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The History of India

Robert Hunter

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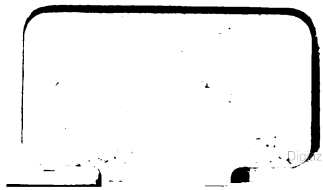

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BENARES FROM THE GANGES,

WITH TEMPLES OF THE BRAHMANIC STYLE OF ARCHITECTURE.

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THE

HISTORY OF INDIA,

FROM

THE EARLIEST AGES

TO

THE FALL OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, AND THE PROCLAMATION OF QUEEN VICTORIA IN 1858.

BY THE

REV. ROBERT HUNTER, A.M.,

Formerly Missionary at Nagpore, in Central India.

London:

T. NELSON AND SONS, PATERNOSTER ROW;

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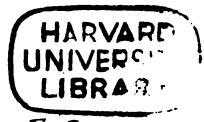

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Preface.

THE volume now submitted to the British public was penned primarily for use in those Indian missionary seminaries, or "Institutions," with which the name of Dr. Duff will be for ever associated, and which have effected so much good in the East. While the work was in progress, it was suggested that the alteration of a few sentences might adapt it to the higher schools in this country, for which a small History of India was much required. In making the requisite alterations, a question arose whether the first part of the volume, that entitled, "The Hindu Period," should not be greatly curtailed, as parts of it would, no doubt, prove tedious reading to the youths in Britain. It had been purposely presented at great length, from the conviction that the Hindus could not fail to feel interest in a narrative describing the rise and consolidation of their civil and religious polity. On the whole, it was thought better to allow the early chapters to remain unabridged, counselling teachers who might use the volume to omit the parts less interesting in the West, and proceed as soon as possible to the continuous narrative. The omitted portions may be read by some of those who intend ultimately to compete for Indian appointments, and wish, therefore, to gain all the information within their reach regarding the history, philosophy, and religions of ancient India.

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The volume now issued must necessarily be, in its main features, a compilation. Of the various authorities consulted in penning the earlier chapters, the chief have been the writings of Professors Horace Hayman Wilson and Max Müller; the Rev. Dr. Wilson of Bombay, and John Muir, Esq., D.C.L., late of the Bengal Civil Service; the Calcutta Review; the Journal of the Asiatic Society of London; the Asiatic Researches; Murray's, Elphinstone's, and Marshman's Histories of India; Ferguson's Handbook of Architecture; the volume on India in Bohn's Series; the Rev. Joseph Mullens on the Religious Aspects of the Hindu Philosophy, &c. The latter half of the volume is mainly founded on Mill's History of India, with the continuation by Professor Horace Hayman Wilson, the Calcutta Review, Thornton's and Murray's Histories, and others.

In regard to the spelling of Indian words, the author has experienced considerable perplexity. While in India, he adopted the system of Sir William Jones, which is in use in the Asiatic and other societies, and, if universally adopted, would establish a consistent and intelligible method of writing Eastern words. But, since returning to Europe, he has seen cause to doubt whether this scientific method will ever gain favour in Britain. The present treatise, therefore, in a great majority of cases, adopts the popular mode of spelling—that used in Government despatches and in the newspapers of the day.

The volume being designed for young persons of fifteen or sixteen, there is in it an occasional touch of pleasantry, which would have been avoided had the author been addressing persons of graver years.

The illustrations have been derived from various sources. Two, the Mahratta and the god Krishna, are from native pictures, purchased in Nagpore; the spirited representation of Hunooman, the monkey god, is from a picture on mica,

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the property of the Rev. R. B. Blyth, late of Madras; that of Seringham from a similar one, the property of the Rev. A. B. Campbell of Madras. Of the remaining figures, some are from the Asiatic Researches and the Journal of the Asiatic Society; the others generally recut from figures or woodcuts, the property of the Messrs. Nelson. The author bears cheerful testimony to the skill and fidelity with which Mr. Small has drawn the figures and Mr. Borders cut them on wood.

John Muir, Esq., D.C.L., whose high attainments as an orientalist are so well known, and to whom Scotland and the empire generally are indebted for the Sanscrit chair recently founded in Edinburgh University, did the author the high favour of looking over the chapters on the "Hindu Period" when they were in proof. Some slight modifications have been adopted at the suggestion of Dr. Muir, but it would be unfair to hold that gentleman as committed to any one specific statement made in the work. The Rev. John Braidwood, late of Madras, also kindly looked over the above-named portion of the volume; and the Rev. T. Smith, formerly of Calcutta, and the Rev. R. B. Blyth, formerly of Madras, over the whole.

Still, for the facts stated, and especially for the opinions expressed, the writer holds himself alone responsible. Availing himself of the experience acquired during a residence of upwards of eight years in India, he has written with more freedom than he would otherwise have ventured to employ. However imperfectly he has succeeded, his aim has been historic impartiality. On this account it has at times been necessary to dissent from the policy or the actings of the Anglo-Indian Government; yet, when the exceeding difficulty of its position is taken into account, it has, in the author's judgment, all along, and specially within these later years, deserved much more commendation than

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it has ever received. Had its good deeds not greatly exceeded those of a contrary character, it would long ere this have fallen. With all its defects, it is the best Government India has ever known; and had it been overthrown, as the rebels desired, in 1857, untold miseries would long ere this have begun to overspread the land.

It has pleased God, in his wonderful providence, that the vast Indian empire should be governed from this remote island of the sea. It is consequently the duty of all classes in this land to acquaint themselves with the condition of the countless millions in the East living under the sway of the British sceptre. It is the earnest desire and prayer of the writer, that the volume now sent forth may, to some small extent, at least, aid in interesting the young people of our country in the remote Anglo-Indian empire; so that, when they grow up, they may in their several spheres assist in promoting its temporal welfare, and taking measures to dissipate that moral and religious darkness which casts over the eternal destiny of its people so fearful a gloom.

R. H.

EDINBURGH, *May* 1863.

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THE HISTORY OF INDIA.

INTRODUCTION.

When you trace the course of a stream as it meanders through some extended valley, you feel that however arbitrary its movements may appear, they are really under the thorough control of a higher power. God is regulating every turn and winding of the waters by his gravitation law. It is not different with human history. Every part of the course of human history is regulated by the providence of God; and unless when he interferes by miracle for a great and special end, this providence, while it tenderly watches over each individual and his minutest affairs, yet operates by fixed law. Before entering, then, on the history of India, it is necessary to inquire into some of the influences sure to modify the course of that history in a greater or less degree.

And the first that claims our notice is the Indian boundary line. If a region be severed from others by rivers only, then, in all likelihood, its history will be much mixed up with that of the neighbouring territories. The reason is plain. A river can be so easily crossed, that it is not a good boundary line; hence we in general find the same language spoken on both banks even of large streams. But if the boundary line between any state and others be a mountain chain, then that state is much more likely than in the former case to have a history truly its own. For high mountain chains are difficult to cross; hence they frequently constitute the boundary between languages. If the ocean surround a large part of any territory, it will tend, during

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the infancy of navigation, to defend it against assault from other lands. But when at length the art of navigation has advanced so far as to make the deep the great highway between distant continents, then the ocean may sooner or later bear hostile navies to the shores of which it was once so great a defence.

If mountain chains run through the interior of a country, then they will afford such a shelter to defeated races and parties, that no race, no language, and no faith is likely to be speedily extinguished in that land.

If water be deficient, the country will probably be one of more or less nomad tribes. If, on the contrary, it be traversed by large rivers, cities will spring up along their banks, and the fertile tracts in their vicinity will give rise to agriculture, commerce, wealth, civilization, literature, and deeds that will find a place in the history of man. If the territory be a hot one, and support easily procured, its inhabitants will be in continual danger of falling into sloth, and ultimately of being overrun by the hardy inhabitants of the North.

Much, too, will depend on that section of the human race to which the inhabitants of the region belong. We have the highest authority for believing all men to have been of one original stock. But in process of time, well marked varieties have sprung up among them. Some years ago, Dr. Blumenbach classed the whole human family into five leading varieties, to which two others were added by subsequent writers:—the *Caucasian race*, including nearly all the inhabitants of Europe, and also many of the tribes of Western Asia, with the higher castes of India; the *Mongolian race*, comprehending the rest of the nations of Asia, such as the Chinese, the Tartars, and others; the *American race*, that is, the red men, the aborigines of America, often called North American Indians; the *Negroes* of Central Africa; the *Caffres*, and other tribes of South Africa; the *Malays* of the East Indian Archipelago and the Pacific Ocean; and finally, the *Papuas*, or negro-like inhabitants of New Guinea. These divisions being, most of them, founded in nature, are still to a large extent acknowledged. We shall, therefore, indicate the characteristics of the two varieties, according to the above classification, with which alone this

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history has to do. They are the Caucasians, and the Mongolians. The Caucasian races have an oval countenance, with the features moderately well distinguished, a high and broad forehead, a nose aquiline or slightly convex or prominent, the cheek bones not prominent, small mouth and lips, and the chin full and well rounded. The Mongolians have a broad and flattish face, with the parts not well distinguished from each other, the space between the eyes flat and broad, a flat nose, projecting cheeks, narrow and oblique eyelids, and chin rather prominent. It is not, however, in features, but in languages that we find the best assistance in tracing the relationship of the different tribes of men. Professor Max Müller of Oxford has lately made many discoveries in this interesting department of study. Have our readers ever examined the shapes of the stones and pebbles lying in such numbers on many sea-beaches? If so, they will have observed that some but recently detached from the rocks are angular, while those that have lain longer have become rounded with rolling; and even the sand itself is no more than the residue of stones once sharp on their edges, then rounded into pebbles, and finally quite ground down into the minute particles we find them now. A change not very unlike this takes place in languages. They, like pebbles, rub away. Long words rub into short ones, and words hard to pronounce rub into ones that less severely tax the organs of speech. The great unrubbed language, if such an expression may be permitted, is the Chinese. A more respectful term for it is monosyllabic. "Every word in it is a root, and every root a word, and the whole are monosyllabic." The Chinese has also been called a radical language, or language of independent roots. It is supposed that the same description might once have been given of every tongue. Now, however, it is very different. The other languages have all suffered from friction in a greater or less degree. Words of one syllable, having been rubbed down for a certain time, at last were made into what are termed the Turanian tongues. They are most extensively spoken. A great northern branch of them, which we may vaguely call Tartar or Scythian, is used over Northern and Middle Asia and part of Europe. And a great southern division is employed by the Tamils

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and some other peoples of India, as well as by the Siamese, the Malays, and the islanders of the Pacific. The nations speaking the Chinese and the Turanian tongues fall under that variety of mankind which we have described as Mongolian. The Malays, too, speak Turanian tongues; from which we may infer that they ought not to have been reckoned by Blumenbach one of the primary races of men. The Turanian tongues are called agglutinate; that is, glued together. The reason is, that pronouns are made to adhere to the root of the verb to form the conjugation, and prepositions to substantives to form the declension. On this account the Turanian tongues have also been called terminational. The word Turanian occurs in the Persian sacred books with the word Aryan, afterwards to be explained.

More wear and tear made the only other great families of languages known in Asia, the Syro-Arabian or Semitic, and the Indo-European or Aryan tongues. The Syro-Arabian are so called because they extend from Syria to Arabia. They are also termed Semitic, because they are supposed to have been most of them spoken by the descendants of Shem. The Arabic, the Hebrew, the Syriac, the Ethiopic, the old Carthaginian, and others, are all Semitic tongues. The Indo-European family is so called from the wonderful discovery to which the German philosopher Schlegel led the way, that the Sanscrit, the Zend or ancient Persian, the ancient Greek, the Latin, the Germanic, the Sclavonic, the Celtic tongues—in short, nearly all the languages of Europe, belong to one family. It is supposed that the ancestors of the tribes speaking these varied tongues lived of old as one people, somewhere in the Highlands of Central Asia, the progenitors of the Brahmans and the British having then but one colour, one language, and one caste. In process of time the old nation separated into smaller tribes, and the different Indo-European tongues then gradually arose. The Indo-Germanic races are called Aryans, because that is the name they receive in the Vedas, and in the sacred books and on the monuments of ancient Persia. The Semitic and Indo-European languages are spoken by the races called Caucasian. In these, which have been termed inflectional languages, two or more roots are joined together to form words. The Semitic are the

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least wasted, and the Aryan the most wasted of the whole. The paragraph about races and languages is an uninviting one; but if our youthful friends will master its difficulties, they will find it help them on in their studies in a remarkable way.

It has been said by a distinguished writer that the most important thing about a man is his religion. The same statement may be made regarding nations. If we are to understand the history of any people, we must be particular in inquiring into their faith. As a rule, nations practising idolatry are low in civilization; wars and commotions are continually occurring among them; and even in the case of the Grèeks and the Romans, who attained to perhaps the highest elevation of which idolatrous powers were capable, human life was but little valued, and deeds were often done of which civilized people in Europe read with amazement.

The history of Mohammedan nations often tells of a very sudden rise to empire; of remarkable exploits in war, sullied, however, by cruel and fanatical deeds; then of a cessation of progress; of diminished strength in the supreme authority, with loss of cohesion among the different parts of the empire; and then the general disintegration of the whole fabric into a multitude of unimportant fragments. With the exception of two or three epochs of an abnormal character in Mohammedan history, the Mussulmans have not enlarged the sum of human knowledge in any marked degree.

For additions to human knowledge, for triumphs over nature, and for the establishment of empires, which though vast in extent, yet tenaciously hold together, and protect instead of overbearing liberty, we must turn to the records of the Christian powers. It is then necessary, we repeat, to give attention to the religious history of any people, if you would understand that history aright. Neglecting to do so, you are left in darkness regarding the causes of many political events. History has been called philosophy teaching by example. A truth which, daily told in the uncouth phraseology of learned societies, is barren of result to the popular mind, becomes perfectly clear and intelligible, when acted out in a series of striking events. And religious views which look very much alike when placed side by

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side in unimpressive theological language, seem wonderfully different when one religious system is seen to hold a nation down century after century, ambitious as it may be to rise to distinguished place in the world, and another religious system is seen to aid every nation embracing it, in going forward to prosperity and happiness. Let our young friends ponder well the results produced by the different faiths they witness or hear of in the world. If they do so, they will in no slight degree be aided in discovering what faith is best for them, and best for their country—what faith is shown by its effects to be a revelation from God.

GARROW MAN.
Representative of one of the Aboriginal Tribes.

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PERIOD I.

The Hindu Period.

CHAPTER I.

THE ABORIGINES OF INDIA.

Periods of Indian History. | The Aborigines of India.

THE history of India may be divided into three periods; the HINDU, the MOHAMMEDAN, and the CHRISTIAN PERIODS. It is of the first of these that the present section treats.

If, before true religion and civilization have softened savage manners, foreign invaders succeed in permanently establishing themselves in any country, what is likely to be the fate of the native inhabitants who escape death in the struggle? Evidently that the great mass of the vanquished, submitting to the victors, will with a few exceptions be reduced to the very lowest grade in the social scale; while the bolder spirits, fleeing to the woods and hills, will there lose what little civilization they may ever have possessed, but preserve inviolate their liberty. Now it is remarkable that in India we find classes unmistakably with a common relationship, occupying the very positions we have supposed; that is, some of them in society, but mostly at the base of the social pyramid; the others in savage freedom among the jungles and mountain ranges. General Briggs shall be our guide while we visit some of those hardly-used races of men. Take a map of India and see how they are scattered over the whole country. First, there are a large number of them

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that have given their names to districts of greater or less importance. For instance, in Bengal, and as far north-west even as Delhi, we find the Bengies; in Tirhut, the Tirhus; in Kolywara and Kolwan, the Koles, from whom emigrants, called by the English "hill coolies," are obtained for labour in the Mauritius. A race called Kolis, west of the Aravulli hills, and generally in the west of India as far south as Goa, may be another branch of the Kole tribe. Some of them are fishermen or ferrymen. Many act as porters. General Briggs thinks it was when Europeans first had dealings with them in this last capacity that the English picked up the word *cooly*, which they now apply to porters of all races and kinds. In Malda and Malpur we meet with the Malas; in Domapur, the Domes; in Mirwara, the Mirs, whose former power is attested by such names as Aj*mir*, Jessel*mir*, and Combel*mir*; in Bhilwara and Bhilwan, the Bhils; the Mahars in Maha-rashtra, or rather Mahar-rashtra; the Mans in Man-desa, and the Gonds in Gondwana. Besides these there are many others, though they have not had the honour of obviously giving their names to provinces. Thus there might be enumerated the Ramusis or foresters, once great thieves, but now guides to show us our way; the Santhals, who rebelled a few years ago; the Khoonds, who fought to keep up the Meria sacrifices; the universally known Pariahs of Madras, and many others.

