival

of the Dutch, from which period it rapidly rose in wealth. The Dutch, more liberal and politic in religious matters than the Portuguese, fostered the descendants of the Parsee colonists. The broker of the Dutch factory at Surat, when that nation gained a firm footing there, was a Parsee, and his influence with the nawab was so great, that the aims of the Dutch were much facilitated by him. Indeed, all the European commercial adventurers in India found it necessary, or for their interest generally, to employ Parsee brokers. This has arisen from the energy in trade displayed by the latter, their superior practical intelligence, their freedom from bigotry, and their rejection of caste and all its train of inconveniences socially and commercially. These quick-witted Parsee brokers have generally contrived to enrich themselves; and many Europeans have believed that the wealth thus acquired would not always have been gained had the agents been true to their principals. Dishonest Europeans have so often found themselves outwitted in commercial competition by Parsee agents or rivals, that they have very naturally propagated impressions concerning them far from favourable. There are, however, some grounds for the opinion that energy and integrity are not the only qualities which mark the Parsees as European agents, and that a capacity for intrigue where their own commercial interests are concerned is as prominent a feature in their character as almost any other.

It was at Surat that the intelligence, activity, and business talents of the Parsees—surpassing any degree in which the Mussulmen and Hindoos are ever found to possess these qualities—first won pre-eminent distinction. When Bombay rose to importance, the capital and energies of the Parsees were, to a great extent, transferred to the new and more powerful centre of operations. Indeed, from the commencement of the English power in India, this people rose rapidly in fortune and influence, the more tolerant spirit of the British giving them a fairer scope for their abilities than they had ever before possessed.

It is difficult to fix the date of the arrival of the Parsees at Bombay, as this people, like the Hindoos, are strangely neglectful of historical records, relying upon tradition, which, as in all other cases, proves of very uncertain value. It is likely that the Parsees settled in the Island of Bombay previous to the cession of it to Charles II., as the dowry of his wife, the Princess of Portugal, 1668. It is supposed that English merchants at Surat induced the Parsees of that place to go to Bombay as their agents, before yet the power of England was established there. Mr. Do-

sabbhoj Framjee supposes that there was only a single Parsee there at the time, when the English assumed authority, or if more than one the number was very small. He adopts the following characteristic argument in proof of his opinion. Dr. Fryer, who visited Bombay in 1671, says—"On the other side of the great inlet to the sea, is a point abutting against Old Woman's Island, and is called Malabar Hill, a rocky woody mountain, yet *on the top of all is a Parsee tomb lately raised.*" The first work of the Parsees, wherever they settle, is to construct a tomb (*dokhama*) or tower of silence for the reception of the dead; and the statement of Dr. Fryer, that the tomb in question had been recently raised, is a sufficient proof that no considerable number of the Parsees could have settled in that island prior to its cession to the British.

"So far as we have been able to ascertain from tradition among the Parsees themselves, Dorabjee Nanabhoj was the first and only individual of the race, who resided with his family in Bombay when the island was under the sway of the Portuguese government. He was employed by the authorities in transacting miscellaneous business with the natives of the place. When the island was ceded to England, he was appointed to a similar office; and, as the new rulers were ignorant of the place, manners, language, and customs of the people, he was frequently consulted by them on affairs of state. We may also infer that at the time of Dr. Fryer's visit to Bombay, the number of Parsees living there must have been very insignificant, as that gentleman makes no mention of them in the description given by him of the inhabitants then comprising the population of the island."

Dorabjee Nafabhoj was a very remarkable man, and rendered signal services to the British; Dosabhoj Framjee thus refers to those of his son:—"In 1692, a severe plague broke out in Bombay, when most of the Europeans of the place, and soldiers in the garrison, fell victims to the disease. Taking advantage of this unfortunate circumstance, the Seedees of Jungeera, who were then a powerful and independent people, invaded Bombay with a large force, and took possession of the island and Dungerry fort (now called Fort George). Dorabjee's son Rustom Dorab, who had succeeded his father in the service of the Bombay government, undertook to drive away the Seedees from the place. He raised a militia from among the fishermen of the population, fought the invaders and defeated them. He then dispatched messengers with the news of the victory to the chief of the English factory at Surat, who soon

after arrived in Bombay and took charge of the government. For these invaluable services Rustom Dorab was honoured with the hereditary title of Patel (lord or chief) of Bombay. He was also placed at the head of the fisherman caste, and invested with the authority of adjudicating civil and religious disputes among them, an authority which, up to this day, is enjoyed by his descendants. On the death of Rustom Dorab, his son, Cowasjee Rustomjee, was invested with a dress of honour by Governor Hornby. As in those days the government found much difficulty in providing tonnage for transporting troops from one place to another, Cowasjee Patel was entrusted with the provision of boats and tonnage for the public service, which duty he performed very creditably. When the British took Tannah from the Mahrattas, Cowasjee Patel was appointed to an important post in the place, where he colonized a number of Parsees, and built places of worship and other charitable buildings for their use from his own purse. On the death of Cowasjee, his son, Sorabjee, succeeded to the title of "Patel." The present head of this family, Hirjeebhoj Rustomjee Cowasjee Patel, was until lately one of the most extensive merchants in China, and is at present in England."

Among the early Parsee settlers at Bombay, after the British became the rulers, were several men eminent for their virtues and intelligence, who exercised no small influence upon the progress of the settlement and the development of English power. One Sawjee, a shipwright, was of this number; he left Surat, where he was born, to fill a situation in the service of Mr. Dudley, the company's ship builder. Sawjee's skill as a ship builder gave satisfaction to the East India Company, and the European community at Bombay. He acquired a preponderating influence with the government and merchants. Under his auspices, the dockyard at Bombay was founded, 1735. It is a singular circumstance that ever since, the situation of master of the dockyard has been filled by a descendant of Sawjee.

Many Parsees that are now, in 1858, prosperous merchants in India—more especially in Bombay—are the descendants of the first settlers in that island, when under the protection of the British flag they flocked thither secure of liberty, toleration, and protection. It was not until a much later period that the Parsees made way in Bengal and Madras. In eastern and southern as well as western India they rose in the social scale, with the gradual development of European power. In north-eastern India they never gained a

footing, up to the time of the arrival of the English; after that period they gradually found their way thither. As British conquest spread, a way was opened still wider for their commercial enterprise, and at last the Parsee was found in every part of India, in the newest conquests as well as in the old cities of the presidencies. The present position of the Parsees affords a striking illustration of the uncertain glories of states and peoples. The whole Parsee community in India, Persia, and adjoining countries, probably does not exceed one hundred and fifty thousand souls. Persia is no longer the centre of their influence, religious, social, or political: they are there a persecuted remnant, trodden down by the Mohammedan tyrant. In India, and especially in Bombay, they are to be found in greatest numbers, and there alone have they influence—power, strictly speaking, they do not possess anywhere. Those who remained in Persia after the dispersion suffered horribly from every ruthless robber whose hosts overflowed the land. Arab, Affghan, or Mogul, which ever ruled where the Parsee kindled his sacred pile, alike inflicted indignity and oppression; and now, so genial has been the effect of British power to the Parsees, those who live in India are the teachers and succourers of those who still linger in their father-land. Seldom in the world's history has a race, once so mighty, fallen so low as the Ghebers of Persia. One of their brethren in India has, as eloquently as sadly, written when he thus refers to it:—“The instability of human grandeur receives no more striking illustration than is afforded by the overthrow of the great monarchies which ruled in Asia before the Christian era. Inheritors of the old glories of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires, the Persian power spread its dominion from the isles of Greece to the table-land of Thibet—from the Caspian Sea to the confines of India. The ruins of ancient Persepolis tell of the splendour and the power of the Magian princes. The remains of mighty causeways, cut step by step on the Bakhtyari Mountains, which divide the valley of the Tigris from the plains of Ispahan, and form the natural defence on that side of the modern Moslem empire of Persia, tell of the passage of myriads of busy feet, and the march of heavy bodies of soldiery in ancient times, where now even the caravanserai dare not pass, and the wild robbers of the hills gain a precarious subsistence by plundering the plains, and by tending cattle, which form their only wealth. In short, here is a country, once the most powerful, groaning under the fanatic and despotic rulers, while the few descendants of that proud