These races differ entirely from the ordinary Hindus.

General Briggs draws our attention especially to the following points of discrepancy:—

1. The ordinary Hindus are divided into castes.	The aborigines have no such distinctions.
2. Hindu widows are forbidden to marry.	The widows of the aborigines not only do so, but usually with the younger brother of the late husband—a practice they follow in common with the Scythian tribes.
3. The Hindus venerate the cow, and [now at least] abstain from eating beef.	The aborigines feed alike on all flesh.
4. The Hindus [now] abstain [or at least ought by their religion to do so] from the use of fermented liquors.	The aborigines drink to excess; and conceive no ceremony, civil or religious, complete without.
5. The Hindus eat of food prepared only by those of their own caste.	The aborigines partake of food prepared by any one.

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6. The Hindus abhor the spilling of blood. [This is too strongly stated.]	The aborigines conceive no religious or domestic ceremony complete without the spilling of blood, and offering up a live victim.
7. The Hindus have a Brahmanical priesthood.	The aborigines do not venerate Brahmans. Their own priests (who are self created) are respected according to their mode of life and their skill in magic and sorcery, in divining future events, and in curing diseases: these are the qualifications which authorize their employment in slaying sacrificial victims, and in distributing them.
8. The Hindus burn their dead.	The aborigines bury their dead, and with them their arms, and sometimes also their cattle, as among the Scythians. On such occasions a victim ought to be sacrificed to atone for the sins of the deceased.
9. The Hindu civil institutions are all municipal.	The aboriginal institutions are all patriarchal.
10. The Hindus have their courts of justice composed of equals.	The aborigines have theirs composed of heads of tribes, or of families, and chosen for life.
11. The Hindus brought with them (more than 3000 years ago) [?] the art of writing and science.	The aborigines are illiterate.

Most of these points of difference are founded on accurate inquiry; but with regard to Hindu abstinence from beef and liquor in the olden time (noted as 3 and 4 in the list), our chapter on Vedic life will have a story to tell; while, again, we do not believe the Hindus brought with them to India, 3000 years ago, the art of writing, but think that they acquired it long subsequently to their settlement in the land.

The first step taken by a nation from barbarism to civilization is an advance from utter savagery to the state of hunters. The second is to make the supply of food more certain than it can be when it depends simply on the chase, by domesticating animals—in short, the adoption of the shepherd life. When the aborigines, at a very remote period of antiquity, themselves entered India, some appear to have been hunters and others herdsmen. The hunters were probably first in the land, then the herdsmen followed,

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cleared away many of the forests, and at last established principalities, some of them not even yet totally extinct. The hunters have left but few traces behind; the pastoral tribes, on the contrary, called by the Hindus Ahirs, Abhiras, Gawals, and Pals, have left a memorial behind in the names of such places as Asseer, Gyalgarh (Gawilgurh), Gwalior, &c. But though some of the wild tribes may have been hunters and others herdsmen, they are all in reality very nearly akin. For instance, there is a close resemblance between the different dialects they speak; and the family of languages with which these connect themselves is the Southern Indian group, comprising the Tamil, the Telugu, the Canarese, and the Malayalam. Thus the Ramusis of the Western Mahratta country properly speak among themselves, not Mahratta, but a language akin to Telugu or Canarese; and the Gonds of the Eastern Mahratta province, a dialect resembling Tamil. Then, again, the Tamil itself may almost be regarded as a Tartar language, or at least a Mongolian or Turanian tongue. The affinity of the aborigines to that great division of mankind may be read in many of their countenances, in the high cheek bones, the broad flat noses, the large jaws, the thick lips, the deficient beard, and the general contour of the face, round rather than oval. Away in distant Beloochistan and in remote Burmah you find tribes related to the Indian aborigines, though now separated from the mass of them by the wide tracts wrested from them by other races of men. No wonder, that unless controlled by a strong and vigilant Government, many of them hasten to put in force against others the arts others employed against them; and, to word it as the poet does—

> "——the *good* old rule
> Sufficeth them, the simple plan,
> That they should take who have the power,
> And they should keep who can."

Though now fallen from high estate, yet there are here and there ceremonies, which recall that once they ruled where now they serve. Thus, when the proud Rajpoot Rana of Oodeypore, deemed the highest in descent of all the Hindu rulers, ascends the throne, a Bheel is required to imprint on the Rana's forehead the red mark termed tika or tilaka,

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which is the symbol of sovereignty. A red spot of the same kind is applied to the forehead of the Raja of Nerwar by a member of the wild tribe of the Minas, who obtains for the purpose blood drawn from the toe of one of the Mina race. Without this the allegiance of the Minas would not be secure; but with it they are so faithful that they are employed to guard the treasury at Nerwar, and are the sole escort of the princesses when they go abroad. This fidelity is common among all the wild tribes. *And they speak the truth;*—let our young friends mark this last statement, for there is much implied in it. Nations or tribes, however degraded, which speak the truth, are almost invariably rising to higher place in the world; those abandoned to shameless lying are in general falling; and we augur well for the future of the wild tribes, from finding that as a rule they speak the truth. Before, however, they can advance far, they must exchange their religion for another. Their present one is of a pitiably low kind. GOD IS LOVE; and the religious conceptions of men diverge more or less widely from truth, according as they more or less utterly fail to understand the loving character of God. Tried by this standard, the religion of the wild tribes, in which there has been ever a tendency to offer their fellow-men in sacrifice, as if God were pleased with human torture and blood, must stand very low. In this respect the religion of the Khoonds has for some years past excited among the benevolent the saddest pity. These Khoonds were, if they are not even now, in the habit of kidnapping children, and at times adults, and after fattening them like cattle, finally disposing of them for sacrifice.

As the mournful procession moves on to the fatal spot such invocations are sung as that from which we extract the following verses:—

"Goddess of earth, dread source of ill,
Thy just revenge o'erwhelms us still
For rites unpaid;
But oh, forgive, our stores are small,
Our lessened means uncertain all,
Denied thine aid.
Goddess that taught mankind to feel
Poison in plants, and death in steel—
A fearful lore!

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Forgive, forgive, and ne'er again
Shall we neglect thy shrine to stain
With human gore.
Let plenty all our land o'erspread,
Make green the ground with living bread;
Our pastures fill
So close with cattle, side by side,
That no bare spot may be descried
From distant hill."

After asking in a similar manner for a multiplicity of cattle, sheep, pigs, children, poultry, and protection from tigers and snakes, arranging the requests in the precise order we now have done, children it will be observed strangely enough standing between "pigs" and "poultry," the hymn proceeds:—

"Oh make it each man's only care
Yearly to build a store-room fair
For goods god-sent,
And wealthy rites we'll duly pay;—
Lo, one bought victim now we slay,
One life present."

Arrived at the Meria grove, a clump of umbrageous forest trees, the victim is bound for a day in a sitting posture to a stake, while drinking, feasting, and licentious orgies proceed as they have done for the two previous days. About noon of the third, the unhappy Meria, whose arms, if not also his legs, have been broken in several places, as he must neither suffer bound nor struggle to be free, is enclosed in the cleft of the split branch of a tree, which holds him fast. The priest then slightly wounds him with an axe, by way of signal, when the multitude rush on the wretched victim and cut his flesh in small shreds from his bones. Each then returns home and deposits the fragment he has brought away in his field, as a votive offering to the earth goddess, supposed to have the power of making land fertile. After this all are dumb for three days. Then a buffalo is offered at the place of sacrifice, and their tongues are loosed again. What a sanguinary divinity the poor Khoonds must imagine God to be! And how far—how very far are they from the sublime and true conception, which it needed a divine revelation to communicate, that GOD IS LOVE!

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CHAPTER II.

WAVES OF ANTE-BRAHMANIC CONQUEST.

Light thrown on Indian history by the study of the Indian languages.

Light thrown by the study of the Indian religions.

The Sudra caste.

WHEN an unhappy traveller has to make way over a quaking bog, he speedily learns how insecure is the footing on which he stands. The tufts of herbage which were pretty continuous at the place where he first entered the bog, become more scattered as he advances, with hideous muddy gaps between; and as he leaps from tuft to tuft, the quagmire vibrates beneath his feet, threatening every moment to yawn open and engulf him in its slimy depths. The part of Indian history now reached is such a bog; and whoever would cross it must claim sympathy, while, with much danger of a catastrophe, he leaps from tuft to tuft.

The first tuft of solid footing is afforded by the study of the Indian languages. To dismiss the figure, the study of Indian languages throws some light on the obscure period of ancient Indian history, which immediately followed the aboriginal epoch. How, says the reader, can language furnish this knowledge? In the way now to be explained. The chief use of money is to enable one to pay his way; but the coins with which he makes his purchases, each stamped with the head of the sovereign then ruling, and generally with the year when the coin was struck, enable the antiquary to recover many a forgotten landmark in ancient history. A twofold use may in like manner be made of language. Words may be employed, like money, for the current necessities of life; or their affinities may be traced, and nations now far sundered may thus be proved formerly to have been one. What, then, has language to say about remotely-ancient India? Long ago it was discovered that one-tenth of the words used in the Hindi language are not of Sanscrit origin. Going a little further south, it is the same with one-fifth of

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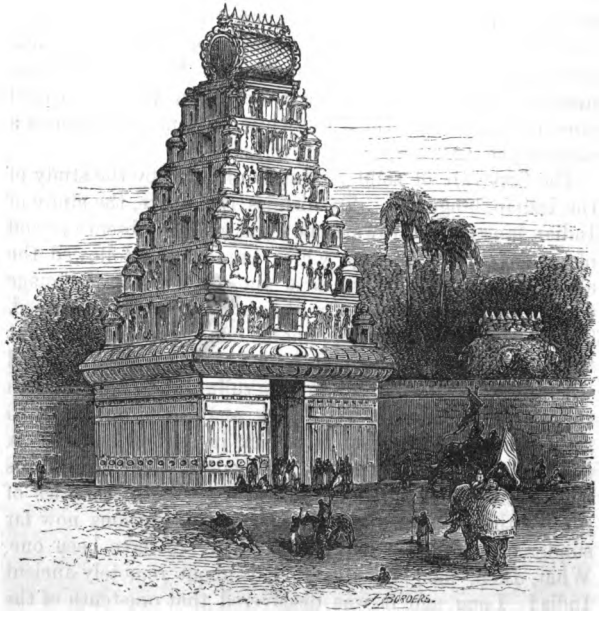
the Mahratta words. Yet proceeding southward we find a still larger number in the Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, and Malayalam languages, free from Sanscrit intrusion. Comparing next the words that are not Sanscrit, we discover them to have a certain resemblance to each other, and a more or less close affinity to the Tartar; or, speaking more generally, at least to the Turanian tongues. The first wave of conquest, then, which rolled over India, seems to have been a Scythian, or at least a Turanian one. Nay, there was probably more than one, the Scythian words to some extent differing in the northern and southern families of Indian tongues. Many of that first nation of conquerors must have become the ancestors of the Sudra community in the south, and probably even in many other parts of India.



THE TEMPLE AT SERINGHAM.

A specimen of the architecture of the Turanian Hindus.

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The great writer on architecture—Ferguson—shows that the Turanians subsequently became the great temple-builders of India. In war they were not greatly distinguished. In literature they did not do much that was original. In science they made no proper advance. But such patient and devoted temple-builders the world scarce anywhere else has seen. Take a map of India, and draw a line from Madras to Mangalore; it will cut off a triangle with each side of about four hundred miles in length, which, with the exception of the beautiful rock-cut temple of Kylas at Ellora, will contain nearly all the great architectural erections of the Turanian Hindus. When Europeans wish to give a specimen of Brahmanic architecture, they often choose the great pagoda of Tanjore, one of the temples not of the Brahmanic style at all, but constructed seemingly by the race of men which the Brahmans conquered, and in part destroyed.

A few additional tufts, affording more or less solid footing, may be obtained from a careful study of the modern Hindu religion. There are here and there rocks called by geologists conglomerates, consisting of a paste in which pebbles or larger stones of all kinds and ages have got firmly bedded; Europeans have in general come to regard Hinduism as such a conglomerate. The paste is Brahmanism; the imbedded pebbles or boulders (for so they are geologically termed) are the bits of other faiths now stuck fast in the Hindu religion. The way it happened was this: When the Brahmans, whom we here mention by way of anticipation, for they may be supposed not yet to have been in India, failed to put down a rite, or a festival of some conquered tribe, they adopted it into their own religion, representing this as a boon to a Pishacha, or Daityu, or Rakshas, as the case might be. The late Rev. Dr. Stevenson gave much attention to this interesting subject, and is well entitled to speak on it with some degree of authority. He confined his attention to the Deccan, which best he knew; but similar investigations should be gone into for every part of India. Let us at his request look first at Vetal, worshipped in the Deccan, Konkan, Canara, Guzerat, Kutch, and possibly other places. He has no images or temples, but is worshipped within a circle of stones, coloured red beneath and white above, to

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represent fire, and with one stone outside as if for sentinel. He is chief of the Pishachas or fiends, and the stones are supposed to be part of the fiend army he commands. The offering to him is generally a cock, whose blood is presented in a vessel, that he may smell it and be satisfied. The Brahmans have no respect for Vetal's worship. Take next that of Mhasoba, those round stones, tipped with red lead, so extensively worshipped by the cultivators in the Deccan. The Brahmans still treat him with ridicule. Take next the Diwalee festival. The first and third days are expressly stated in the Kartika Mahatyma to have been established as boons conceded to an Asura and a Daitya slain by the Brahmanic gods. It is believed that after Vamana had defrauded Bali of his kingdom, he failed to put down this festival, then observed by the vanquished. He had, therefore, no help but to give it a thin Brahmanic varnish, and then call it a part of the Brahmanic faith. The disgraceful Hooly seems to have been another festival of the same nature. It is said to be in honour of a female Rakshas, named Dhunda, slain by Mahadeva, and who received from him, before she expired, a promise of being worshipped, in a manner which, it is to be hoped, will not long continue in the land. More startling still, the whole Sivaite worship is believed to have a similar origin. Siva, we shall afterwards see, is not mentioned in the Vedas; the name Rudra, which occurs, though afterwards applied to him, having at that early period had quite a different meaning. Specially does the extensive Lingayat worship seem to have been one for which the Brahmans were not originally responsible. As is well known, to this day the priests of the Lingayats are not Brahmans, but Jangams, who hate the Brahmans as cordially as the Brahmans in return hate them. The sacred places of the Jyoti Lingams are generally in the south or in the north-east of India, away from the original Brahmanic settlements, and it is only in the south of India that the Lingayats now much abound. Dr. Stevenson states that the worshippers of Siva are more numerous than those of Vishnu, in the south and east of India; while in the north-west, the followers of Vishnu are said to have the decisive superiority.

Thus far we have had to do with Turanians, and with these

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only. But it would seem as if the Sudras of part of Northern India were an Aryan race, like the Brahmans, who were to follow them to the south. The Rev. Dr. Wilson points out that many of the names of the Dasyus and other enemies of the Brahmans had a meaning in the Sanscrit tongue, as if indicating that in this case the vanquished and the victors were near of kin. And one of the "Sanscrit texts," quoted by Dr. John Muir, begins with the words,—"Thus these four castes, whose speech is from Brahma [or Brahmanical];" apparently indicating, as has been pointed out, that from the first the speech of the Sudras in the north of India was the same as that of the three superior castes. And yet they were a distinct nation from those three for many long years, so that the Greek geographer Ptolemy, in the second century of the Christian era, speaks of them as the Sydroi, a nation on the Indus. When the Sudras were subdued, and became the fourth caste of the Hindu community, the word Sudra underwent a change of meaning, acquiring the signification which it possesses now. What was the religion of the Aryan Sudras while yet they were free? Could it be Vishnuism, in whose mythology Ferguson points out certain resemblances to that represented on the Assyrian sculptures? or some religion from which Booddhism and Jainism were at future periods to come? We cannot tell. But whatever faith these Sudras brought with them, their coming was an ominous event for India, for it indicated that the flood-gates had let in the ocean of Aryan invasion, which, as the ages went forward, was destined to break, wave on wave, over Turanian India, till it had overwhelmed it in every part.

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CHAPTER III.

THE BRAHMANS AT LAST UPON THE SCENE—THE VEDIC TIMES.

Our Vedic authorities.
The great Brahman Aryan invasion.
Social and domestic life of the Aryan invaders.
Vedic gods.

WE are not yet on firm ground; but the bog quakes less beneath our feet, and we move with surer tread. If any one regard history as a mere string of dates, not much in his department can yet be furnished; and if one think all save records of kings or queens beneath his notice, he had better skip this chapter, and pass on. But he will not be disappointed who regards the state of the people in general as the most interesting subject on which history can treat.

Our guides in this chapter must be the celebrated Vedas. In following such high authorities, it is to be hoped that the conclusions announced will be received with more than ordinary faith. Special assistance will be rendered in this chapter by the Rev. Dr. Wilson's "India Three Thousand Years Ago," to which we are most deeply indebted, and which we feel to be one of the most interesting little treatises we have ever read. "The meaning of the word Veda," as the Rev. Dr. Wilson points out, "is, 'Fount of Knowledge,' or 'Fount of Vision.'" The Vedas are four in number—the Rig, the Sama, the Yajur, and the Atharvan. Of these the Rig Veda has about 11,000 distichs. A distich is called in Sanscrit *rich*, whence comes the name Rig, applied to the Veda. The Yajur has about half the number of distichs found in the Rig, from which about half of its materials is taken. The Sama is only about half the size of the Yajur, and consists of little more than extracts from the Rig. The Atharvan borrows like the rest from the Rig, which it is said nearly to equal in the number of its distichs; but its value is by no means commensurate with its bulk, for it is much more modern than the other three Vedas. If,

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then, any one desire to obtain information about the very olden time, the Rig Veda is clearly the quarter to which he should apply. But to what part of it should he go? To the Sanhita, or collection of hymns, really the only true and proper Veda. These hymns are evidently of different ages, and must have been handed down from father to son for many generations before the invention of writing rendered it possible to put them more permanently on record. The hymns of the Rig Veda are about 1000 in number. It was one of the good deeds of the government of the late East India Company that it set Professor Max Müller to publish them correctly in Sanscrit, and Professor Horace Hayman Wilson to render them into English, to give all the benefit of those precious records. The veteran scholar Wilson had translated 502 hymns, or about half of the whole, when his life terminated. It is not, however, supposed the second five hundred will much alter the conclusions derived from the first. What light, then, do the translated hymns throw on old India, from 1500 to 1200 years B.C.; for it is supposed that some of them at least were composed at that remotely bygone epoch?

We learn from the Rev. Dr. Wilson that the people whose worship is embodied in the hymns of the Rig Veda called themselves Arya, that is Aryan people; that, turning next to the Parsi scriptures, we find the same race termed Airya; that ancient Persian tablets recently deciphered make it Ariya; and Scythian ones Arriya. Thus all authorities, it will be seen, wonderfully coincide. When we first hear of the Aryans in the Vedas, they have evidently not been long from a northern land, and sighing for the frost and snow which seem to have been so pleasing to them there, they will take from the gods no boon short of 100 *winters*. They are fair in colour, too, at that early period, as might have been expected in the case of those fresh from a cold country. They have come into India from the north-west, and all of it that they know or occupy is the Punjaub. Their great rivers are the Indus and its tributary streams. Here, for instance, is a prayer of theirs: "May Sindhu [that is, the Indus], the renowned bestower of

1500 to 1200 B.C.

By other accounts 1000 B.C.

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wealth, hear us, (fertilizing our) broad fields with water." From them the Greeks got the name of the renowned stream, and passed it on to Western Europe, of which there is an undying memorial in the name by which the English designate the land of the Hindus—India. From the part of India they occupied they knew the lion well, but not as yet the tiger. The primitive Aryans were not allowed to settle unmolested in the Punjaub, and along the valley of the Indus. Among the numerous foes with whom they had to struggle there were some whose names are yet familiar, but with strangely changed meanings. Thus the Rakshasas troubled them. The Pishachas, described as tawny-coloured men, would not let them alone. Specially the Dasyus, from whom evidently the name *das*, a bondman, arose, maintained with them a long and desperate struggle. The Asuras, who, as we learn, possessed cattle, horses, chariots, and strongly built stone cities, resisted them with all their power. It was in vain. The fair Aryans were gradually victorious, and Indra, of whom we shall have yet to speak, punished "those wanting religious rites; he tore off their black skin." The intimation is instructive: it shows that the tribes conquered by the Aryans, and of a different faith from them, were dark in colour. It was what was so often to occur in after times; white invaders appeared, and, despite the opposition of the darker natives, succeeded in establishing themselves in the land. At that time they were a pastoral people, keeping cows, horses, camels, and humped oxen. Morning, noon, or night, the subject of cows was never long absent from their thoughts. What rupees now are as a medium of exchange, that cows were in large measure in the Vedic time; thus the question is asked—"Who buys this, my Indra, for ten milch kine?" The Sanscrit word *duhitri*, daughter, properly means milk-maid, that being the special part of domestic economy that fell to the daughter's share; and *gopa*, or *gopal* (a keeper of cattle), then came to mean a protector in general, from the high estimation in which cattle-keepers were held. The rishis, composers of the hymns, begged for cows. For them the warriors made forays, in which much cattle-lifting was done. One of the words for war, when traced back to its origin, signifies "a desire for cows."

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Agriculture had advanced among them to a certain extent. They had villages, too, and towns as well as cattle pens. They could spin and could weave. Blacksmiths, coppersmiths, and goldsmiths were known among them, and carpenters and other artisans. Professional barbers cut their hair. They fought from war chariots. A case is mentioned of a tame elephant, the property of an Asura; but there is no mention of elephants being employed in war. The Aryans had ships, but do not seem to have been great navigators. The language they spoke was Sanscrit, though as yet of an unpolished kind. Want of space prevents us proceeding further with the sketch. Before, however, dismissing the Vedic times, it would be unpardonable to omit to draw attention to some of the important differences, in social habits, in philosophy, and in religion, between Vedic Hinduism and that which obtains in India in the present day.—Woman had a higher social status in the primitive times than now, being poetically termed "the light of the dwelling." She does not seem to have been debarred from acquiring knowledge, and some of the Vedic hymns are attributed to female authors. Baby marriages, if permitted, were not imperative. Caste did not exist in India as it does now. The Brahmans of that early period are represented as a profession, and not as a caste. They were, besides, but one of several orders of priests. Their ranks were not closed against the rest of the community; thus Viswamitra, one of the chief writers in the Vedas, was from the "Rajas," or warrior caste, but was afterwards admitted to the Brahmanic dignity. Brahmans and Kshetriyas were, indeed, originally of the same stock. The word Vaisya simply meant one of the common people. Sudras are never mentioned at all in the Vedas. The idea of ceremonial defilement through eating and drinking is not once hinted at.

The life of man was not put on the same level with that of the inferior animals. There is no mention of the transmigration of souls. The cruel crime of suttee has no proper sanction in the Vedas. It is to be feared that more countenance is given to human sacrifice, though in general the inferior animals were the victims offered up, the aswamedh, or sacrifice of the horse, as with some northern nations, being the

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most regarded. Thirty-three gods are mentioned, or, as it is worded, "gods, who are eleven in heaven, eleven in earth, and who are eleven dwelling with glory in mid-air, may ye be pleased with our sacrifice." It is supposed it is the number 33 of the Vedas which ultimately became exaggerated into the 330,000,000 of the later Hindu belief. The names of Siva, of Mahadeva, of Durga, of Kali, of Rama, and of Krishna, so far as is yet known, do not occur in the Vedas. What gods, then, it will be asked, were worshipped? Of the hymns as yet translated which are dedicated to gods, 178 are addressed to Indra, 147 to Agni, 28 to the Ashvins, 24 to the Maruts, 17 to Mitra, 20 to Varuna, 11 to Ushas, 5 to Sura or Surya, 6 to Vayu, 3 to Rudra, 2 to Brihaspiti, 1 to Saraswati, and 2 to Vishnu. The most familiar name in the list is of course Vishnu. His worship had thus already begun, but was still very feeble. The three leading gods were, 1st, Indra, in English Ether, the god of the air, the Zeus of the Greeks, and Jupiter of the Romans; 2d, Varuna, the Ouranos of the Greeks, the god of the encircling canopy of heaven; and 3d, Agni, the Latin Ignis, the lord of fire and heat. Among the other divinities were Vayu, the god of the winds; Rudra, the god of roaring tempests, and not yet applied as a name of Shiva; the Maruts, or faint breezes, the sons of Rudra; Vishnu, the god of the brilliant firmament;* Sura, or Surya, the sun; Ushas, the dawn, with the Ashvins, or riders, possibly her precursive rays; with others which we need not mention.

It was the adoration of the elements; but the opinion would seem to be a correct one, that in the horse sacrifice and other ceremonies, a Scythian or Tartar worship had already become blended with the Aryan faith. That religion certainly did not need to be corrupted, for there were already in it practices so completely out of place in serious worship, that they become positively ludicrous. We take no exception, but the reverse, to the good taste that prompted both gods and men so highly to appreciate beef as an article of food; but we do seriously demur to the frequency with which they had recourse to an intoxicating liquor made

* Or, perhaps, the sun regarded in his several phases of rising, culminating, and setting.—*Dr. Muir.*

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from the soma, or acid asclepias, a plant growing in the north-west of India. The modern Hindu will be astonished to meet with passages like the following in the Vedic hymns: "Agni, the friend (of Indra), has quickly consumed 300 buffaloes." "May Pushan and Vishnu cook* (for thee, Indra,) 100 buffaloes." Thus much of the beef-eating god; next, of the equally beef-eating worshipper: "Bestow upon him who glorifies thee, divine (Indra), food, the chiefest of which is cattle." "When the pious have recourse to Indra for food, he finds it in the haunts of the Gaura and Gavaya, (two species of the Indian wild ox or cow)." A few quotations now to show how they drank, and let the reader note on what free and easy terms they met—those ancient gods and men. Says a worshipper to his god, "Sit down, Indra, on the sacred grass, and when thou hast drunk the soma, then, Indra, go home." So a rishi meditatively remarks, "The stomach of Indra is as capacious of soma as a lake." Another thus addresses the same divinity: "Thy inebriety† is most intense, nevertheless thy acts are most beneficent." And as were the gods so were the men; for "sages and saints," says Viswamitra, "drink together with the gods the sweet juice of the soma."

The high caste Hindus regard it as a sin of the first magnitude to eat beef and to drink liquor, and they will deem it cruel in any one to allude to the carousals of the heathen gods and men in the olden time. But truth, though often bitter, is always beneficial; and the recent revelations regarding the Vedas and the Vedic age will be beneficial to the Hindu in the highest degree, if they send him to the volume which alone has been proof against all new discoveries, and has imparted to innumerable men, of every country and clime, the saving knowledge and the peace of mind they nowhere else have found.

* Cook! and was that the humiliating office which Vishnu at least occasionally filled in Vedic times?

† The word need not mean more than exhilaration.—*Dr. Muir.*

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CHAPTER IV.

THE BRAHMAN ARYANS SLOWLY ADVANCING.

Brahmanas of the Vedas.
Institutes of Menu.

Advance of the Aryans from the Indus to the Ganges.
The Brahmans destroy the Kshetriyas.

THE sketch of the old Aryans, in last chapter, was, it will be remembered, founded on information originally derived from the Sanhita of the Rig Veda, part of which the late Professor Wilson rendered into English, and the Rev. Dr. Wilson and others reasoned on with good effect. According to Hindu classification, however, each Veda consists not merely of a Sanhita or Mantra, but also of a Brahmana. The Sanhita, comprises all hymns, prayers, or invocations; and the Brahmana, or system of divinity, whatever of the Veda is left over when the hymns are away. Most Hindus deem these two portions of the Vedas to be of the same age. European research has, however, established that the Sanhita and the Brahmanas are unquestionably of quite different dates. The former were composed before the Hindus had acquired the art of writing, the latter afterwards. Professor Wilson thinks the Brahmana of the Rig Veda may have originated possibly six or seven centuries before the Christian era. Then there come Upanishads, or theological tracts,—properly the Vedantas, or end portions of the Vedas; and the Upavedas, or writings appended to the Vedas. The Vedangas, the members of the Vedas, follow in due course; and then the Upangas. These varied compositions have not emanated from one, but from many successive ages, and when they have been well examined, they will doubtless afford much information on the history of ancient India. But this information is not at present within our reach. Only one of these compositions has yet been properly studied—the Institutes of Menu, generally classed as one of the Upangas, of the subdivision Dhurmashastra, or jurisprudence. Before,

700 to 600 B.C.

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however, using evidence derived from the Institutes, we must obtain at least some conception of the age of that celebrated code. The laws of Menu are supposed by most Hindus to have been founded on divine revelation, and given all at once to the people; but again that searching test, European inquiry, has shown that the several enactments are really of very different ages. Do our readers wonder at this? They need not, for a code of law is scarcely ever promulgated all at one time. As the several enactments stand side by side, before you have investigated the matter, you naturally suppose them to be of equal antiquity, just as the uninformed deem the several stars clustered together in any one portion of the heavens to be at the same distance from the eye. But as the stars of any single constellation are really at different distances in space from the spectator's eye, so the different enactments of any code have realized their full development at various dates, though they look as if promulgated at one. The older parts of the Institutes of Menu are supposed to belong to the seventh or sixth century, B.C., an epoch little more modern than that when the Brahmanas of the Rig Veda were composed. Thus much regarding our authorities. To proceed now with the narrative.

800 to 500 B.C.