ancient race are sunk into unnoticeable insignificance. All this, we again say, forcibly reminds us of the instability of human grandeur. To a Parsee, however, the decline and fall of the old Persian empire is a subject of peculiar interest. That strong feeling of association which binds to the present the memory of the past stages of a man's private existence—that same feeling presents vividly before our minds the memory of what our forefathers were. Our race in India enjoys all the blessings of an enlightened and liberal government—and our only wish is that our brethren in the Persian soil may also be as happy and fortunate as ourselves.”

It is difficult to compute the number of Parsees, but two-thirds of their whole number are estimated by themselves to be located in the Bombay presidency. Their increase there is rapid. Until of late years the Parsee population of Surat exceeded that of Bombay, but at present the latter city has a much larger population. Their natural increase is in a much greater ratio than that of any other race in India. They are a very united people, although there are two sects, the Shemsos and Kadmis; but their difference not involving any article of faith, or test of communion, but simply the date upon which a certain feast should be observed, they are not likely to quarrel, or hold divided interests.

There is considerable dissatisfaction with the state of the law in India as regards their community. They are anxious to transmit property in their families on a principle naturally more equitable than that which British law recognises. The property of the Parsees, real and personal, is divided equally among their children, or in the proportion of one part to a daughter, and two to a son. They cannot be brought to comprehend the justice or the advantage of the law of primogeniture. In certain cases, however, this law has been applied and enforced, and certain covetous members of the community have insisted on their title as heir-at-law, according to British custom. This has excited intense anxiety and dissatisfaction among the whole people, and they demand that their own custom, from time immemorial, shall be law to them. The government which has favoured more powerful and less loyal religious bodies has not, in the opinion of some of this people, met them with fairness and frankness in this respect. There has been a reluctance on the part of the English authorities to depart from the aristocratic *régime* of England on the subject of inheritance. Still, the concession of some relief was necessary, and in 1837, an act was passed by the government of India (No. IX.),

which complied with the wishes of the Parsees to the following extent:—

I.—It is hereby enacted, that from the first day of June, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, all immovable property situate within the jurisdiction of any of the courts established by his majesty's charter, shall, as far as regards the transmission of such property on the death and intestacy of any Parsee having a beneficial interest in the same, or by last will of any such Parsee, be taken to be and to have been of the nature of chattels real, and not of freehold.

II.—Provided always, that in any suit at law or in equity which shall be brought for the recovery of such immovable property as is aforesaid, no advantage shall be taken of any defect of title arising out of the transmission of such property upon the death and intestacy of any Parsee having a beneficial interest in the same, or by the last will of any such Parsee, if such transmission took place before the said first day of June, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, and if such transmission were, either according to the rules which regulate the transmission of freehold property, or else took place with the acquiescence of all persons to whom any interest in that property would, according to the rules which regulate the transmission of chattels real, have accrued upon the death of such Parsee.

W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Secretary to the Government of India.

When it is recollected that the wealth of the Parsees is out of all proportion to their numbers, the community being probably the richest in the world, taking such proportion into account, the importance of this subject to the government of India and to British interests is obvious. It would be an absurd policy to alienate a brave and loyal people, when all the other religious parties, even in the midst of their sedition, have had their feelings, principles, and customs, considered in the administration of the law.

The Parsees were grateful for the act of 1837, but it did not fully meet the case; the heir of the intestate Parsee might still claim the landed estates, if disposed to violate the acknowledged principles of his religion and the sacred customs of his people. The difficulty in the way of conceding relief on other points arose from the want of a proper standard among the Parsees themselves. Disputes among the Hindoos, and also among the Mohammedans, have been decided by judgments according to their sacred books, interpreted by their Shastrees and Kazees; but the Parsee books do not relate to such matters as would enable an English judge to adjudicate according to them.

One of the demands of the Parsees involves great difficulty in the administration of justice by an English court: it is, that the right of adoption where there is no child shall be recognised, so that property may descend to the person so adopted. The refusal of the English government to recognise this right

on the part of both Mohammedans and Hindoos was one of the causes of the great outbreak of 1858. The Parsees feel the operation of English law in this particular as keenly as the votaries of other Eastern creeds, and hence very much dissatisfaction exists.

Very few of the Parsees seek, or obtain unsought, posts of honour under government, but they are very sensible of any acknowledgments of their loyalty. Several of the richest and most benevolent men in India, or probably in the world, are Parsees, who co-operate with the government in doing good to the people. Among them Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy stands conspicuous. Queen Victoria has raised him to the rank of a baronet, and conferred upon him other honours. Among them was a gold medal set in diamonds bearing an effigy of her majesty, and on the reverse the inscription, "To Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Bart., from the British Government, in honour of his munificence and his patriotism." Seldom has any British subject received an honour so dignified or so deserved. Notwithstanding the Parsee customs, Sir Jamsetjee has set apart ten thousand pounds per annum in land for supporting the dignity of the baronetcy on the part of his successor. The shield of this renowned person is one of the strangest ever known to heraldry. The following is its description, as given by an Indian periodical, which evidently published it with authority. It will no doubt interest the British reader:—"Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy's 'coat-of-arms' consists of a handsome shield in the form of the shields used by the Knights of St. John at the defence of Malta, beautifully emblazoned by scrolls of gold. At the lower part of the shield is a landscape scene in India, intended to represent a part of the Island of Bombay, with the Islands of Salsette and Elephanta in the distance. The sun is seen rising from behind Salsette, to denote industry, and, in diffusing its light and heat, displaying liberality. The upper part of the shield has a white ground, to denote integrity and purity, on which are placed two bees, representing industry and perseverance. The shield is surmounted by a crest, consisting of a beautiful peacock, denoting wealth, grandeur, and magnificence, and in its mouth is placed an ear of paddy, denoting beneficence. Below the shield is a white pennant folded, on which is inscribed the words 'Industry and Liberality,' which is Sir Jamsetjee's motto."

There is no class of the natives of India which engages itself so extensively in, or hopes to effect so much by, periodical literature, as that of the Parsees. They are not

only actively engaged on the native press, but also on the English press of India, many being excellent English scholars. The manager of the *Bombay Times*, himself a Parsee (as already mentioned), makes the following statement on this subject:—"There are fourteen newspapers published in the Gujarati language, which are mostly circulated among the Parsees. Three of them are published daily, one tri-weekly, three bi-weekly, six weekly, and one fortnightly. The *Rast-Goftar*, a weekly newspaper, is the most influential and best of all. It enjoys the largest circulation, is conducted by the most talented men of the community, and always represents the sentiments and feelings of the educated, liberal-minded, and enlightened portion of the population. It deals, we may say, without fear of contradiction, with public men and public measures in a pungency of style and independence of tone at least equal to that of its English brethren on the spot. To this paper is undeniably due the credit of having greatly contributed, by the force and weight of its vigorous articles, to the abolition of many superstitions practised among the natives, and the introduction of reforms calculated to raise the moral and social condition of the people to a higher scale of civilization. The daily papers are also creditably conducted. Of the bi-weekly journals the *Chabook* is the

best, and is one of the most spirited native journals in India. The *Suttaya Prakash*, a journal circulated chiefly among the Hindoo portion of the population of Bombay, is a very clever paper indeed, and is expected to do that service to the Hindoos which the *Rast-Goftar* has done to the Parsees."

These details of the present condition, temper, and prospects of this strangely interesting race are given with more propriety in this chapter than if reserved to the relation of events under the general history of the English in India, in detailing which it will be more important to dwell upon the great events of the cabinet and the field, which fill up the ever-memorable story of English conquest and English rule. Whatever be the future history of the Parsee in the land of his origin, he is destined to exercise a great and an increasing influence upon the land of his adoption; and not only upon it, but through it, and more especially through its commerce, upon the proud and mighty empire in which it is absorbed. Happy will it be if at the same time this interesting people shall learn that neither in the fire-temple nor in the luminary of day is God appropriately worshipped; but while he is known as "the true Light, that lighteth every man who cometh into the world," "he is a Spirit," and is to be "worshipped in spirit and in truth."

CHAPTER XLV.

RUSSIAN INTERCOURSE, COMMERCIAL AND POLITICAL, WITH EASTERN ASIA.

HISTORIANS generally place the Portuguese first amongst the European nations which have, since the fifteenth century, for purposes of commerce or empire, penetrated to India, and the Asiatic regions and islands east of it. The Dutch have accorded to them, almost by common consent, the second place in the order of time for such adventurers. England is represented as afterwards pursuing the same objects; but, as will be shown in another chapter, the English preceded the Dutch in oriental adventure.

It is not generally known that Russia claims to have been the first European nation that has opened a commerce with China, and she professes to have traded with the people of Thibet and Northern India long before the Portuguese made any attempt whatever to accomplish such an object. Russia is a boastful nation; and the *éclat* won by the Portuguese, Dutch, and British, in their Eastern

darings and doings, roused the jealousy and vanity of the Muscovites to put forth claims to priority of Eastern commerce. The intercourse of Russia with India was never worthy of notice, and was so indirect, that it can scarcely be said she ever had any commercial connection whatever with its people. But her intercourse with China assumed a regular character before that of any other European power, and probably may be considered as entitling her to the claim she covets. In this history it is only necessary to notice the enterprises of other European nations in the East so far as they illustrate the history of India, and so far as they may throw light upon the history of the British empire in the East. A clear and comprehensive view of either cannot be received without some account being given of what other nations effected or attempted. A brief outline of Russian history in connection with the East is necessary,

because the designs of that power upon India and China—and, indeed, upon the whole Asiatic world—are in the present day no secret, and actually contribute more to the political complications of Europe than any other cause. The action of Russia, although not immediate upon India, is very decisive and extensive upon neighbouring countries. Persia feels in every fibre the touch of the Cossack lance; and the encroachment of the czar has already drawn the line of dominion around a large area of the Chinese empire.

The Tartar conquerors of Russia, it is well known, held intercourse both with India and China.

When the Czar Basilus, the fourth Duke of Smolensko and Pleskow, gained his independence, about 1508, it is alleged by the Russians that communications, for the purposes of barter, were maintained between the Russians and Chinese. The accounts given of such transactions by Russian writers are contradictory or inconsistent; but there is sufficient proof that some sort of trading intercourse with all the frontier nations, and through them for the productions of remoter Asiatic countries, was maintained from a very early period by the Russ.

In the middle of the sixteenth century, Russia acquired Astracan, and extended her authority all along the Volga to the Caspian. Thence commercial intercourse with eastern nations was sought by her in the rude way which comports with her custom and character; and the Persians and Russians, as well as the Turks and Russians, maintained an active trade, as far as the character of the age and the degree of existing civilization attained.

It is admitted on all hands that while the Portuguese were seeking a trade with China by sea, the Russians had prosecuted the same object most arduously by land; and long before a Dutch merchant or mariner had set foot upon the shores of China, the Siberian Russ had actually acquired Chinese territory, and by a strange mixture of fraud, force, and barter, made a trade with the Chinese. Whatever question there may be as to the priority of the Portuguese in traffic with China, none can exist that the Russians preceded both the English and Dutch. The more, however, this subject is searched, the more evident is it that Russia carried on a sort of border brigandage under the name of trade in one direction, and a more fair interchange of commodities in another, long before the ships of Portugal entered the waters of the Chinese seas. M. Auber, probably, gave this subject as much attention as any person has done, and his opportunities as secretary

to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company, gave him peculiar advantages in so doing; and he affirms in terms, however, which are probably too cautious, the very early border trade of Russia with China. In the sixteenth century, while Holland was only speculating upon trade with that country, and England was making brave but irregular and unsystematic efforts to found an eastern commerce: while the Portuguese were in a position, to their Chinese enterprises, of great uncertainty, the Russians had taken up a warlike attitude on the Chinese frontier, and were trading with weapons in their hands in spite of the prohibitions of the mandarins and the celestial emperor. Of that period, M. Auber says:—"The Russians had, towards the latter end of the sixteenth century, penetrated through Siberia to the Chinese frontiers. The Chinese took umbrage at the enterprising spirit of these new neighbours, and erected forts to defend their boundaries. Skirmishes were frequent, and an open war was expected." In fact, the Russians pursue the same policy which they prosecuted towards the Chinese at this day, with the same sort of failure and of success. The Russians passed the boundary; established what, in that age, were called factories; took as much ground as they wanted for those factories, and held them by arms. The Chinese frequently invaded the precincts of the Russian agents, and laid waste their buildings and plantations, destroying, but seldom appropriating, the property of the traders. Retaliation was sought by the Muscovites, which nearly always issued in a further advance within the Chinese territories, until fresh conflicts and renewed attacks by the Chinese compelled them to strengthen their positions, which again served as points from which further aggressions might be made. During a large portion of the seventeenth century, while the Portuguese trade was declining, and the Dutch and English rivalry in the eastern seas embroiled these countries and created uneasiness in Europe, the Chinese and Russians continued to trade even amidst the vindictiveness of a desultory border conflict. The Russians persevered in smuggling, and in land forays; and the latter in fitful and tumultuous attacks upon their dogged, persistent, and still encroaching neighbours. So early as 1689, it became a necessity to the Chinese emperor to have a boundary treaty with his brother the czar, and that treaty was cleverly made by the Russians a means of obtaining a recognition of their authority over a considerable area which they had invaded, and also of their right to trade under

certain stipulations. Plenipotentiaries of the two courts met and fixed the limits of the two empires at the river Kulecchi, three hundred leagues from the great wall. Raynal remarks that, "this was the first treaty in which the Chinese had ever been concerned since the foundation of their empire. They granted the Russians the liberty of sending a caravan every year to Pekin, an indulgence which had always been denied to foreigners, with the utmost precaution. It was easily perceived that the Tartars, although they conformed to the manners and customs of the Chinese, did not adopt their political maxim." A comparison of the way in which the Russians and Dutch were treated at the same period is very instructive to the student of the history of European progress in eastern Asia.