When the Aryan Hindus found themselves at last secure along the Indus and its tributary streams, additions to their numbers would be almost sure to be made from that part of their tribe or nation which yet remained in its original seat beyond the mountains. As they became numerous and powerful, they began to push their way eastward and southward, each step of their progress resisted as before by the Dasyus or other native tribes. Opposition to the Aryans was, however, vain. In one battle, for instance, described as a specimen of many, "the ground was covered with the shorn and bearded heads of the Dasyus and their helmets, as if with birds bereft of their plumes." We can trace several stages in the Aryan advance with some degree of confidence; the only uncertainty is, as to the exact date when each new resting-place was gained. To show that there was such an advance, let us first go back to the Rig Veda, where in one

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of the hymns we find the following: "Gloriously shine forth, O Agni, in the places in which the descendants of Menu [that is, the Aryans] inhabit, on the banks of the Drishadvati, the Apaya and the Saraswati. The best known of these rivers, the Saraswati, is held to be the Sarsuti of the maps, near Thaneswar. The Drishadvati used to be set down as the Caggar, though doubt has now begun to arise on the subject. Both these streams run south-west, and ultimately lose themselves in the desert. To pass now for a moment from the Rig Veda to the oldest part of Menu's Institutes, we find the lawgiver stating that the territory between the Saraswati and the Drishadvati is called Brahmavarta, or formed by the gods. If the two rivers are really the Sarsuti and the Caggar, then the sacred territory is no more than sixty miles long by twenty broad; too small a space, evidently, long to hold Aryan ambition. Accordingly, after a time the Aryans pushed from it, eastward and southward. Eastward, they appear to have cautiously felt their way along the base of the mountains, and were at length rewarded by the discovery of a more splendid system of rivers than that by which they had dwelt so long. Even by the time the last hymns of the Rig Veda were composed, they had become acquainted with the Yamuna (Jumna) and the Gomati (Gumti), and finally even with the great Gunga herself. Though nothing could be more attractive than the newly discovered Gangetic plain, yet they did not neglect their southern advance, but added to the revered little Brahmavarta territory, the Brahmarshi, comprehending several provinces, and then the Aryavarta (abode of the Aryans), "as far as the eastern and as far as the western oceans between the two mountains," [the Himalaya and the Vindhya ranges]. It was probably at this time that the country south of the Nerbudda obtained the name of Deccan [Dakshan], or the south; though, if its exact position on the map of India had been known, it might perhaps more properly have been called the centre, instead of the south. In regard to the last named country, Menu describes the inhabitants as barbarians, living in forests, and speaking an unknown tongue." From the time the Vedas were composed, the Aryans are believed not to have crossed the

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Vindhya range in six centuries and a half. But they evidently were looking forward to the time when they should pass even that barrier; for it is laid down in the Institutes that the land on which the black buck grazes is different from the ordinary mlecha (or unholy) territory, and may be "fit for sacrifice." By the black buck is meant that little antelope, small groups of which are so often started by the Hindus in their jungle-walks.

While the land occupied by the conquering Aryans was thus gradually becoming more extensive, the vanquished aborigines were daily being reduced to a lower and lower place in the social scale, and the caste system began to be developed. Slowly did the Brahmans take to themselves the pre-eminence over the other castes. It is admitted in many parts of the older sacred writings of the Hindus that caste did not at first exist among them, and various and contradictory legends are given to account for its origin. Outcaste and Sudra degradation we have seen to have had their foundation in conquest; we have now to inquire how the three superior castes became so separate as they ultimately did. Originally they were three professions, not three castes. Thus an Upanishad says, "The Brahmans alone existed in the beginning;" which the orthodox commentator Sankara Acharaya thus expounds: "The Kshetriyas and the other castes were at that time one and the same. There was no distinction of orders. Brahmanism alone existed." Each of the three superior castes would, of course, have liked to possess the chief place in the community. But the Vaisyas would have no chance, for in that warlike age trade would be looked on as tame and unmanly. The other two were, however, in better circumstances for maintaining a contest; indeed, such a contest has been carried on in a more or less decided form some time or other in every land. And there is one particular side to which, after long and doubtful struggles, the victory in general falls at last. In Britain there is a fable describing a combat between two great and pretty nearly matched combatants—Captain Sword and Captain Pen. If obliged to take a side in the struggle, we take that of Captain Pen, who, though he be sickly-looking, is likely in the long run to overcome his burly antagonist. If it

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is not a misnomer to call the Brahmans' case that of Captain Pen, when the art of writing was little if at all known in India, at least when the contest first began, then it happened in India, as in other countries, that Captain Sword at last had the worst of it, and had to sheathe his weapon and do humble obeisance to his adversary of the pen. Putting together a multitude of authorities, it would seem that the Brahmans and Kshetriyas were at first on pretty friendly terms, the strength of the native powers opposed to them being an admonition of the necessity for union. Then, as they gradually gained the mastery over the native Dasyus, they thought they could afford to quarrel, and the struggle began. Presently the Brahmans became more powerful than their antagonists, and it came to be an object of ambition for a Kshetriya to be admitted to the Brahmanic order. The Brahmans next did what is generally done by the members of any highly favoured body,—they tried to make their order what they call in England a "close corporation;" that is, they wished to keep all outsiders, however eminent, from entering in. They were not yet always successful. For instance, there was a noted case, in which a Kshetriya, Viswamitra, the reputed author of some of the Vedic hymns, by dint of long-continued exertion, wore out the patience of the Brahmans, headed by Vashishta, and was admitted into their honourable profession. After a time the Brahmans became yet more powerful, and took care no one should enter by the door which Viswamitra had so rudely forced open. Their influence still increasing, we reach that time shadowed forth in the caste legislation of Menu's Institutes, when the Kshetriyas became humble servants of the Brahmans, and the Brahmans earthly gods. And, finally, there is a repulsive termination to the whole series of events, in Parasuram being termed the destroyer of the Kshetriyas, showing that a civil war had broken out, and different ranks in the same community dipped their hands in each other's blood. The account generally given of this painful part of the history, represents the Kshetriyas as making a massacre of what appear to have been a Brahman race, the Bhrigus; and of Parasuram it is then said, "Twenty-one times he swept all Kshetriyas from the earth, and formed

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five lakes of blood, ... in which he satiated the manes of the Bhrigus." The name Parasuram comes from *parasu*, an axe, apparently indicating the weapon he used in war.

What other political events were connected with those now described, by which the Brahmans rose to the power which they used to deal out destruction to their rivals, are not yet fully known. The distinguished Oriental scholar, Roth, conjectures that about the time the Aryans pushed forward from the Indus to the Jumna and the Ganges, the petty chieftainships, under which they had at first lived, began, after long struggles, to be merged in a few comparatively powerful sovereignties. In those times of anxiety and commotion, much would naturally devolve on the Brahmans, who were counsellors at the different petty courts. As the independent kinglings they had served gradually lapsed into the mere nobility of an empire, the spiritual power did what, as is well known, it did in similar circumstances in Europe, —gradually raised its head high as that of the temporal power sank in humiliation and shame. The commencement of this process may have been immediately after the Vedic times, but its culminating point was not yet to be for many centuries, and it is only to give completeness to the sketch that the ultimate issue is alluded to here. While the social changes now mentioned were in progress, the Vedic religion was becoming corrupted with foreign elements, picked up from the aboriginal faiths. Indra, for instance, seems to have been losing respect. Beef was supplied him in less quantities than formerly, and his jars of soma were now but few that had been many in other days. As Indra fell, first, it would seem, Brahma, and then after a time Vishnu, began to rise. Schools of philosophy, too, were springing up, the doctrines of which, often professing to be illustrative of the popular faith, really departed from it, or explained it away.

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CHAPTER V.

RISE OF THE HINDU SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY.

Philosophic speculations: their germ and their development. | Six orthodox Schools of Philosophy. Errors of the Hindu Philosophy.

THE Hindu schools of philosophy demand notice in the pages of Indian history, though it is doubtful in what part of the narrative they will find their most appropriate place. Philosophical opinions do not, as a general rule, start full-grown from the soil, but appear first in embryo; that is, as mere germs of thought, which then slowly unfold themselves till maturity is reached. It would appear as if the seeds of the Hindu philosophy began to grow up at the period of the history to which now we have come; and though many years, or possibly centuries, were required fully to develop them, yet this would seem the most appropriate place to give a general sketch of the Hindu philosophy. The Brahmans have all along had a fondness for speculation, and after they had composed their hymns to Indra and his associates, they were irresistibly impelled to betake themselves to philosophy. Many treatises on the subject, advocating different views, gradually appeared, and were embodied in the Brahmanas of the Vedas. Upanishads was the name they obtained, some of the best being part of the Aranyakas, or treatises of the forest; so called from having been composed for the use of the ascetics and hermits who had retired to the jungle to meditate on God. We have used the word composed rather than penned, for as yet the art of writing was unknown. Fearful was, in consequence, the burden thrown on the men of that age, who were expected to remember and repeat long dissertations on abstruse philosophy. But necessity is the mother of invention, and when the human memory could bear its load no longer, short and pithy aphorisms, called Sutras, were invented, and almost superseded the larger treatises; but having, like short pithy statements in general, a good deal of obscurity

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coupled with their brevity, commentaries were ultimately required, which multiplied greatly when the art of writing came at last to be known. The writings of Colebrooke, Principal Ballantyne, Professor Wilson, the Rev. Professor Banerjea, and others, have thrown much light on the abstruse subject of Hindu philosophy. Recently a popular treatise on the subject has been published by the Rev. Mr. Mullens, by which we have been much aided in penning this part of the history.

The Schools or Darsanas of Hindu philosophy, honoured by the title of orthodox, are generally said to be six in number: the Nyaya, attributed to Gautama; the Vaisheshika, to Kanada; the Sankhya, whose author is said to have been Kapila; the Yoga of Patanjali; and the Purva Mimansa and the Uttara Mimansa or Vedanta, deriving their origin respectively from Jaimini and Badarayana, generally called Veda Vyasa. These may, again, be naturally classed in three couples: the Nyaya and the Vaisheshika; the Sankhya and the Yoga; and the Purva and Uttara Mimansa. Any observant person who comes much in contact with the thinking portion of the community must have noticed that when philosophic minds turn to those inquiries to which they are irresistibly led, there appear among them three different modes of thought. Some look chiefly at external nature, and occupy themselves with it. Struck how frequently they can trace to physical causes what others attribute to mental and moral ones, they are in constant danger of falling into what is called materialism—the error of supposing that all spirit is but organized matter, thus virtually denying the existence of spirit, if not even the personality of God. There are others who, instead of employing the mind as an instrument for studying the outer world, occupy themselves in studying that instrument itself. They are in constant danger of falling into the error that matter is an illusion, or at least that its existence cannot be proved—that we are impressed with the idea of its existence, but that this may be an idea only and unconformable to truth. The third class occupying their minds chiefly with the manifestations of the divine purpose in nature, whether material or spiritual, are in danger of taking up the

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idea that God alone exists; that he is the soul of the world; that whatever is done, is done by him; that consequently "whatever is, is right." A certain resemblance may be traced between the three classes now described as revealed by observation, and the three couples into which, as has been shown, the Hindu system of philosophy may naturally be distributed. The Nyaya looking out on the external world, and seeing that we derive our knowledge of it from the five senses, adopts the theory of the five primary elements, under which it includes earth, water, air, light or heat, and ether. In its principles of investigation, it more nearly approaches modern philosophy than the other systems. The Vaisheshika goes with it as a companion. While the Nyaya, which means justice or logic, occupies itself with the method of making inquiry, the Vaisheshika, its associate, actually carries out that inquiry itself in regard to various points. It asserts that all things originated in atoms, which have existed from eternity, and regards universal ideas or forms, not as mere conceptions of the human mind, but as inherent in the very nature of things. This doctrine is called in Europe "realism." It was extensively held in the middle ages, but had to maintain a long and keen contest with the antagonistic doctrine, termed "nominalism." These first two schools of Hindu philosophy, like the remaining four, hold the doctrine of transmigration, which they deem a serious evil; but from which one addressing himself to true philosophy will after a time find himself eternally free. Both systems believe in a supreme God; both deem the souls of men distinct from God and eternal. The Sankhya philosophy, observing that the soul is continually disturbed by its emotions, and thus made to lose that quiescence which Orientals so greatly prize, asks what the disturbing cause is, and thinks it has found it in the union of eternal matter with an eternal soul. To expand the idea, it teaches that from eternity there have been, and to eternity there will be, two agencies in the universe,—"nature" or "matter," (*prakriti*), and "souls." They were long separate, then they were united together. It is this combination between matter and mind that brings pain, sorrow, and the necessity for transmigration; from

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which, however, the believer in the Sankhya philosophy will ultimately find himself free. Sankhya properly means number, also judgment, discrimination. In one respect, however, it has fearfully failed in discrimination,—it does not acknowledge a God; hence it is called the Niriswar Sankhya,—the Sankhya without a God. The Yoga of Patanjali approaches the Sankhya in its scientific processes, but it believes in a God; and holds that the soul may ultimately escape from endless transmigration by devotion to the supreme will. God is very correctly held to be omniscient and eternal. There is much mysticism in Patanjali's system. It suggests as a desirable mode of ridding one's self of future transmigrations, to concentrate the mind,—Yoga means concentration. You ask, How? The reply is,—Do it first on any one truth. Then when you have drilled yourself up to that point, make the further advance of thinking intensely on nothing, at the same time forcibly inhaling and expiring the breath. This reminds us of Mesmerism.

The Purva and Uttara Mimansa, or the earlier and later Mimansa, are so called because the earlier school explained the first part of the Vedas, or the ritual and devotional part; and the later, the more advanced portion of these sacred writings, in other words, the Upanishads. The older school holds that liberation is to be obtained by religious merit, by the fruit of sacrifices and other ceremonies of the Hindu ritual. The Uttara Mimansa or Vedanta teaches that there is but one real existence in the universe, "the immortal, fearless Brahma." It was from the substance of Brahma that the universe was made. He is the soul of the world. Europeans are in the habit of applying to doctrine such as this the name Pantheism, meaning that everything is God.

It is difficult to tell the order in which these systems of philosophy first appeared; the dates at which their germs were first discernible; and the time when their successive developments were made. The Sankhya philosophy states that its doctrines are inculcated in the Upanishads. The Vedanta exposes the hollowness of this pretension, satisfactorily showing that the Upanishads teach other views. If, then, we were sure there had been no interpolation, we should feel certain the order was,—1st, Upanishads;

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2d, Sankhya; 3d, Vedanta. And this is the opinion generally entertained. But the great French philosopher Victor Cousin declares that the books teaching the respective systems all quote each other, and must therefore be all interpolated. He thinks we gain a better mode of settling the dates of the several systems, by tracing the laws regulating the natural development of the human mind. It naturally proceeds from the particular to the general, and from less to more comprehensive views of truth. If such were the order of development in the case under consideration, then Vedantism would come first, and the Sankhya follow it after a time. The order of the other schools is even more difficult to ascertain. Regarding their absolute date, it has been supposed that the invention of the Sutra method, or plan of remembering truth by comprehending it in brief aphorisms, may be placed about 600 B.C., and that it was during the next 300 or 400 years that the schools of philosophy arose.

600 to 200 B.C.

Particular parts of some of the Hindu philosophic systems —the Sankhya, for instance, and yet more the Nyaya—afford proof of the splendid intellectual power with which various men in the Eastern world must have been gifted by the all-bounteous Creator. But equally sad proof is afforded by other parts of those systems how true are the words used in Scripture—"The world by wisdom knew not God." Multitudes of powerful minds in modern Europe feel at rest in regard to many of the problems of which the Hindu and other philosophies treat. But they have obtained the solution on which they now rest, not from long-continued and painful human effort, but from the glorious Bible; which puts the inquiring intellect in possession of theological truth fitted to satisfy its longings, and bestows on the sin-laden heart, not extinction of its existence as a cure for its woes, but an endless life of happiness with God.

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CHAPTER VI.

A SPLENDID HEROIC ACHIEVEMENT OF THOSE EARLY TIMES—RAMA'S EXPEDITION TO CEYLON.

On the nature of myths.
Historic basis for the myth of Rama's expedition to Lunka (Ceylon).
The solar race.
The Ramayan.
Explanation how the narrative of Rama's expedition may have become mythic.

In the infancy of an individual, he dearly loves fairy tales, and is accustomed to request any of his seniors on whom he can presume, to tell him again what he is pleased to term "that awfully nice story." The full-grown Briton, though his own tastes lie all in the direction of the hardest facts, treats with compassionate tolerance this weakness of his juvenile progeny, and expends a few coppers in the purchase of such choice specimens of literature for the young as "Jack the Giant-Killer," "Puss in Boots," or "Cinderella and the Glass Slipper." Unless where man's wayward fancy has been restrained by divine revelation, the weakness seen in young people appears everywhere in the infancy of nations. Their early history is little more than a series of fairy tales. To do those tales justice, however, there is in many—perhaps we should say in all—of them a central grain of truth, around which much that is fabulous has in process of time gathered. In places where, ages before the creation of man, a small tooth, or a scale, or a bit of the spine of a fin was left lying at the bottom of the sea, it in process of time gathered round it so much lime or some similar substance as to have become a goodly pebble, which those learned in such matters call a nodule. A grain of truth from the very olden period will often draw around it masses of error, till it become of goodly dimensions too. There is, however, this difference between it and the nodule, that whereas the bigger the nodule grows it becomes the heavier, the larger the mass of error is which has gathered around the truth, the whole becomes the lighter. In consequence, the name given to a

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grain of truth with much error around it is a soft word that slips easily from the lips, as if you were puffing away some feathery down that was settling on your face—it is called a *myth*. The story of Rama's expedition to Lunka is decidedly mythical. It has its central grain of precious truth, with huge masses of fable clinging round it on every side.