The Dutch embassy of 1655 to the Emperor of China, was one of the most imposing European embassies ever directed to that court. The ambassadors were accompanied by others from the Tartars and from the great Mogul. When they arrived at Pekin, after many humiliations and much delay, they had to wait all night in an open court, in expectation that the emperor would appear on his throne early in the morning. When he did appear, he remained seated in state for a quarter of an hour, when the representatives of these potentates were haughtily ordered by an official to withdraw, the emperor not having deigned to speak to them. They were conducted to an ante-chamber in the court of ceremonies, where a letter of the emperor was handed to each, or rather bound to the back of an interpreter, who marched before them through the middle gate of the court. These letters the ambassadors were obliged to receive kneeling. The Dutch, on this occasion, were not admitted to the emperor's presence at all, until after they had made "the nine prostrations." This was considered an act of homage to the emperor, recognising him as supreme lord of the universe. The Dutch were willing to make any number of prostrations if they could gain a footing for their trade, but their compliance humbled them in the opinion of the Chinese, and their presents were accepted in the light of tribute from their country to the emperor, in virtue of the ceremony in which they had taken part. In that year an ambassador from the czar was also at Pekin. He refused to make the nine prostrations, alleging that the czar his master was inferior to no monarch; and he, his subject, would do homage to no other than his own lawful sovereign. The spirit of the czar's minister startled the imagination of the Chinese, and

the emperor refused him an audience. The ambassador prepared to depart, but the emperor forbade him to leave Pekin without his imperial pass. The czar's representative carried himself boldly, and reminded his imperial majesty, through his officials, that the czar his master, had the means of vindicating the rights of the humblest of his subjects, and would not be deficient in avenging the honour of his own representative. The courage and decision of the ambassador impressed the Asiatic mind with a sense of power, while the compliance of the Dutch produced an impression of weakness, and induced contempt. To the conduct of the ambassador on this occasion, as well as to the energy and force of the traders and soldiers on the frontier, the czar was indebted for the readiness with which the important treaty was subsequently entered into by his celestial majesty.

The contract of the terms of the Russian treaty with the final answer given by the emperor to the Dutch, is a very striking exemplification of the value of the two lines of policy when dealing with the Chinese:—

The ultimate Decree of the Emperor:

To the kingdom of Holland health and peace, which out of its cordial love to justice has subjected itself to us, and sent ambassadors through the wide sea to pay us tribute; we nevertheless, weighing in our mind the length of the voyage, with the dangers incident thereto, do heartily grant them leave to come once every eight years to pay their tribute unto this court; and this we do to make known to the universe our affections to the people of the remotest parts.

According to an old report of a committee of the British House of Commons, on the export trade from Great Britain to the East Indies, the chief cause of jealousy and fear, on the part of the Chinese towards European nations approaching them by sea was, an old prophecy which was circulated among them, "that a remote nation of whites, clothed all over, should one day conquer their country." Possibly the Russians were not considered as a "remote nation of whites, clothed all over," but a contiguous nation of whites, and therefore not falling within the scope of the prophecy. Be this as it may, the last efforts of the pertinacious and valorous Dutch contrast strongly in their results to the far less ostentatious efforts of the Russians, who relied alone on a bold bearing and steady well-matured territorial encroachment. M. Anber thus relates the last attempts of the Dutch*:—"The Dutch were dispirited by their ill success; but their loss of Tywan, in 1661, produced two other embassies. The first of John Van

* In a separate chapter, the enterprise of this nation in the East will have a place; so much is here introduced simply to illustrate by contrast the progress of Russia.

Campen and Constantine Noble, to the viceroy of the province of Fu-keen, in 1662. On this occasion the Viceroy of Fu-keen and the Chinese general presented the Dutch with silver plates, upon which their names and titles were engraved in Chinese characters gilt. These served as passes with which they might travel through the empire. This deputation was followed by a magnificent embassy to the Emperor Kan-ghi, in 1664. The Lord Peter Van Hoorn, privy councillor and chief treasurer of India, was chosen ambassador. His suite consisted of a chief councillor of the embassy, a factor, and master of the ceremonies, a secretary, a steward, six gentlemen, a surgeon, six men for a guard, two trumpeters, and one cook. In case the ambassador should die in the voyage, Noble was to succeed him. The reception of the ambassadors, and the forms observed in their negotiations with the Chinese ministers, were nearly the same as those already described, nor was their success better."

In the year 1693 Everard Isbred Ides was sent as ambassador from the court of the czar to that of Pekin; he was received with much ceremony, and no humiliating forms were exacted. He was allowed a direct audience, and invited to eat with his majesty; "the offspring of the sun and moon" even sent the ambassador, from his own hand, a cup of liquor such as was appreciated among all Tartar nations.

In 1712 an embassy was sent by the Emperor of China to A-yu-kee Khan, of the Tourgouth Tartars, on the banks of the Volga, north of the Caspian. The dispatch of this mission from Pekin is a very instructive incident in the history of the communication between Europe and Eastern Asia, for it is evident that the emperor really cared little for the Tartar chief in the Volga, but meant the mission indirectly for the Tartar's great master, the czar. The Chinese emperor had learned through his Tartar connection of the fame of Peter, whose reputation was then noised abroad through Europe and Asia; and the celestial monarch supposed that the mission would effect certain objects with the czar, while purporting to be an errand of business and courtesy to a tributary Tartar chief. The pretext for sending the embassy was, that it was a return for one from the chief, respecting his son, who, on a pilgrimage to Lassa, the holy place of Thibet, found it necessary to claim the protection of the government of Pekin. The messengers of the emperor received written instructions. These, through the labours and learning of Sir George Staunton, were made known in 1821. The directions afford ample proof of

the alarm felt by the Chinese concerning Russian aggression, and the desire to impress the czar with the inutility of any close relations, political or commercial, between the two empires. The ambassadors were to tell the czar or his ministers that "his imperial majesty entertains no designs whatever which are inconsistent with the peace which has been established for many years. *You may therefore immediately remove and employ your frontier troops, without the least hesitation or uneasiness!*" The envoys were also put in possession of the following among other general instructions:—"If Russia speaks to you about fire-arms and solicits assistance of such kind, you may remark on the length of the way, the rugged mountains and forests which are difficult to pass; and should they press you upon the subject of remitting to us their request, you can answer, that being sent on a mission to the khan of the Tourgouth Tartars, you can hardly venture to address his majesty upon the subject. . . . As the Russians are of a vain and ostentatious disposition, they will no doubt display before you the several things they possess; on such occasions, neither express admiration nor contempt. In all your proceedings you must show moderation, as well as gravity and composure. The inhabitants of the Russian territory, its natural and artificial productions, its geography and general appearance, are subjects to which due attention is to be given by you in the course of your journey."

The emperor styles himself Emperor of China and king of the world, while Peter is designated as a great khan or chief, showing that his celestial majesty intended to make known that he assumed superiority.

On arriving at Tabolkska, they met Prince Gazarin, who was then governor of Siberia, who informed them that the czar was in the field at the head of his army. The governor and the tributary Tartar chiefs showed them much respect. A great display for the time was made of Russian troops, and a grand escort was placed at their service.