To present first that part of it which appears true. The Aryans were now fairly upon the South-Eastern system of rivers, with which, it will be remembered, they were unacquainted till long after they knew the South-Western system well. They were not all under one head, but broken up into a multitude of petty sovereignties. One of these had its metropolis at Ayodhya, on the Gogra, anciently called the Surjoo, close by the modern town of Oude. The ruins of the old city are still extensive. Some of its coins, too, stamped with characters of great antiquity, have been found.

About 800? B.C. Rama's birth, according to Bentley's calculation 961 B.C.

It is believed by the Hindus that, from time immemorial, two dynasties of kings reigned, the one at Ayodhya (Oude), the other at Pruyag (Allahabad). The former were termed kings of the solar, and the latter those of the lunar race; or, to speak more plainly, the Ayodhya kings were of the race of the sun, the Pruyag were of the race of the moon. Ayodhya is said to have been built by Ikshwakoo, the son of Menu, the first of the solar race.

Here, at a period we cannot fix with confidence (the date on the margin is little more than a conjecture), lived the celebrated Rama, reckoned by the Hindus the seventh incarnation of Vishnu. Rama was of the solar race, and the fifty-eighth in descent from Ikshwakoo,—a statement not easy to reconcile with the very ancient date as yet assigned to him. Irritated somehow against Ravana, king of the whole, or at least part of Ceylon, he resolved on an expedition, wonderfully enterprising for that early age, against the ruler who had stirred up his anger. Starting on the wild exploit, he at last reached the Toongabhudra, near which river he found a contest going on between two claimants for the throne of an aboriginal kingdom. Bali and Sugreeva were the names of the two rivals. Rama interfered in the

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quarrel, taking the side of Sugreeva, whom he succeeded in placing on the throne. Sugreeva, in gratitude for this great service, sent an army under the command of Hunooman, with whose assistance Rama succeeded in reaching Ceylon, crossing at the place now called Adam's Bridge, and killing his hated foe. It has been suspected that, though the expedition is always represented as having been against Ceylon, it was really against a less remote country.

The great Valmeeki took these few grains of apparent truth and worked them up into a heroic poem, or an epic, as poems are called which describe in sublime language very great deeds. It has so much power and beauty that the world will never let it die, but it will stand side by side with the great epic poems of Greece, of Rome, of more modern Italy, and of England. Valmeeki is generally held to have been a contemporary of Rama, but if he wrote this poem he cannot have lived at so early a date. A sketch of the Ramayan must now be subjoined.

The father of Rama was named Dasaratha. His kingdom was termed Maha Kosala, and comprehended the modern kingdom of Oude, with the adjacent district of Goruckpore. Dasaratha had three regular wives, but no son. To obtain one, he was performing the celebrated sacrifice of a horse, termed Aswamedha,—possibly a Scythian rite. The assistance of a celebrated ascetic being found necessary, he was at last, and with difficulty, coaxed out of the jungle where he lived. They did well, however, to bring him, for through his prayers all the three wives of the king bore sons. One became the mother of Rama, another of Bharat, and the third of Lakshman and Satrugna. When Rama was sixteen years of age, Ayodhya received a visit from the great Viswamitra, whose name has already occurred in these pages. He is described as once having been a Rajpoot king on the banks of the Sone, but as having resigned his sovereignty and become an ascetic. The object of Viswamitra's visit to Ayodhya was to request that Rama might be allowed to protect him and his fellow-saints while they were engaged in a great sacrifice, constantly interrupted by the attacks of the giants. Dasaratha consented to let the generous and gentle Rama go. His short-tempered brother Lakshman accompanied

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him. They found Viswamitra a most talkative companion, and got much information from him. The sacrifice being completed, they learn that the king of Mithila [Tirhut] means to have a great assemblage of holy men, and give his daughter Seeta in marriage to any one who will string an enormous bow, an heir-loom in the family. Rama resolves to try for the prize. Eight hundred men stagger forward with the bow, when the half-grown youth takes it from them with one hand, and in stringing it snaps it asunder! The shock knocks all the assembly except the king, the royal youth, and the sages, off the perpendicular. Of course, Seeta is now Rama's for evermore. The nuptials take place with great splendour, and Dasaratha wishes to share with Rama the throne of Ayodhya. English writers of fiction generally divide their works into three volumes. The marriage of the hero and his promotion to high dignity conclude the third. The Ramayan, too, is in three parts; but as yet we have only reached the end of the first. The second part tells of a great reverse which befell him. The day of his coronation drew nigh, and the people were preparing to make holiday, when a hump-backed slave of another of the queens, Bharat's mother, rushed to her mistress and told her what was in progress. The queen flew to her husband in agitation, like one out of her mind, and got him to promise to proclaim Bharat instead of Rama king. Nay more, to pacify her, Rama must be banished for fourteen years. Our hero submits to his fate, and goes forth into the forest. Seeta, like a good and faithful wife as she was, accompanies him. So does Lakshman. The old king dies, when he sees his son's chariot return empty. Bharat, who feels he has no proper title to the throne, hastens after Rama to recall him to reign. But he refuses to return till the fourteen years of his exile are over. Till that time shall elapse, Bharat is persuaded to occupy the throne. The second part of the Ramayan details the events of the wandering. In both this and the former portion, Valmeeki's descriptions of places and scenery are so accurate that he was evidently personally acquainted with them; but the third part of the poem, narrating the capture of Seeta by Ravana, king of Ceylon, and the expedition of the injured husband to Lunka,

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is wild and extravagant. The author is speaking of what he does not know, and therefore he greatly errs, telling myth after myth with a gravity which shows he took them for truths.

Still, as was before stated, we believe that Rama's expedition, either to Ceylon or some country less remote, really took place, and that the true narrative became distorted as it was passed from one to another. For instance, the wild tribes of Central India, who, under their general, Hunooman, lent Rama such effective assistance, may have got transformed into monkeys by some such process as this: The evening is closing in around the old city of Ayodhya, and the people, putting their work aside, take their way to the clump of tamarind or mango trees, near which are camped the warriors, all battered and bruised, who have come back from Ceylon, laden with its spoils. Old men are there, and little boys and girls look with a feeling of awe upon the scene. Among the veterans is one whose face has on it a patch, to conceal a yet unhealed wound. Another, had he lived in more civilized times, would have had his arm in a sling. Yet another, doubtless, would have had a wooden leg, if the epoch of wooden legs had been come. Nothing is more grateful to these men than sympathy and appreciation. One is chosen speaker for the whole, and launches forth on the narrative of the expedition. It loses nothing in the telling. Encouraging plaudits break forth as he proceeds, and produce the same effect on him that music in similar circumstances is said by a poet to have done on a monarch—

> "Moved by the sound, the king grew vain,
> Fought all his battles o'er again;
> And thrice he routed all his foes, and thrice he slew the slain."

At last the matter of the assistance rendered by the savage tribes of the jungle comes up. "They were such wild half-clad blackamoors," says the veteran, "that I sometimes doubted whether they were monkeys or men." The veteran only doubted, but public opinion ruled there was no doubt whatever about the matter. Of course they were monkeys; and the two or three obstinate unbelievers, who cannot accept this explanation, soon sink into disrepute. A European,

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intolerant of monks, as the Hindus will be when more enlightened, once tried to show that monks were intermediate in position between men and monkeys; and when he had arranged what naturalists call his genera thus—*man, monk, monkey*, the resemblance in sound between the last two words produced a feeling as if he had half made good his point. In similar manner, Hunooman was voted a monkey; and when ornamented with the tail which flourishes so conspicuously in the images of him the Oriental traveller too frequently meets with in his Indian walks, a monkey in truth he became, and a very respectable monkey indeed. When, again, he is believed to be a man, and Rama loses his divinity, the names of those two old-world heroes will still be regarded with interest, and parts at least of the poem, which did so much to render them famous, will be read in all succeeding time.

HUNOOMAN, THE MONKEY GOD.

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CHAPTER VII.

ANOTHER FEAT OF ARMS—"THE GREAT WAR."

The lunar race.
The great war apparently mythic.
Origin of the myth.
The Mahabharat; its age and its philosophy.

THE epic poem of the Ramayan, it will be remembered, celebrated a great exploit achieved by one of the solar race. The equally well-known epic, the Mahabharat, does a similarly good turn to a hero, or rather to a family of heroes, of the lunar one. That race is said to have been founded by Boodha, who came to India from Scythia. His name reminds us of the founder or reformer of the Booddhist religion; but the two words differ both in spelling and in meaning,—Boodha properly signifying the planet Mercury, and Booddha "enlightened," or, if we make it a title, "the Enlightened One." Still it has been conjectured that the lunar race had all along a religion not very different from what subsequently became Booddhism, while the solar race are known to have adhered to the early Brahmanic faith. Forty-six generations from Booddha are said to bring us to the epoch on which we have now to enter.

The chief seat of the lunar race, originally, as will be remembered, at Pruyag (Allahabad), had now for some time been removed to Hustinapore, which is believed to have been on the Ganges, north-east from the modern Delhi. Report says that at a remote period there lived there two brothers, Pandoo and Dhritarashtra, of the lunar race, descendants of Bharat, king of Hustinapore. Pandoo had five sons, of whom the most distinguished were Yoodistheer, Bheem, and Urjoon. Dhritarashtra rejoiced in no fewer than a hundred, called Kooroos. According to one account, on the death of Pandoo, Dhritarashtra, being blind, could not succeed to the throne. According to another, which we here follow, Pandoo from the paleness of his complexion was suspected of leprosy, and, though the elder of the

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brothers, had his claims to the throne set aside in favour of Dhritarashtra, the younger. He submitted to the decision, and retired to the Himalaya Mountains, where he died. His sons were subsequently presented at the court of Hustinapore. The eldest son of Dhritarashtra, however, by name Dooryodhun, and his near relatives, looked on the Pandoo brothers with great jealousy, and after a time tried to poison them. Not being successful in this wicked attempt, they next set fire to the Pandoos' house, trusting that the inmates might be burned to death. On this, the intended victims thought it high time to be gone, and, accordingly, escaping first by a subterranean passage from the house, they next fled from the kingdom, and went into retirement, their safety being facilitated by a report that went abroad that they had perished in the flames. Hearing in their solitude that a great beauty, Draupadee, daughter of the king of the Upper Doab, was to be given to the most successful competitor with the bow, the five brothers tried for the prize. They were successful, Urjoon, one of their number, sending five arrows in succession through the mark, while none of the kingly competitors with him could even string the bow.

Their success being noised abroad, they were recalled to their country, and made rulers of a district on the Jumna, of which Indraprustha (Delhi) was the capital. There they so increased their territory and their fame, that Yoodistheer, who had the chief authority among the brothers, elated with success, resolved to celebrate the Rajasaya sacrifice,—which, it is supposed, implied a claim for paramount authority. Dooryodhun, who attended on the occasion, with jealousy rankling in his heart, persuaded Yoodistheer, whom he knew to be fond of gambling, to engage in a game with him for great stakes. The poor dupe did so, and lost at one throw both his wife and his kingdom. He was then sent into exile for twelve, or, by one account, thirteen years, the last of which he was to spend if possible unrecognised. His brothers went with him on his melancholy journey. Two other relatives, the celebrated Krishna and Buludeva, or Buluram, joined the party. Returning at the stipulated time, Yoodistheer claimed the kingdom, but found he could not regain it with-

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out a military struggle. To decide the dispute, accordingly, all the chiefs of the lunar race were marshalled at Kooroo-kshetra, near the modern Thaneswar,—a battle-field where the question of empire was in future to be more than once decided between the leaders of hostile armies. Krishna, who was related to both parties in the contest, for a time rendered services to both; but finally sided with the Pandoos

KRISHNA.

whose wanderings he had shared for so many years. A fearful struggle took place between the rival claimants for sovereignty, which was only terminated when Dooryodhun fell under the mace of the valiant Bheem. Thus the Pandoos had triumphed in the struggle, but the calamities that continued to attend them made them little satisfied with their dear-bought victory. The great Krishna was put to death by a wild Bheel. About the same time, the city, Dwarka, which the hero, when driven out of Mathura, of which he had usurped the sovereignty, had founded in Guzerat, was submerged beneath the waves of the sea. Yoodistheer, who

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remembered the awful carnage through which he had at last reached the throne, felt no enjoyment in the high position he had sought and attained, and finally he resolved to abdicate, and retire with his wife, Draupadee, and his other near relatives, to Mount Meeru, the cradle of his race. But as he climbed the enormous mountain range, through which he had to pass in leaving India, one after another of his fellow-travellers fell dead from the hardships they had to encounter, till at length none remained but himself and a faithful dog that kept him company. Indra, taking pity on his sad plight, now appeared, and offered to transfer him to the skies; an honour which he declined unless on one condition,—that his four-footed companion should go with him to the other world. Indra was not stiff upon the point, and man and dog were forthwith translated together from the earth to heaven. A similar complaisance was exercised to him in allowing him to transfer to the abodes of the blessed some of his friends and relatives whom, to his surprise, he had found in the place of woe.

Need it be said that the above is a mythic story; that is, as was before explained, it has a grain of truth in its centre, with untruth all around? So mythic is it that its details vary, no two narrators fully agreeing with each other in all respects. A writer in the *Calcutta Review* thinks he has succeeded in tracing the origin of the myth. Regarding Krishna, he points out that he is mentioned in the hymns of the Rig Veda, once as a Rishi, and much more frequently as an Asura, destroyed by Indra, with 50,000 other Krishnas as black as himself. Krishna, it should be said, means black. Yoodistheer the FIRST appears, in a trustworthy history of Cashmere, as a blind king, half way between Asoka and Vicramaditya, two sovereigns yet to be mentioned; that is, about the second century before Christ. Next, regarding the Pandoos. According to the popular belief—that founded on the epic poems and the Poorans—the great grandson of Boodha, Yuyatee, had three sons, Ooroo, Pooroo, and Yadoo. The Pandoos were descended from Pooroo; Krishna from Yadoo. According to the reviewer, the Rig Veda makes the same Yuyatee have five sons, one called Yadoo and another Pooroo. The last named was termed also

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Divodasa. He ruled in Menu's holy land of Brahmanism, already described, and apparently north to the Beas. He gave name to a dynasty, one of his descendants being, in all likelihood, the celebrated Porus of the Greeks, who, as we shall yet have to see, had a kingdom not far from the same locality. Divodasa was a warrior and a conqueror. He put himself at the head of a confederacy of twenty kings, and led to the battle-field an army of 60,099 sepoys (the Rishis delight in odd numbers). He was defeated, however, and had to submit to his opponent, "the mighty but youthful Su-sravas." Afterwards, he led a campaign against the Persians, in which he gained the day.

If this be the origin of the story of the great war, which Dr. Muir thinks doubtful, then truly the myth has much altered its form since first it came into being. The date on the margin, the reviewer shows, is inferred, from more than one line of evidence, to be about that of Divodasa's "great war." About 545 or 548 B.C.

The celebrated epic in which the legend of the fight between the Kooroos and Pandoos is embellished with all the graces of poetry, is called, as is well known, the Mahabharat. In the oldest form, and when preserved only in the memory of the hearers, it is generally believed to have been composed before the appearance of Indian Booddhism, though it is now universally held that it cannot have been completed till many centuries after the date noted on the margin as that of Divodasa. It makes allusion to the Greeks and to the Scythian Sacæ, races unknown in India till the fourth and second centuries respectively before the Christian era. Bentley, the first who had the boldness to cut down Hindu dates, holds the Mahabharat was not cast into the present form till 800 A.D. The author is said to have been Vyasa, the same who collected the Vedas; but the term Vyasa, signifying compiler, is scarcely a proper name, and the Veda Vyasa and the Vyasa of the Mahabharat must have lived many centuries apart. Sometimes the latter is termed Krishna Dwaipayana, which is liker a proper name. Then, again, the Mahabharat itself is far too large to have been composed by one man; for though it represents itself as a mere fragment of a poem recited before an assembly of

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divinities, it yet consists of a lakh of distichs or slokes; that is, 200,000 lines. The story of the Pandoos and the war seems the older part; and the vast number of episodes, very partially bearing on the main subject, which spin out the poem to its present inordinate length, appear to have been added afterwards. The Mahabharat has been greatly admired by European writers, as a poem. The dialogue between Krishna and Urjoon, termed the Bhagavad Geeta, one of the episodes already spoken of, has been specially praised, as a snatch of Indian philosophy; though from the conclusions arrived at, Europeans totally dissent. With an extract from this dialogue the chapter may fittingly close:—

"Urjoon, having thus spoken to Krishna, showed disinclination for battle and grew silent. Krishna smiled, and thus addressed the afflicted prince: 'Thou grievest for those who are unworthy to be lamented, whilst thy sentiments are those of the wise; the wise neither grieve for the dead nor the living. I myself never was not, nor thou, nor all the princes of the earth; nor shall we ever hereafter cease to be. As the soul in this mortal frame finds infancy, youth, and old age, so in some future frame it will find the like. One who has confidence in this belief is not disturbed by anything that may come to pass. The sensations produce heat and cold, pleasure and pain, which occur in rotation, and are transient and inconstant. Bear them with patience, O son of Bharat; for the wise man, whom these disturb not, and to whom pain and pleasure are all alike, is formed for immortality.'" And so the strain goes on. The Greeks called those who aimed at being unmoved by pain and pleasure Stoics. The philosophers thus named often did great deeds; but were of a character singularly unlovely. It is not at deadness of feeling we should aim. Our wish should be that feeling should be chastened and sanctified, and natural weakness supported by resting upon God.

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CHAPTER VIII.

THE RISE OF BOODDHISM.

General principles.
Sakya Muni.

Doctrines of Booddhism

As day by day the Brahmans were extending their authority, the caste system, now at length firmly established, took a more offensive form, and all the subject races, Turanian or Aryan, felt it a grievous oppression. It may be supposed that, though vanquished in arms, the defeated party were not prepared to see with indifference their inferiority paraded as an article of religious faith; and it was clear that if any reformer were to arise and proclaim the equality of men of every race, he might calculate on the support of the conquered tribes. Such a reformer was speedily to appear upon the scene; but before narrating the events of his life, we must for a moment fall back upon general principles, and understand the truth and the falsehood, the right and the wrong of the matter in dispute. A lie, pure and simple, does not long trouble the world; death being from the outset written on its very face. Whatever is destined long to sway the opinions of men, has always in it more or less of truth; and when two sides long combat together without decisive results, each will, as a rule, be found to hold a half truth, demanding to be combined with the half truth held by the other party, before it deserves, or will be allowed to prevail. Regarding races, men of every race should have the fullest scope to rise to any position for which they are fit; and thus far the Booddhists had thorough truth and justice on their side. But that, when this full and free scope is given, men of different races will be found precisely on a level with each other in talent and energy, is opposed to universal experience. The Brahmans, then, cannot be blamed for maintaining their superiority in talent and energy to the races they had subdued; but when they denied the right these races had to rise

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to any position of which they were capable, they committed themselves to a gross violation of truth and justice, sure at last to inflict misery on themselves and on those over whom they ruled.

Their system, in consequence, did not deserve to prevail; and in the righteous providence of God it was now to be hurled from its pride of place for a long period of time. Booddhism was the great antagonist raised up to Brahmanism; though Brahmanism and Booddhism, with its sister Jainism, are by many supposed to have had their roots in an earlier religion—the worship of the elements, and specially of fire—generally called the Sabæan or Mithraic faith. The narrative of the rise of Booddhism is the subject of the present chapter.

Three Booddhas had already lived, the last of them, Kasyapa, a somewhat distinguished man, when, in the palace of Kapilavastu, capital of a kingdom of the same name, at the foot of the mountains of Nepaul, north of the present Oude, a fourth was born. He was said to be of the Kshetriya caste. His father, the king of Kapilavastu, was of the family of the Sakyas, and the class of the Gautamas; from which his distinguished son, among other names, is frequently known by the appellations of Sakya Muni or Gautama. It was not till a much later period that he attained to Booddha-hood, as the phrase went, and received the designation of "Booddha," or rather, the Booddha; that is, as has been already explained, "the enlightened one." When young, he was thoughtful and averse to play. Having grown up a beautiful boy, but too much given to contemplation to suit his father's tastes, his parents sought to draw him on to more active life, by marrying him without further delay. The bride selected was Gopa, an accomplished princess, daughter of Dandapani. Their union was a happy one; but he was thoughtful still. "Nothing is stable on earth," he used to say, "nothing is real. Life is like the spark produced by the friction of wood: it is lighted, and it is extinguished. It is like the sound of a lyre, and the wise man asks in vain whence it came, and whither it goes. There must be some Supreme Intelligence* where we could find rest. If I attained it, I

* Was it really to the Supreme Being that he made reference?

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could bring light to man: if I were free myself, I would deliver the world." When out one day driving to one of his pleasure-parks, his eyes fell on a decrepit old man. On receiving explanations regarding the case, "Alas!" exclaimed the prince, "are creatures so ignorant, so weak, and so foolish, as to be proud of the youth by which they are intoxicated, not seeing the old age which awaits them? As for me, I go away. Coachman, turn my chariot quickly. What have I, the future prey of old age, what have I to do with pleasure?" And, without visiting the park, he returned to the city. Another time, when out in a similar way, driving to his pleasure-garden, he came upon a poor man, lying in fever, deserted, and ready to die. Having received explanations on the subject, "Alas!" he cried, "health is but the sport of a dream, and the fear of suffering must take this frightful form. Where is the wise man, who, after having been what he is, could any longer think of joy or pleasure?" And he ordered that his chariot should be turned, and he driven back to the city. A third time, when, as before, on the way to his pleasure-garden, he came upon a dead body laid upon a bier, around which the relatives of the deceased were sobbing and tearing their hair. "Oh!" said the prince, "woe to youth, which must be destroyed by old age! Woe to health, which must be destroyed by so many diseases! Woe to this life, where a man remains so short a time! If there were no old age, no disease, no death.—If these could be made captive for ever.—Let us turn back; I must think how to accomplish deliverance." Finally, seeing a devotee leading an austere life, and receiving explanations on the subject from his coachman, he said, "The life of a devotee has always been praised by the wise. It will be my refuge, and the refuge of other creatures. It will lead into a real life—to happiness and immortality."* And ordering the chariot to be turned as before, he drove back to the city. Booddha now intimated to his father and to his wife his intention of retiring from the world. Soon after, he escaped from his palace while the guards were asleep, rode all night, and in the morning sent his horse and his ornaments back to Kapilavastu. He became the dis-

* Was it immortality he really meant, or annihilation?

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ciple first of one and then of another Brahman; but, being dissatisfied with their teaching, soon left them again. Even asceticism, which he had commended so highly, he after a time gave up. Left at length alone, he began to think out his own system of faith. He afterwards taught it at Benares, Rajagriha, the capital of Magadha, and other places. He died at or above the age of seventy or eighty. Many dates have been given as that of Booddha's death. That which obtains the most general credit is the Ceylonese one, B.C. 543. There is, however, reason to believe 477 B.C. the more probable time. The original source of the above narrative, taken in large measure from the *Edinburgh Review*, is a traditionary account of Booddha, committed to writing about the first century, B.C. But four or five hundred years are a fearfully long time to trust any narrative to tradition. It is almost sure to become mythic in a much shorter period. The accuracy of the account of Booddha, given above, cannot, therefore, be guaranteed. Some even doubt whether such a person ever existed; but this seems carrying scepticism too far.

B.C. 543 or 477

The system, as has been already shown, recognised no distinction of castes. It was also tender to animal life. It had no bloody sacrifices. Its morality was second only to that of Christianity. Its penances were not severe. It held that there was little but sorrow in life, and that in order to eradicate it, the root of our sorrow, the affections, must be destroyed—a very serious mistake indeed. One weak point about it was its monkery—its legions of unmarried monks quitting active duty, and taking refuge in mountain caves. It has been doubted whether it recognises a Supreme Being or not; and the very fact that such a question can be raised is most discreditable to Booddhism. It need scarcely be added, that an atonement and a Saviour from sin are consoling truths to it unknown.

We shall have to follow the history of Booddhism in subsequent chapters, but must interrupt it here to trace the course of several new waves of conquest which at this period broke in succession over the Indian plains.

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CHAPTER IX.

THE SCYTHIAN, PERSIAN, AND GREEK INVASIONS.

Sesostris, the Egyptian king.
Bacchus, the Greek god of wine.
The Takshak and other Scythians.
The Persian invasion.
Alexander the Great and the Greek invasion.
Megasthenes and his embassy.

MANY of our readers must at times have stood by the sea and watched, as wave after wave rushed in from the deep, and broke upon the shore. Somewhat similar is the spectacle presented by the history of India, whether of earlier or later times. One wave of conquest follows another. The passes of the north-west frontier are not guarded as they ought. Once and again, like flood-gates left open, they "let the military deluge pass." An old Egyptian king, Sesostris by name, who is reported to have lived 1500 years before the Christian era, is stated to have invaded India, and made way not merely to, but even beyond the Ganges; and, it is said, evidence of his Indian conquests is obtainable from the Egyptian monuments. But there is so much doubt about the story, as well as about the invasion of India by Bacchus, who was afterwards deified as the Greek god of wine, that, for the present, we dismiss these two doubtful narratives to the region of mist and uncertainty, and look at the three waves of conquest better supported by evidence, and therefore worthy of more attention from students of Indian history. The first was of Scythian origin. We learn from Herodotus, the old but excellent Greek historian of the fifth century B.C., sometimes called the "Father of History," that during the reign of Cyaxares, king of Persia, the Scythians broke in upon that empire, nay, even overran the whole of Western Asia as far as Egypt, holding the greater part of the conquered territory for twenty-eight years. One of the more modern of the Hindu sacred books represents that India was invaded by a Takshak or serpent race, which

B.C. 635 to 595

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overthrew the Magadha kingdom, where ten generations of serpent kings reigned, before the intruders could be expelled. Could the Takshak invasion have been the last surge of the Scythian inundation of which Herodotus speaks?

The next was a Persian wave. Darius Hystaspes was now king of that country. Wishing to know where the river Indus fell into the sea, he despatched an eminent navigator, Scylax by name, to sail down it to the ocean, surveying at the same time the adjacent country. This exploratory voyage was followed by a successful invasion. He annexed part of India to the Persian dominion: how much, we have no proper means of judging. The name India was often extended to the countries west of the Indus; and it has been supposed that Darius held scarcely any territory eastward of that river, or that, at the furthest, his sway never extended to the Sutlej. Yet his Indian province furnished three hundred and twenty talents of gold—a third part of the revenue of the entire Persian empire; and it is worthy of note that the tribute money from India was paid in gold, while that of the other provinces was in silver.

The Persian empire was overthrown by Alexander the Great, king of Macedon, in the north of Greece,—the same who is known in India as Iskander, or Secunder. He was a man of boundless ambition, and of great military genius. To his mind, to hear of a country was to be possessed with a desire to conquer it, and it was not to be expected that a land so attractive as India would escape a visit from him. Accordingly, when he had disposed of the Persian empire, he pushed eastward at the head of an army in large measure officered by Macedonians, while the rank and file were made up of these and other Greeks, as well as of what we should now term sepoys from the various countries he had subdued. Crossing the Indus at Attock, it is believed on a bridge of boats, he began to march through the Punjaub, early in the year 327 B.C. The first town of importance he reached was Taxila. Its king had purchased the friendship of Alexander by timely submission, and the Greeks were allowed to rest for a little, and make preparation for the approaching struggle. Again putting his army in motion, Alexander advanced to the Jhe-

B.C. 327

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lum, in Sanscrit Vitusta, pronounced by the Greeks Hydaspes. He found the passage of the river disputed by a king of that part of the country, Porus by name, who had drawn up his army, supported by a numerous array of elephants, on the further bank. Alexander felt he could not directly force the passage of a river thus defended; but had recourse to the tactics generally employed on such occasions. Leaving a part of his army in front of Porus, he sent away the rest by night to cross at an unguarded point. The detachment of the army he accompanied made a night passage to the further bank; the formidable Macedonian cavalry crossed at another part; and Porus saw there was no hope now but in attacking the invaders before they could all again unite. He drew up his army in battle array, and a fierce contest began. The result in this first struggle between Europeans and Hindus was what was so often to be repeated in after times. The Europeans, led by Alexander, soon shattered to pieces the Asiatic ranks; and with comparatively little loss on their own side, drove the army of Porus, with great slaughter, from the field, capturing many elephants and other spoil. Two sons of the defeated king fell in this sanguinary battle, and the unhappy father, seeing further resistance hopeless, submitted to the conqueror; who, impressed with his gallant bearing, restored his dominions, and even enlarged their dimensions. Alexander soon after founded two cities, one called Bucephala, in memory of his faithful horse Bucephalus, which, after carrying him safely through many perils, succumbed at last to age and fatigue on this well fought field. The conquerors next moved forward to the Chenaub, the Acesines of the Greeks, which they found in flood, and crossed partly in boats and partly on inflated skins. Next they forded the Ravee (the Greek Hydraotes,) to meet a second Porus, that seeming to be a family, rather than an individual name. This one ran away without fighting; which so disgusted Alexander that he summarily transferred the dominions of the cowardly Porus to his namesake Porus the brave. The Cathæi, supposed to be a tribe of that part of the Punjaub still called Kattia, met him next, occupying an eminence barricaded on every side with three rows of waggons. They

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fought with desperate courage, but in vain. They were routed, and their city fell into the conqueror's hands. Alexander still beckoned his soldiers onward; and now the river Beas, the Greek Hyphasis, appeared in view. Still onward was the general's command; but even the brave and long-enduring Macedonians thought it now time to turn, and in place of crossing the river, they mutinied and demanded to be led homeward. In vain did Alexander remonstrate; in vain did he entreat; and, when entreaty failed, in vain did he threaten. The man of iron will found for once he was not master; and there was no help for it but slowly and sullenly, and with a heart bursting with grief and indignation, to turn his back on India. Falling back on the Jhelum, he there built a fleet, in which he embarked about eight thousand of his forces, and then navigated his way down to the sea. The rest of his troops marched in two divisions, one on either bank. The natives in general offered little opposition, except a tribe called the Malli, suspected to be the people of Mooltan, in a conflict with whom he received a severe wound. As he went along, he laid the foundation of several cities, of which the chief was Pattala, at the apex of the delta of the Indus, which he meant to open the way for future trade. Leaving a Greek garrison behind him in one of the new cities, he prepared himself with the chief part of his forces to march back, if not to Greece itself, at least in the direction of Greece, while he asked his admiral, Nearchus, whether he thought he could bring the fleet across to the Persian Gulf. Nearchus replied, with a decision that would have reflected no discredit on a British tar, that he could and would do so, "if the sea were navigable, and the thing feasible for mortal man." And he kept his word. On Alexander's hearing that the admiral and the fleet were safe in the Persian Gulf, he exclaimed, "By the Grecian Zeus, and the Libyan Ammon" (two heathen gods he pretended to worship), "I swear to you that I am more happy in receiving this intelligence than at being the conqueror of all Asia; for I should have considered the loss of my fleet and the failure of the expedition as a counterbalance to all the glory I have acquired." Like other conquerors,

B.C. 326

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it was "glory" at which he chiefly aimed. But he forgot how many had to bleed and die that his name might become great. After Alexander's decease, which took place at Babylon, at the early age of thirty-two, the empire which he had built up dropped to pieces, its chief provinces being usurped by his generals. Its most easterly portion came into the possession of Seleucus, who fixed the seat of his dominion at Babylon. To his lot it consequently fell to look after Alexander's conquests in India. And he was not a man to shrink from the trust. He resolved to follow up what his illustrious predecessor had begun; and as it was well known that a great king, termed by the Greeks Sandracottus, king of the Prasii, supposed to mean Eastern people, had been prepared to encounter the mighty Alexander, had he advanced much further, Seleucus made war upon him. He was the first Greek who reached the Ganges. The Prasian capital was at Palibothra, supposed to be near the modern Patna; and Sandracottus is very generally regarded as the same with the Sanscrit Chandragupta; which, if true, is very important, as checking the wild chronology of the Hindus by the sober reckoning of the Greeks. Seleucus afterwards sent to Sandracottus an ambassador, Megasthenes by name, who resided several years at Palibothra, and on his return published a book, greatly increasing the scanty knowledge Europeans then had of India. It has been lost; but fragments of it have been preserved in the works of Arrian, a writer of the second century of the Christian era, by far the best of the ancient historians who have treated of Alexander and his times.