In 1715, the czar sent Laurence Lange as envoy to Pekin, whose reception was with the highest honours the Chinese court could confer. Lange kept a journal, which has much in it which is very instructive as to the relations of China and Russia at that early date, and the closer intimacy maintained between the two nations, than China allowed to exist between her and any other. He says, "The merchants in particular who trade with the Russians, receive frequent marks of his bounty, for when they are not able to make their payments at the time prefixed, he advances them money out of his own treasury,

that their creditors may not complain of being detained. In 1717, trade being so dull at Peking that the Russian merchants could find no vent for their goods, the emperor gave his subjects leave to traffic with them without paying the usual duties, which occasioned that year a deficiency of twenty thousand ounces of silver in his revenue."

Two Chinese and two Tartar lords were sent, as ambassadors to the czar, with M. Lange on his return. It was the fortune of this gentleman to visit Peking soon after as secretary to another and grander embassy, in 1719. It was the 23rd of September, 1720, when they entered the Chinese territory, from which date they were made the guests of the emperor, and supported sumptuously at his expense. It is a curious circumstance that we are indebted mainly to an Englishman for an account of that embassy and its results. Mr. Bell, of Autermony, referred to in former chapters, accompanied the ambassador, the feeling of Russia to England being at that particular juncture most favourable. This gentleman published a narrative of what he saw, as he did also of his experience when accompanying a Russian embassy to Persia four years previously. His narratives show how intent Russia then was to gain a diplomatic and commercial footing in both eastern and western Asia, and how skilfully the influence she was enabled to obtain was calculated to ensure territorial encroachment. The policy was actively at work which ripened in the reign of Nicholas, and which occasioned such an armament of nations against the ambition of St. Petersburg. During the discussions which arose upon the mode of reception of this embassy, it was agreed that the representative of each nation should conform to any ceremonies which their respective sovereigns might prescribe. The emperor, however, waived the customs of China, as usual in the case of the Russian ambassador. Nevertheless, whether influenced in these courtesies by Tartar affinity, or because of the contiguity of the two empires, the secret policy of the Chinese court was hostile. This was evinced soon after the Russian ambassador departed. M. de Lange was left at Peking, as resident agent of the czar. This greatly displeased his imperial majesty, and every opportunity was taken to indicate his displeasure, and cause the resident to take his departure. M. de Lange's account of the affronts, indignities, and injuries to which he was subjected show that his residence there excited a deep animosity on the part of both court and people. The treaty as to the yearly caravan was badly kept as to the letter, and utterly violated as to the spirit. Extor-

tion and even plunder was perpetrated by people and officials, and with the connivance of the government. The provisions promised as a gratuity to merchants, and to the attendants of the Russian minister were withheld, and even when paid for were not delivered. De Lange was little better than a prisoner at Peking during more than a year and a half, and at last, having been treated with insupportable insolence, he withdrew with the return of the Russian caravan: the Chinese government never admitted another. It would have been impossible for Russia to have been represented by a person freer from Russian nationality or a haughty bearing than the gentleman who then endeavoured to support her interests, but neither his courtesy nor his firmness were of any avail. The permanent resident was regarded by sovereign and people as a spy, and resentment against his nation was enkindled. De Lange was finally given to understand that all future business, commercial or otherwise, should be transacted on the frontier. The Russians did resume business on the frontier, and with a vengeance; for the old disputes which had been settled by the treaty of 1685¹ were re-opened; the Russians soon indemnified themselves by territorial plunder for any loss in the profits of the caravan, or any indignity to their ambassador; and so far back as the return of De Lange the Russian designs, which have since been developed on the Amour, were formed.

In 1727 the czarina, Catherine I., resolved to accomplish what Peter failed to do. She projected a plan for Russian residence at Peking, ostensibly of a purely ecclesiastical kind, and sent an ambassador extraordinary to negotiate a treaty for that purpose. Being ostensibly one of amity and friendship the object was secured, and the residence of certain priests and lay students of the Chinese language was authorized by a specific article of the treaty. This mission or residence has enabled the Russian government to obtain exact intelligence of all public affairs, and as the residents or students are changed every ten years, Russia is always provided with a number of intelligent persons acquainted with the Chinese language, the habits and opinions of the Tartar court, and the general condition of the empire. The "Celestials" are thus accustomed to the appearance of Russian official visitors.

The renewed frontier feuds increased the indisposition of the Chinese to hold intercourse with Russia. The ecclesiastical residence at Peking has had the same effect: nothing but the fear of open war with Russia prevents the emperor from breaking it up, as it is believed

that Russia makes it a *sine quâ non* if peace is to continue.

In 1806 two Russian ships arrived at Macao, contrary to existing treaties, which forbid the traffic of the Russians by sea. The ships were not permitted to land or take in cargoes. An embassy from Russia was in the same year turned back from the great wall. From that date the Russians relied upon territorial encroachment as the chief or only means of their gaining advantage in China and Chorea, and they have succeeded to a marvellous degree. Finally, they have, in 1858, obtained a treaty by which they are empowered to trade by sea on the same footing as the most favoured maritime nations. The steps by which Russia has effected these advantages were too gradual, and the sphere of action too remote to attract, in past times, much notice in Europe, but now the western nations are fully acquainted with the great results. In the progress of this History, detailing the advances and successes of our own countrymen, references to the policy and progress of Russia will be necessarily made where they will be more appropriate than in this chapter, because they will be then treated in their relation to the development of English power. It is sufficient here to say, that the position and prospects of the British empire in India and the East cannot be fully understood, or studied with historical unity or political foresight, unless the real position and power of Russia is comprehended and appreciated. Possessing the shores of the Amour, splendid ports and harbours on the Pacific, forts along the Chinese frontier, and a large area of Chinese territory, she is in a position of power and grandeur which will soon be felt by the Chinese empire, and the nations of western Europe which trade with it. On the opposite side of Asia, it is already felt that the quietude of the Affghan frontier of British India may at any time be disturbed by Russian intrigue acting through Persia. That country, from local and religious relation to Affghanistan and the nations of central Asia, can influence numerous tribes of wild and hardy horsemen along the line of British Indian frontiers; and it is, unhappily, certain that Russia has an influence over the Persian court possessed by no other nation, and which is dangerous to the independence of that country and to the peace of British India. It is true that naval and military demonstrations in the Persian Gulf by England can always alarm and humble Persia, but before such demonstrations could prove effective much mischief might be done. The conquest of Persia by Russia cannot be

remote, unless France and England deem it politic to unite in supporting Persia, as they did in maintaining the integrity of Turkey. Should Russia possess the present Persian empire, she could from the shores of the Red Sea, and from the confines of Affghanistan, always menace India. Between the two powers a war *à l'outrance* would then be waged for Asiatic empire, in which the whole world would be involved.