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CHAPTER X.

BOODDHISM IN THE ASCENDANT.

Booddhism advancing.
Three Booddhist convocations.
The Emperor Asoka.
Spread of Booddhism beyond the limits of India.
Booddhist cave-temples, monasteries, and other architectural remains.
Resemblance between Booddhism and the Romish faith.

WHILE the three waves of conquest, described in the previous chapter, were successively breaking in foam and fury over the northern portion of India, Booddhism was making steady progress among all who suffered through the insulting arrogancy of the Brahmanic claims. Among these, of course, the vanquished races stood prominent; and though Booddha had himself been one of the dominant Aryan tribe, yet it was among the foes that tribe had overcome that his chief adherents were found. It mattered not; these probably constituted the mass of the Indian people, and a religion popular with them was sure to make speedy way. Hence, the very year that Booddha died, it was possible to hold a well-attended convocation or assembly of his followers. One accordingly took place at Rajagriha, mentioned already as the capital of the Magadha kingdom. Two or three generations later, a second followed at Vesali, by some supposed to be Allahabad, by others believed to have been on the Gunduck, opposite Patna. Before a sufficient time had passed by to make the Booddhists feel their need of a third, a distinguished convert had been made to their creed,—the great Emperor Asoka. It is impossible to pen these lines without comparing the rise of Booddhism with that of Christianity. There are certain close resemblances between the two. For instance, after Christianity had struggled forward for upwards of three hundred years, from the birth of its Divine Founder, it made a royal convert, Constan-

B.C. 543 or B.C. 477

B.C. 443 or B.C. 377

B.C. 250

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tine, the Emperor of Rome, by whom it was elevated into the state religion. Booddhism, in about the same time, had its Constantine, Asoka, who established it too. Under the presidency of Constantine, a universal council was held in 325 A.D., at Nice. Asoka presided at the council of Palibothra; but it was the third, in place of the first. There were people who suspected political motives might, to some extent, have mingled with those of a higher kind, in bringing Constantine over to Christianity. And a similar suspicion has arisen regarding Asoka. His grandfather, Chandragupta, was a low-caste man, who had usurped the throne. Asoka thus belonged to a family which the lovers of hereditary royalty, if Frenchmen, would call, "parvenu;" if English, "upstart." He would, therefore, find his natural allies in the Booddhist reformers. They had introduced innovations into the Church, he into the State; and it was for the interest of both that a firm alliance should be struck between their respective parties. But if there are resemblances between the rise of Booddhism and that of Christianity, there are great differences too. Booddha was the son of a king, and his high worldly rank must have greatly aided him in establishing his faith. Christ was born in a family which, though of royal lineage, had been reduced to a very low place in the social scale. He had, consequently, none of the aid derivable from position or from pomp in enabling him to establish his religion in the world. Several of his first disciples were fishermen,—a class of persons most unlikely, unless helped from heaven, to produce a great revolution among men. Hence, we are accustomed to regard the rapid progress of Christianity as one of many arguments tending to prove that faith divine. But to return to Asoka. Once adopting Booddhism, he manifested the proverbial zeal of a convert in doing what he could for his newly-adopted religion. The convocation he summoned together has been already mentioned. It must now be added that he sent out missionaries in many directions to spread his faith. His brother, Mahindo, and his sister, Sangamitta, went on a missionary embassy to the Court of Ceylon, and, converting the king, laid the foundation of the Booddhism which flourishes there to this day. Gradually it spread to Burmah, Siam,

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and the neighbouring countries. While thus diffusing his newly-adopted creed in lands somewhat remote from his own, he was not unmindful of what we would term home missions for his own subjects; and issued edicts graven on pillars erected here and there in the provinces on the Jumna and the Ganges, and from Cuttack to far-remote Guzerat. It is from these having been set up in places so widely apart from each other, that the extent of Asoka's empire has come to be believed. One most interesting point about these proclamations is that we find in them the names of five Greek princes, Alexander, Antiochus, Ptolemy, Antigonus, and Magas. The late Professor Horace Hayman Wilson thought that the *Alexander* meant was Alexander the Great; the *Antigonus*, his successor; the *Magas*, the son-in-law of Ptolemy Philadelphus; the *Ptolemy*, one or all of the first four princes of Egypt; and the *Antiochus*, Antiochus the Great, king of Syria. In this case the inscriptions in which these names occur must have belonged to some period subsequent to B.C. 205, at which it was very unlikely Asoka was still alive. Professor Wilson, therefore, felt doubt in regard to the common view, that those inscriptions proceeded from the great Booddhist prince. He doubted also whether any Indian ruler ever had an empire so extensive as that attributed to Asoka. For instance, Megasthenes shortly before this stated there were one hundred and twenty nations in India. The Professor believed the inscriptions graven at different times, and with the view of advocating two different systems of faith. He seems, however, to have wavered in this view before his death. We therefore adhere to the ordinary opinion. On the supposition that the inscriptions were Asoka's, then the doctrine perseveringly urged on his people was the sacredness of life, —human, animal, nay, even vegetable life. It is supposed that his influence considerably aided in ultimately terminating the animal, and possibly even the human sacrifices, of the Vedic period, and tended for the first time to introduce the abstinence from animal food, which still so extensively prevails in India.

Ferguson states that with the year of the convocation under Asoka, 250 B.C., the architectural history of India

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begins. The Booddhist architectural remains are of various kinds. The first of these are called topes. Booddhism was a religion in which the worship of relics of Booddha much prevailed. When he died, eight cities claimed his remains. To satisfy them, his relics were divided into eight portions, and a part given to each. The most celebrated was a tooth granted to Ceylon, and still kept there. Edifices were at once erected over every fragment of the precious remains. Such buildings were called topes, from the Sanscrit word *sthupa*, signifying a mound, heap, or cairn. The oldest and simplest topes were pillars (*sthambas*). Some of them are called *lats*. It was on lats—one of which is now at Delhi, three more in Tirhut near the Gunduck, and one recently removed to Allahabad—that the proclamations already mentioned against taking life were carved. The second kind of Booddhist architectural remains are temples (*chaitya*). The third kind are monasteries, in which the priests of old lived. These sacred residences were termed Viharas, from which, it is believed, we have the name of the province Behar. No *built* temples or monasteries of Booddhist origin have come down to our times, if, indeed, any ever existed; but, in place of these, we have groups of rock-cut cave-temples and monasteries, believed to constitute from forty to fifty assemblages, some containing as many as a hundred distinct excavations. They are found in three great provinces: Behar, Cuttack, and the Bombay presidency. The oldest are those in Behar. They are in granite, and must have been difficult to excavate. The Cuttack ones followed. Then the soft volcanic rock of the Bombay presidency, called by geologists *amygdaloid*, or rock with almond-shaped cavities, was discovered,—so soft that it was possible to excavate a temple with less trouble than would have been required to build it. In consequence of this, nine-tenths of the whole Booddhist rock-cut caves yet known are in Western India. The Behar excavations are supposed to have been made in the first or second century B.C.; the Cuttack ones from the second century B.C. to the first or second century A.D.; the oldest at Karli and Adjunta, on the Bombay side, in the

B.C. 250

B.C. 200 to B.C. 0.

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first century A.D.; the rest at Adjunta, Ellora, and Kannari, from the centuries immediately following to the ninth, the tenth, or even the twelfth century after Christ. This is a long period for these excavations to have been carried on; but in fact Booddhism appears to have been almost paramount in India for a thousand or twelve hundred years after Asoka, during the greater part of which period the Brahmans had to "hide their diminished heads," and muse on the doctrine of the equality of races with as much equanimity as they could muster, in the sad circumstances of the case. The first temples and monasteries erected by the Booddhists seem to have been framed in part on the model of previous wooden edifices; and Ferguson thinks that, up to that period, it was of this perishable material that all houses in India were built. By-and-by the Booddhists became bolder in their designs, and all dependence on wooden models ceased. Then for several centuries their erections were splendid, both in design and execution; after which they finally began to decline, as corruption of morals increased, and faith in Booddhism became less of a living thing.

B.C. 0 to A.D. 800 or even 1100.

A remarkable similarity has been often noticed between Booddhism and that less pure form of Christianity which has its seat at Rome. Thus, as we learn from the *Oriental Christian Spectator*, an eye and ear witness, the Rev. G. Smith, speaking of the similarity between Romanism and Chinese Booddhism, says:—"There is the monastery, celibacy, the dress and caps of the priests, the incense, the bells, the rosary of beads, the lighted candles at the altar, the same intonation in the services, the same idea of purgatory, the praying in an unknown tongue, the offerings to departed spirits in the temple, the same in the Booddha temples of China as in the Roman Catholic churches of Europe." He further points out that as the latter worship the Virgin Mary, so the former have in China a goddess called "Holy Mother," or "Queen of Heaven," always represented as a woman bearing a male child in her arms. Hence an early Jesuit missionary in China, puzzled to account for these awkward resemblances, declared it as his

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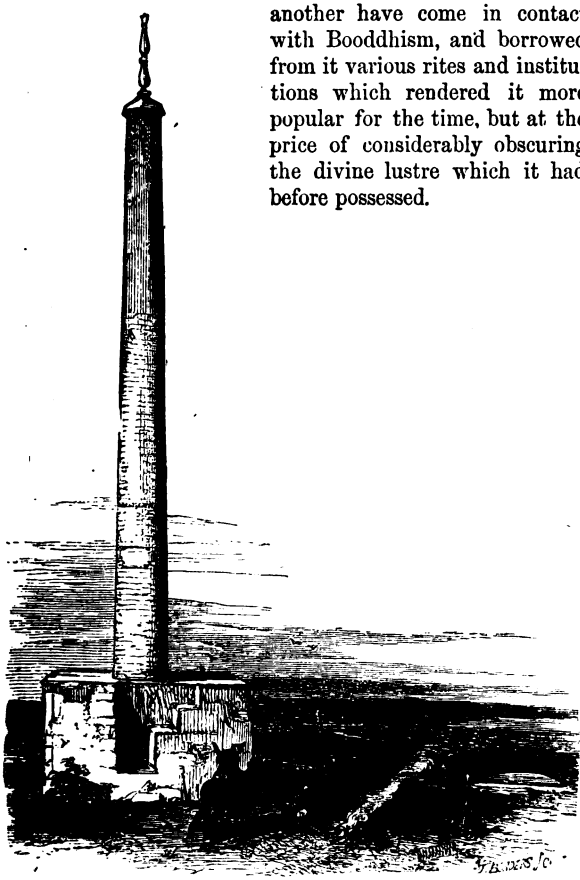
belief that Satan must have invented them to prevent the spread of the (Romish) Christian religion. An explanation more likely to find favour with thinking minds, is to suppose that, as Christianity in its victorious progress advanced eastward through Asia, it may somewhere or another have come in contact with Booddhism, and borrowed from it various rites and institutions which rendered it more popular for the time, but at the price of considerably obscuring the divine lustre which it had before possessed.



PILLAR OF ALLAHABAD.

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CHAPTER XI.

COINS HELP US ON OUR WAY.

Discovery of coins in the Punjaub and Affghanistan.
The Greek empire of Bactria.
The Saka Scythian invasion.
Vicramaditya.
The Yuchi Scythian invasion.
The Gupta dynasty.
The religions at that time professed.

WHEN a person's pockets are well stored with the current coin of the realm, he experiences peculiar ease in surmounting difficulties, which, in other circumstances, would be formidable enough. And when the historian of remote times can gain access to a multitude of coins, not current now, it is true, but which were current once, he can advance with confidence through obscure periods of history, trusting to the coins to open for him a way. It was a great day for the history of India when Ventura, a French general in the service of Runjeet Singh, king of the Punjaub, while lying encamped in 1831 with his army at Manickyala, between Jhelum and Attock, amused himself by digging into a great Booddhist tope which he saw, and, among other objects of interest, fetched forth some copper coins. The first result of this happy incident was, that Monsieur Court, a French officer under Ventura, without more ado, fell upon fifteen smaller topes, as his commander had done on the large one, and brought out coins too; of which, strange to say, one was that of the great Roman conqueror, Julius Cæsar; and another that of his scarcely less celebrated lieutenant, Mark Antony. Two or three years later, an Englishman, Mr. Charles Masson by name, obtained a multitude of copper coins from topes and excavations in Affghanistan; and, when these and others from various quarters were deciphered and understood, the way was open for a series of splendid discoveries in old Asiatic history.

It will be remembered that when Alexander the Great died, his empire fell to pieces; the eastern portion, after some little time of inquietude, coming into the possession of

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Seleucus. How very extensive the kingdom of the last named ruler was, will be evident if we describe the limits of one province of it,—Bactria. Bactria, as then understood, was a very extensive territory stretching on the eastern side to the Indus; on the western to a line drawn from the south-east corner of the Sea of Aral to the Caspian; its northern limit was formed by the river Jaxartes; while its southern was washed by the waves of the Indian Ocean. Bactria was placed under the control of a governor, who, tempted by the magnitude of the province he ruled, raised the standard of revolt. Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, marched against the rebel, and, to purchase the assistance of Chandragupta, king of Palibothra,—the same to whom his father Seleucus had sent the embassy,—he gave the Indian king some territory on both sides of the Indus. After all, the rebel was successful in achieving his independence, and founded the Greek kingdom of Bactria. He purchased pardon for his unfaithfulness to his former sovereign by helping him against the Parthians on the west of Bactria, who had rebelled like himself. His successor sided with the Parthians, instead of fighting against them; in consequence of which Antiochus formed an alliance with the Indians, then under a king called Subhagasena, ceding to him the southern part of Bactria, while he left the northern portion of the kingdom to be a buttress against the invasion of barbarian hordes. After more revolts and battles in Bactria, which we need not particularize, the Indians again lost their share of that province. The Bactrian coins now cease to be purely Greek, showing that the governor and the governed were becoming more of one people. The Greek dominion was losing vigour, and the Parthians from the west, and the Scythians from the north, inflicted on it staggering blows. B.C. **155.** Union might yet have done much to save it, but, alas! it broke into fragments, each with a king of its own. The end could not now be very long delayed, and in about a quarter of a century it came. The Scythian Sakas from the savage wastes of Siberia rushed southwards in irresistible force, and in the year B.C. 127, overthrew the proper Bactrian kingdom B.C. **127.**

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though, as they met their match, it is believed, in the Parthians, who stayed their further progress, one of the fragments of the old Greek empire—a principality in the Hindu Koosh—remained as yet unharmed. Just before the Scythian invasion, it had had a very distinguished king, Menander by name, who had pushed his conquests down the Indus to the sea, while in another direction he held the country at least as far as the upper Doab of the Ganges and the Jumna. Thirteen Sah kings, as they are termed, who reigned in Guzerat for a hundred years, from 157 to 57 B.C., more or less came in contact with the last fragment of the Greco-Bactrian empire, the earlier ones probably swearing allegiance to it, the later ones acting quite independently of its control.