That Russia will yet rule at Pekin and Teheran cannot be doubted, unless China and Persia be regenerated or fall within the dominion of England. Whatever the statesman or politician may deem as to the future of the British Empire in India and the East, the development of Russian power in north-eastern and north-western Asia must never be lost sight of as a most important, if not the most potential, element of their calculations. Much that has been written of late years as to the impossibility of Russia penetrating through Central Asia to Hindostan, is utterly irrelevant to the question as to the influence Russia is likely to exercise upon the future of Asia by a continued encroachment on Persian territory on the one hand, and by land and sea upon China on the other. Tamerlane, the Tartar, marched to Moscow, dominated the golden land of the great Mogul, and was only prevented from pouring two hundred thousand men across the frontier of China by the hand of death. He did what all men thought to be impossible until it was done. Alexander marched from Eastern Europe to Hindostan, a feat which is still regarded as beyond belief, were not the evidences irresistible. Russia has herself achieved conquests little short of miraculous, at all events, when the time in which her territory has spread to its enormous extent is considered. There is no impossibility, but there is strong probability that from the positions described above, a hardy, hopeful, obstinate, persevering, ambitious, warlike power, with great resources, such as Russia is, will yet overrun China and Persia, unless frustrated in either or both the modes already stated. If China and Persia be regenerated by intelligence and truth, then the robber power will be kept within its own wide precincts, and perhaps pushed back to its least genial climes; or if the flag of Britain should be borne over those regions by the events of future wars or revolutions, Russia may be balked of her prey. Otherwise, humanly speaking, her course of conquest will not be checked in Asia until her confines from both east and west of that glorious continent meet at last.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE PORTUGUESE IN INDIA AND EASTERN ASIA.

THE Portuguese in Asia have been already noticed in a chapter on the commerce of India with the West, and a chapter was devoted to an account of their mission there. The conspicuous part which they had in some of the most stirring events of the Indian empire during the greater part of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, and, indeed, their present position there, entitle them to a place in its commercial, political, and military history.

Portugal, though now a kingdom of very limited extent, was formerly much smaller, and came to have a sort of recognised independent existence in the reign of Don Alphonso, King of Castile and Leon. This prince gave his daughter, Donna Theresa, in marriage to a foreign adventurer, who, by his personal merits, had risen to distinction, and with her as a dowry the frontier province, which had been recently wrested from the Moors. The excellence of the situation, its natural beauties and fertility, compensated for its restricted boundaries. In such high estimation is it held, that it is sometimes designated *Medulla Hispanica*, or the Marrow of Spain. To this territory was affixed the title of count. For a period of two hundred years subsequent to this transaction the history of Portugal presents scarcely any event of importance. In 1289 there arose some differences with Castile, which were not adjusted for a long time after. In the reign of King John I., who was married to an English princess (Philippa, the daughter of John, Duke of Lancaster), an invading army from Castile, amounting to thirty thousand men, were defeated, and reprisals made on the Spaniards. The result was a lasting peace. The cessation of this war enabled King John to undertake an expedition against the Moors in Barbary in 1414. He commanded in person. The campaign was successful, and the town of Ceuta fell into his hands. He was impressed with the importance of its situation, and, contrary to the urgent remonstrances of his council, he decided on preserving it, and had it enlarged and more strongly fortified. He garrisoned it with six thousand foot and two thousand horse. This force he considered sufficient to repel the attacks of the Moors.

In the following reign an unsuccessful attempt was made on Tangier, in Barbary. The Portuguese were shut up by the Moors, and the king's son, Don Ferdinand, was given

as an hostage for the surrender of Ceuta. The king and council of Portugal refused to fulfil the conditions, retained the place, and left the young prince to the fury of the Moors. The war with Barbary was continued at intervals, and with little success to the Portuguese.

John II. succeeded to his father Alphonso in 1481, and during his reign the maritime enterprise of the Portuguese was developed to an extent never before attempted, and attended with results which have operated to a universal reformation of the geographical and commercial relations of the old world, and discovered a new one. During the reign of Alphonso, the Portuguese, proceeding along the western coast of Africa, stretched as far as Guinea, and opened a trade with the inhabitants. John, as one of the first acts of his government, ordered a fort to be erected, for the purposes of permanent commercial intercourse. The result of this politic step was the influx of ivory and gold, from which the monarch derived a large revenue. In a short time this fort, called *St. George of the Mine*, became a considerable city, and notorious for its traffic in slaves.

The progress which had been made to the south-east revived a project which for centuries had lain in abeyance—a passage by sea to the East Indies. Since the voyage of Nearchus little had been satisfactorily done to explore the southern shores of the Eastern continent, or to become acquainted with the ocean beyond, destined now to be the highway of empires, old, recent, and prospective. John ordered two small squadrons to be equipped to prosecute this inquiry; and in the meantime he prudently sent two of his subjects into India and Abyssinia to trace the communications, and ascertain the resources of these vast and very little known regions. The two travellers, Pedro da Covilhan, and Alphonso de Payva, passed first to Naples, and thence to Rhodes; by the knights established there they were hospitably entertained, and assisted on their journey to Alexandria. There they parted company, Covilhan setting out for India, and Payva for Abyssinia. They had previously arranged on meeting after a certain period at Cairo. Covilhan embarked on the Red Sea, visited the principal cities of India, and prosecuted his journey to the banks of the Ganges, and on his return coasted the shores of Persia, Arabia, and Africa, as

far as Mozambique, and there learned that the continent terminated in a great cape far to the south. From Mozambique he returned, as appointed, to Cairo, and heard of the death of his former associate. To glean the information which this death intercepted, he proceeded to Abyssinia; and though he settled in that country, he forwarded to the king the result of his travels, and a chart of the maritime places he had visited. The further prosecution of these discoveries, and the crowning result in Vasco da Gama's success in doubling the Cape and reaching the coast of Malabar, have been previously recorded in these pages.

The Portuguese found the voyage along the south-east coast of Africa very pleasant and prosperous, and in the city of Melinda had the satisfaction of discovering, as well as in other localities on that route, buildings of respectable pretensions, cultivated vegetable productions, and a race of people accustomed to several of the refinements of civilization, and carrying on an active commerce; the women accounted beautiful, and dressed in cottons and silks, and veils with gold lace. Friendly relations were established with the king; some India Christian traders met with; also an able pilot, so expert in navigation, that, on being shown an astrolabe, he took little notice of it, and appeared to be acquainted with more considerable instruments.*

Gama on his arrival intimated his presence to the King of Calicut. Although greatly surprised by this strange arrival of foreigners, who in their aspect, dress, accoutrements, arms, and manners, were dissimilar to the representatives of the various nations that traded on his coast, and who had travelled thither by a route hitherto never ventured on, the Indian prince personally received them with every appearance of admiration and respect. He readily agreed to enter into the most friendly relations with them. The Moors, envious of their success, and fearing the loss of that commerce, of which they had all but a monopoly, soon succeeded in rousing the suspicions and jealousy of the native authorities, and caused the Portuguese to be considered as pirates, and not as ambassadors. Gama and some of his retinue were made prisoners, but he ably managed to escape wiles and force; and though beset at the entrance of the harbour by sixty armed vessels, he extricated himself, and sailed homewards with his ship, filled not only with the products of that coast, but with the rich commodities from the eastern provinces of the peninsula. Two years after his departure to the East he anchored in the Tagus. His crew were seriously diminished:

* *Faria y Sousa*, vol. i. p. 42, Stevens' translation.

fifty-five returned out of the one hundred and forty-eight who had sailed with him. All the honours which might be expected for such services were heaped upon him by his grateful sovereign. He was created Count of Videguiera, declared Admiral of the Indus, and the office made hereditary in his family.

Few princes have rendered such essential services—not to his subjects alone, but to mankind—as he who now wielded the sceptre of the comparatively insignificant kingdom of Portugal. Under the guidance of Manuel his subjects entered on a new career. Capable of forming projects of the most comprehensive character, and of executing them with diligence and intelligence, he exhibited abilities equally invaluable in that perception of human capabilities which enabled him to select the men best qualified to conduct with success the duties confided to them. It has been stated by no mean authority, “that, happily for Portugal, his discerning eye selected a succession of officers to take the same command in India, who, by their enterprising valour, military skill, and political sagacity, accompanied with disinterested integrity, public spirit, and love of their country, established a title to be ranked amongst the persons most eminent for virtues and abilities in any age or nation. Greater things were achieved by them than were ever accomplished in so short a time.”*

Gama reached home in September, 1499, and in the course of a year a fleet of thirteen ships was got ready, and entrusted to the command of Don Pedro Alvarez Cabral. Driven to the south-west of the continent of Africa as he endeavoured to double the Cape, to his astonishment he discovered land—the Brazils. He sent back to Europe one of his vessels to announce his good fortune, and then launched across the Pacific for the coast of Malacca. Though he was received kindly on his arrival at Calicut, this good understanding did not long continue. Through the insidious intrigues of the Moors the Christians were persecuted, and fifty of them massacred. Cabral, to convince them that these aggressions could not be inflicted with impunity, destroyed by fire all the Indian and Arabian vessels in the port; he put the crews to the sword, and appropriated the cargoes; he then directed his cannon against the town, demolished several of the houses, causing great destruction of human life. The Portuguese authorities say fifteen great vessels and five hundred lives were lost.

After this affair the admiral proceeded with some of his vessels to Cochin, and thence back to Cannanore. At both these places he was

* *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. x. p. 465.

well received, and every facility afforded of getting his cargo. The native princes resented the treatment they had received from the Rajah of Calicut, and from Cochin and Cannanore ambassadors were sent to the court of Lisbon with presents and an offer of free trade.* Gonzalo Gil Barbosa was left as factor at Cochin to provide lading for the next arrivals.

Before this fleet had reached Europe, four ships had sailed from the Tagus, under the command of John de Nova. These vessels arrived at Cannanore, and were there informed that an attack was apprehended from an armament of forty great ships, which were being equipped by the King of Calicut. To prove to the king and people that he had no fear of this force—leaving four factors on shore to prepare goods for his return—he sailed direct for Calicut, and, finding the fleet prepared for the voyage, he fell upon it. During that day and night, and part of the morrow, he kept up an uninterrupted fire, sunk several, and put the rest to flight. Having called at Cochin, he put on board the commodities collected by the factor left there by Cabral, and then proceeded to Cannanore, where he completed his cargoes. On his return he discovered the Island of St. Helena, which proved of great service to subsequent voyagers, by the excellence of its water, and is now, and long will continue to be, famous as the prison-isle of the first Napoleon.

The spirit of the Portuguese was now thoroughly roused, and to the purely worldly considerations were added the stimulants of religious zeal. As has been fully detailed, missionaries had accompanied all their expeditions, and the court of Rome was resolved to extend its all-grasping power over the thousands of millions who crowded the teeming continent and islands of the East. Manuel was inspired with the hope of completing the work which he was assured the Apostle St. Thomas had begun, and of re-establishing the Christian religion in those countries, and of enlarging his royal titles by adding to them, as he did, those of Lord of the Navigation, Conquests, and Trade of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India,—which was confirmed by the Pope. In March, 1502, he dispatched three squadrons to India: the first consisting of ten ships, under Vasco da Gama; the second of five ships, under Vincent Sodre, to clear the coast of Cochin and Cannanore, and intercept the ships trading to Mecca; and the third under Stephen da Gama: but all the squadrons were under the supreme command of Vasco. On coming to Cannanore, the admiral had an interview

with the king upon the shore, to arrange as to the condition on which their commercial intercourse was to be conducted. Without waiting to complete this negotiation, he proceeded close to the shore towards Calicut, to which he had forwarded intelligence of his approach, resolved to avenge the outrages offered to his countrymen, and vowing the destruction of that city. As an instalment of his vengeance, he cruelly hanged thirty Moors at the yardarms; then cutting off their hands, heads, and feet, he threw them into the sea, to be cast on the shore by the tide, proclaiming that their fate was merciful in comparison with the tortures reserved for the murderers of the Portuguese.

Vasco now discovered that three kings had combined to induce him to winter on their shore, and that a fleet of a hundred sail, recently destroyed by storms, was fitted out for this object. The salutary fear which his late summary proceedings had created induced an entire change of policy. The King of Cannanore conceded to apprehensions what he had peremptorily denied to entreaties; and the King of Cochin concluded a treaty both advantageous and durable. A wooden house was erected, and a factor and thirty-two Portuguese were left there to carry on the trade.

A treacherous attempt, attended with great danger, was made to entrap the admiral. Whilst the vessels were receiving their cargoes, a Brahmin of high note, with his son and nephew presented himself, professing a desire of visiting Europe and being instructed in the faith. He also proposed measures of conciliation between him and the King of Calcutta. The possession of the son and nephew as hostages in his hands, induced Vasco to place confidence in this Brahmin, and he was thereby induced to proceed in his ship, and, accompanied by no other vessel in the fleet, in order to visit that port. The Brahmin was landed and was the bearer of several despatches to and from the king; but in the interim one hundred boats were prepared by the Hindoos, which unexpectedly one morning boldly surrounded the Portuguese vessel, and daringly endeavoured to destroy it with fireworks. It was actually on fire, but assistance was at hand, and the enemy suffered severely for their temerity. The Brahmin's relatives were hanged in sight of the city. Vasco shortly after met with their fleet and obtained considerable booty. He then returned with nine ships richly laden to Lisbon. Sodre had been left in care of the coast and factories.

In 1503, the King of Calicut, in the absence of the greater portion of the Portuguese squadron, thought a favourable oppor-

* De Sousa, vol. i. p. 6.

tunity was presented of destroying the factory at Cochin. He accordingly marched thither with that object; but though defeated, forced to fly and seek refuge, and his capital burned, he refused to surrender. Having fled to a neighbouring town much easier of defence than Cochin, he was closely besieged and reduced to extremities, when a large naval force arrived, commanded by the celebrated and able man Albuquerque, who repelled the attacking army with very heavy loss. The victors now built a fortress in the territories of their faithful ally Tremumpara, to whose late fidelity they were so greatly indebted. The zamorin, in consequence of this timely succour, was compelled to seek for peace, and the terms which he conceded were very favourable both to the King of Cochin and his European allies. In several engagements both by sea and land the newcomers were invariably victorious. A factory was established at Coulam, and the vessels having succeeded in securing freights, both the Albuquerque started for home, the younger brother and his companions were never heard of. Amongst the cargo of the eldest were two horses, one Persian the other an Arab, which were held in great esteem, being the first imported to Portugal. A small garrison for the protection of their trade and ally was left on the Indian coast.

The Portuguese fleet had scarcely lost sight of its new possession when a powerful confederacy was formed by the neighbouring princes. They drew together fifty thousand men, and attacked Cochin by land and sea. Duarte Pacheco, who had been left in command of the small garrison of St. James, resolved to resist the threatened attack, and encouraged his friend and ally to make all the preparations in his power. The king was left to protect his capital; and the Portuguese, with their inconsiderable force, accompanied by only three hundred Malabars, put to sea in search of their enemies. In several engagements they were victorious. The fertility of expedients, the intrepidity of conduct, the confidence which he inspired, the obedience he commanded, and the consummate success which attended his evolutions, justly place Pacheco among the first men of his own or any other country. He triumphed over every difficulty, and at length the zamorin, foiled in every attempt and conscious of the contempt to which the successive defeats of his formidable force by a mere handful of men, was reduced to abdicate his throne in favour of his nephew.

Pacheco had been scarcely released from this danger when his aid was urgently demanded by the factory at Coulam, which was threatened by five Moorish ships. He has-

tened to the relief of his countrymen, secured the safety of that harbour and a monopoly of the trade, and spread a wholesome terror of the Portuguese through all the coasts.

On his return to Cochin he found that a large fleet and force had arrived, consisting of thirteen ships, "the largest that had yet been built in Portugal,"* and twelve hundred men, commanded by Lope Soarez, who had been joined by some ships he met on his voyage. This fleet first called at Cannanore, and then sailed for Calicut, which town was battered by them for two days; the greater part was reduced to a heap of ruins, and three hundred of the inhabitants sacrificed. Thence they sailed to Cochin, where Pacheco found them. An expedition was then sent against Cranganore, a town within four leagues of Cochin, which, having been fortified by the zamorin, was a great annoyance. It was burnt to the ground, and the Prince of Calicut, who was to have defended it, fled. A friendly treaty was made with the King of Tanore. In 1505, a fleet of the King of Calicut, consisting of seventeen large ships well stored with cannon, and carrying four thousand men, was destroyed by Lope Soarez. The ships' cargoes were consumed, seven hundred Turks were drowned, besides those who perished by fire and sword. This victory cost the Portuguese only twenty-three men. Early in January the following year Soarez sailed, and arrived in July following in Lisbon, with his thirteen victorious vessels laden with rich booty. He was accompanied by the brave and successful Pacheco, who was received with every mark of respect by his sovereign in recognition of his glorious services; but on some accusation was shortly after imprisoned and suffered to die miserably. "A terrible example," says the historian, "of the uncertainty of royal favours and the little regard paid to true merit."

On the twenty-fifth of March there sailed from Lisbon the largest fleet that had, to that time, faced the Indian Ocean. It consisted of twenty-two ships, and conveyed fifteen hundred fighting men. Eleven of these vessels were destined for commercial purposes, and the other moiety were to remain in India. The command was entrusted to the celebrated Don Francisco de Almeida, who was commissioned to govern the late acquisitions with the title of viceroy.

On his landing in India, Almeida sought an interview with the King of Cannanore, and informed him that he came to reside in that country to defend his countrymen against the aggressions of the zamorin, and he demanded permission to erect a fort in the harbour.

* *Faria y Sousa; Asia Portuguesa.* Tom. i. p. 1, civi.

Permission was granted, and on its completion a garrison of one hundred and fifty men was placed in it, and two ships assigned it for the protection of the coast. Having reached Cochin, he learned that the men left in charge of the factory at Coulam were all cruelly butchered by the Moors. Three vessels which he sent thither with orders to procure merchandize, and to omit all notice of the outrages perpetrated, but in case of denial to avenge it, being received in a hostile manner, the town, and twenty-four vessels assembled for its protection, were subjected to a fierce cannonade; the ships were all burnt, and only a few of the crews escaped by swimming.

In reward for his fidelity and protection, the Portuguese authorities at home had commissioned Almeida to crown Tremumpara, the King of Cochin, and had for that purpose brought with him from Lisbon a diadem of gold ornamented with pearls. The old sovereign having resigned in favour of his nephew, Nambeadorim, this intended honour was bestowed upon the latter.

The Zamorin of Calicut was still plotting the expulsion of the Europeans, and had prevailed on the King of Cannanore to enter into his views. Brito, the captain of the fort which had been erected by the Portuguese in the latter place, was unjustly accused of an act of cruelty and perfidy in seizing on a ship from that port with a Portuguese pass, and in having sunk it, and all the Moorish sailors sewed up in a sail, that the act might not be detected by the discovery of any of the mutilated carcasses. Of this deed, perpetrated by one of his countrymen, the captain of the fort was innocent. The two Indian princes had made arrangements to surprise him and his small garrison, and having discovered the design he sought the aid of the viceroy. This was promptly sent, and the little garrison, though beleaguered by a large army and reduced by the accidental loss of their magazine and provisions to feed on vermin, repulsed the enemy with a very great sacrifice of men, not one of their own having fallen in the action. A larger force now arrived to their assistance under the command of the viceroy and Tristan de Cunha, who forced their way up the river through showers of balls; the town was entered, the garrison put to the sword, and all the vessels in the harbour set on fire.

In 1507 Don Francisco de Almeida sent his son Lorenzo as far as Choule, with eight ships, to protect the Portuguese traders along the coasts of Cannanore and Cochin. On his way he captured some Moorish vessels, and obtained intelligence that a fleet was in those waters, commissioned by the Sultan of Egypt

to encounter the Portuguese adventurers, and exclude them from the East.

Previous to the discoveries of the Portuguese, the cloves of Amboyna, the nutmeg and mace of Banda, the sandal of Timor, the camphor of Borneo, the gold and silver of the East, the spices, gums, perfumes, and curiosities of China, Siam, Java, and other kingdoms, were first conveyed to Malacca, and thence to the nations west of the Red Sea. This commerce it was that, during the middle ages, had enriched the cities of Calicut, Cambaya, Ormuz, and Aden, which, in addition to the commodities enumerated as coming through Malacca, also had the trade in rubies from Pegu, stuffs from Bengal, pearls from Ceylon, the diamonds of Golconda; the cinnamon, and richer rubies of Ceylon; the pepper, ginger, and other spices of Malabar. From Ormuz they were brought to Europe up the Persian Gulf, to Bassora, at the mouth of the Euphrates, and thence distributed in the caravans through Armenia, Trebizond, Tartary, Aleppo, and Damascus, and to the port of Berut upon the Mediterranean, and from this depot the Venetians, Genoese, and Catalonians, conveyed them to their respective countries. Such of those commodities as had to travel by the Red Sea, were landed at Toro or Suez, towns at the bottom of the isthmus, and thence were borne in caravans to grand Cairo, thence down the Nile to Alexandria, and there shipped. The Italian commercial states and towns of Spain, the Sultan of Egypt, and many other princes and communities were considerable losers by the channels into which this commerce was diverted by the recent discoveries; and, however widely they differed on all other points, they felt they had a common interest in driving the new intruders out of India. To ensure their Eastern possessions, the Portuguese established a factory at Malacca; the Isle of Ormuz, bravely defended by its sovereign, Sheifedin II., had to submit to become tributary, and to the erection of a fortress. On the coast of Sofala another was raised. Thus, along the vast extent of the continent of Africa, from the Straits of Gibraltar to Abyssinia, and along the shores of Asia, from Ormuz to Siam, the flag of Portugal waved triumphantly.

The Venetians were amongst the first to feel the depressing effects on their commerce, and to endeavour to provide a remedy. They entered into a communication with the Sultan of Egypt, and after exciting his worst apprehensions, they offered to provide him with the materials for the construction of a fleet which might be used to cut off the vessels of the Portuguese in the eastern waters. It is more than probable that to the wily counsels of