At last the Scythian inroad reached even the last Grecian stronghold; the dynasty of Menander expired; and the Macedonian rule in Central Asia for ever passed away. The silver Bactrian coinage was still current here and there for two or three centuries, as you trace spars and bits of wreck on the sea after a ship has foundered, but at last not even these were to be met with any more. But we must not anticipate.

About B.C. 50

The name of the Parthians has more than once occurred in this chapter. It was possibly from them that the Hindus borrowed the pattern of what are sometimes called "Parthian coronets," which they so generally employ as the head-dresses of Krishna and their other gods.

A little after the extinction of Menander's dynasty, a powerful king of Oojein, called by the Greeks Porus, sent an embassy to Augustus Cæsar, the first Emperor of Rome, with a letter written in Greek. A philosopher, Calanus by name, possibly a Digambar Jaina, though this has been disputed, voluntarily gave up his life at Rome, to the astonishment of the people of that then luxurious capital. The potency of Greek influence was shown in another way. The Sakas, though they overthrew the Bactrian kingdom of Greece, yet seem to have learned much from those over whom they had triumphed in battle; and the rude Scythian conquerors thought it no degradation to adopt the Greek language, with some of the Greek mythology and art.

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There is a vulgar but expressive proverb in English, that "every dog has its day,"—and it may be added, its day only; and the day of the Sakas closed for ever when they had encountered the celebrated Hindu king Vicramaditya, king of Oojein, it is now pretty confidently stated, in the year A.D. 78. He obtained in consequence the name of Sakari, meaning the enemy of the Sakas. Having thus achieved independence for his country, glorious while it lasted, though doomed to be but temporary, he called to his court as many eminent literary men as possible. A.D 78

To preserve the memory of his name to the latest times, an era was commenced from his reign; but such is the vanity of human wishes, that he is said to have been overthrown and killed by a demon, Salivahan, very likely a Booddhist, who was thought by his admirers worthy of having an era too. Most of the Hindus still employ that of Vicramaditya, 57 B.C., and that of Salivahan has still its followers; but there is no era that promises very long to stand in the way of the universal computation of events from the birth of Christ.

But to return to Vicramaditya. This great sovereign established the Brahmanic faith in Oojein, his capital; so that at the period of the Christian era, Brahmanism and Booddhism were side by side in India, each desirous of unlimited rule; but the manifest superiority, it is believed, still with the Booddhists. Either he or one of his successors was overthrown by a second influx of Scythian barbarians, called Tokhares or Yuchis. The Yuchis founded the very important Indo-Scythian empire; putting to death the local kings, and substituting military chiefs in their room. During the period of their rule, commerce seems greatly to have flourished, judging from the immense quantity of gold and copper coins of theirs that have been recovered. Though the Yuchis overthrew many native kingdoms of greater or less extent, we must not suppose there were not then, as ever, a multitude of native dynasties still left untouched. Among these, the Andhra monarchs, whose reign commenced in Magadha about twenty years B.C., though apparently much earlier in the south of the B.C. 26

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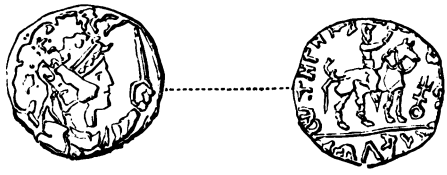
peninsula, were so important as to be mentioned by the Roman naturalist Pliny. It is important to observe that the Yuchi coins give insight into the nature of the religion professed by that people. There had long been in Persia a kind of elemental worship, known by the various names of the Magian, Sabæan, or Mithraic faith. Discouraged for a time while Greek domination lasted, it again attained power with the Yuchis; though, when they had gained empire in India, they thought it politic to encourage also the indigenous faiths, and the emblems of Siva, of Booddha, and Mithra, appear together on the Indo-Scythian coins. In the beginning of the third century, a low caste Hindu family, by name Guptas, arose, and expelling the Indo-Scythian invaders, established an empire extending from Nepaul to Guzerat, and from Magadha to the Paropamisus. Then again the Hindus reigned over those vast regions where, since the days of Asoka, their rule had undergone nearly total eclipse. A connection is traceable between the Macedonian and the Greco-Bactrian coins; then the thread passes through the Saka-Scythian into the Yuchi-Scythian era, and finally goes directly therefrom to the Guptas of Kanouj, the first dynasty, as has been already mentioned, of the revived Hindu dominion. Stray coins take us even further, for it has been shown by their evidence that the Gupta dynasty was locally superseded in Guzerat by the Valabhis, in 319 A.D., and thus the series goes forward. But while the Gupta rule had fallen in one province, it was destined to live on and flourish yet for some centuries in Central and Upper India.



THE GREEK COIN MOST COMMONLY DUG UP IN THE PUNJAUR.

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CHAPTER XII.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF INDIAN BOODDHISM.

The Chinese pilgrims and their revelations.
The decline of Booddhism.
Reasons why it declined.
Persecution of the Booddhists.
They are expelled from India.
Jainism in the hour of its triumph.

TOWARDS the conclusion of the fourth century of the Christian era, Chinese Booddhism, in the opinion of its votaries, was far from being in a satisfactory state. "The sacred texts were found to be mutilated or dispersed; the precepts were neglected or abandoned; all zeal became extinct; and the faith, wanting lights and supports, ceased to operate." Moved to action by this sad state of things, a Booddhist monk, who had received the name of Fahian, or manifestation of the law, left China at the head of a small pilgrim band to visit India, the cradle of his faith, see its sacred places, and note how the religion in which he so implicitly believed was flourishing there. His simple, unpretending narrative, confirmed as it has been from other sources, is deemed worthy of all belief. The revelations he makes in it are most startling. For instance, it is inferred from his narrative that it was the Pali or Booddhist language, not the Sanscrit or Brahmanic one, that then prevailed; and it is remarkable that while we have Pali inscriptions on coins and monuments from before the Christian era, we have none in the Sanscrit till some centuries subsequently. When he first meets the Brahmans in the Punjaub, their old seat, he terms them, "the first of the tribes of barbarians." Only think, "a tribe!" and "barbarians!" After he had passed through Rajpootana and east of the Jumna and Ganges, through Oude and Behar, he records that "all the kings of the different kingdoms in India are firmly attached to the law of Booddha." We learn, too, that at the end of each year the *Booddhist* ecclesiastics receive "presents from the elders, the men in office, the

A.D. 399

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Brahmans, and others." Kanouj seems to have been a Booddhist town. About Cawnpore our traveller meets with "Brahman heretics." Vesali (Allahabad) he discovers to be a republic. He does not say much about Benares. Central India was a kingdom,—one, apparently, not many. The cities and towns were large, the people rich, and they loved discussion. The roads in the Deccan were, however, "dangerous, and painful, and difficult to distinguish." He found Booddhism predominant in Ceylon, as it is now. After remaining two years in that island, he set sail for China, but, encountering a severe storm, was obliged to put into Veradwipa or Java, where "the heretics and the Brahmans were in great numbers, and the law of Booddha was not practised." Again embarking in a ship for China—a ship, be it observed, belonging to some Brahman merchants, and in which the owners were his fellow-voyagers, he encountered a second storm. This was too much for his Brahman comrades to endure, and they proposed to put him ashore on an island, believing him to have been the cause of the storm. The Jewish prophet Jonah was in similar circumstances cast into the sea, and it may be feared that Fahian would have met with worse treatment than he did, had the Brahmans who sailed with him known that the journal in which he kept quietly making jottings would be published in China; and after the lapse of fifteen centuries printed in France, and then in England; be commented on by the learned of every civilized land; and finally strike a serious blow at Brahmanic pretensions. It is mainly from an able analysis of Fahian's work by Colonel Sykes, M.P., that the foregoing account of it has been taken; and the effect produced on his mind by the revelations of the Chinese pilgrim are very striking. Another Chinese traveller, Soungyoung, followed in the sixth century; and yet another, Hiuanthsang, in the seventh century. From these we learn that Booddhism had been slowly declining from the time of Fahian, though even as late as the seventh century, Brahmanic kings in India were very few.

The last-named traveller mentions that at one place—and we may suppose in all—the Booddhists were now no better than the "heretics" among whom they lived. In other words,

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that corruption which precedes the downfall of a religion had manifested itself. Besides this, to withdraw such multitudes of able-bodied men from the service of the community as the monkery of this system did, was a crime against the common weal; to enforce celibacy on them, was sooner or later to produce dissoluteness of morals. Then again, the Booddhist ceremonial, not strikingly gorgeous, was unfitted permanently to impress the common sort of people. The country at length got weary of it; and its rival system, promoted by the untiring efforts of the Brahmans, the most intellectual race in the whole Hindu community, increased day by day. Finally, persecution broke out against the unhappy Booddhists. In one part of Southern India, a Bhutt from the north, called Kumarila, is said to have excited it, and not the celebrated Sankara Acharya, as was supposed. At Kumarila's instigation, King Sindhanma issued a decree in the terrible words, "Let those who slay not, be slain; the old men among the Booddhists and the babe, from the Bridge of Rama to the Snowy Mountains." In another part of the peninsula—the Mahratta country—Khandoba, now worshipped as a god, seems to have been first and foremost in the crime. But it is believed to have taken till the twelfth or fourteenth century before Booddhism was completely overthrown. Even then, it did what religions generally do when they seem to perish,—it changed its outward form, and lived on, at least in certain localities; it being now generally held that the worship of Juggernaut at Pooree in Cuttack was originally Booddhist; nay more, it is in part Booddhist still, for all castes are there regarded as one, at least during the time of the great annual festival. It was probably after its fall in India that Booddhism completed the conversion of China, and the other great territories where it flourishes to this day. Christianity and Booddhism are supposed to have each about 300,000,000 of adherents, and stand, in point of numbers, quite at the head of all faiths. But if the intellectual and moral state of the worshippers, and the power they possess in the world, be taken into account, the two are no longer rivals, but, in the presence of Christianity, Booddhism looks small indeed.

Booddhism and Jainism were kindred sects; yet the Jainas

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have been accused of joining with the Brahmanic party in persecuting the unhappy Booddhists out of the land. The thing is incredible, some will say; but we are not so sure of this. Kindred sects are often more bitter against each other than sects which differ in nearly every particular; and to point out the similarity between the Jaina and Booddhist religions is not itself a sufficient refutation of the charge that one may have helped to root the other out of India. However this may be, the fact seems to be established that just after Booddhism fell, Jainism came out with a lustre and attained to a prosperity never equalled before or since. A brief notice of this system must, therefore, be presented before the chapter closes.

The difficulty of presenting an account of the Jaina faith arises from the extent rather than from the limited amount of Jaina literature. At times, along the coast of a country, the fishermen are astonished to find some species of fish suddenly appear in such a shoal as to baffle all efforts to overtake more than the hundredth part of the prize; and in the prosperous period of the Jaina faith, shoals of works which have as yet been very partially secured or turned to account, suddenly appeared on the surface of the literary deep. Some were in Sanscrit; others in Pracrit—the Magadhi tongue—the sacred language of the Jainas, as it is of the Booddhists; while others still were in the vernacular dialects. Like the Booddhists, the Jainas deny the divine authority of the Vedas, venerate certain holy mortals, and are tender of animal life to a ludicrous extent. The men of distinguished sanctity adored by the Jainas are called Tirthankaras. The word Jina, also applied to them, means victor over all human passions and infirmities. Twenty-four of these deified men belong to the past, twenty-four to the present, and twenty-four to the future. Rishabha, the first, we are coolly told, was 500 poles in stature, and lived 8,400,000 great years. We are, however, relieved to learn that his successors rapidly dwindled down in length both of body and of life, till finally we reach the last tirthankara, Mahavira, who was in stature only like an ordinary man, and lived the credible period of forty years. Mahavira and his predecessor, Parsvanath, are the two tirthankaras chiefly

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venerated. And it is not to the credit of the Jaina faith we have to add, they and their brethren are supposed to be higher than the gods. Indeed, there is no Supreme Being in their scheme. They hold also the eternity of matter and of life. The last Jina expired, according to some accounts, 500, according to others, 663 years before the Christian era. The Jainas have long been divided into two sects,—Digambaras and Swetambaras. The former word means sky-clad,—a polite expression for nude; the latter, white-robed,—the teachers of the two sects being originally clad respectively as described in the words. The Digambaras are held to be the more ancient. Whether the Jainas may have been a very old sect, who never rose to much power till after the Booddhists had cleared a way for them, or whether, according to the common belief, they were quite modern, when they first came into notice, has not yet been conclusively settled. A few ascertained dates in their history may be noted. The compiler of the Jaina Puranas of the Deccan is said to have written at the end of the ninth century. Various eminent Jaina authors were contemporary with Munja and Bhoja, princes of Dhar in the ninth and tenth centuries. About A.D. 1174, Humara Pala, the king of Guzerat, was converted to the Jaina faith,—an event followed by important consequences, for it is supposed to be because of this event that so many Jainas are still found in Marwar, Guzerat, and the upper part of the Malabar coast. On the Coromandel side of India, they make their appearance in the eighth or ninth century; in the eleventh they were a power in Madura; in the twelfth they had reached their highest prosperity, which was, however, short-lived, old Hinduism, both in its Vishnuvite and Sivaite forms, immediately afterwards thrusting them from power. The Jainas are still, however, of some importance in Guzerat, Marwar, and Mysore, the seats of their former glory. Many remains of their architecture are still traceable, the general style being elaborately ornate; but many Jaina buildings were destroyed or converted into mosques through Mohammedan bigotry and oppression.

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CHAPTER XIII.

THE PURANIC PERIOD BEGINS.

Brahmanism triumphant.
Schism in the dominant party.
Yoga mysticism.
Vishnuvite and Sivaite controversialists.
Civil history of that period.

THE Brahmans, now rid of their Booddhist rivals, were fast regaining their predominance, at least in parts of India. It was, we should think, after the fall of Booddhism, if ever, that the more oppressive of the caste laws now embodied in the Institutes of Menu were for the first time fully carried out. A glance at these will therefore be necessary to this part of the history. And, first, of that section of the aborigines who had submitted to the Brahmanic Aryans, it is enacted that "their abodes must be out of towns. Their sole property is to consist of dogs and asses. Their clothes should be those left by the dead; their ornaments rusty iron. They must roam from place to place. No respectable man must hold intercourse with them. They are to perform the office of executioners on all criminals condemned to death by the king. For this duty they may retain the bedding, the clothes, and the ornaments of those executed." Of the Sudras it is said in Menu, "But a man of the servile class, whether bought or unbought, he (the Brahman) may compel to perform servile duty, because such a man was created by the Self-existent for the purpose of serving Brahmans. A Sudra, though emancipated by his master, is not released from a state of servitude; for of a state which is natural to him, by whom can he be divested? A Brahman may seize without hesitation, if he be distressed for a subsistence, the goods of his Sudra slave; for as that slave can have no property, his master may take his goods." On Brahmans severe duties were laid, which they were expected to discharge; but, on the other hand, their privileges were monstrous: "Whatever exists in the universe is all in effect, though not in form, the wealth of the Brahman, since the Brahman is entitled to it all by his

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primogeniture and eminence of birth. The Brahman eats but his own food, wears but his own apparel, and bestows but his own in alms. Through the benevolence of the Brahman, indeed, other mortals enjoy life. Never shall the king slay a Brahman, though convicted of all possible crimes. Let him banish the offender from his realm, but with all his property secure and his body unhurt. No greater crime is known on earth than slaying a Brahman; and the king, therefore, must not even form in his mind the idea of killing a priest." "A once-born man who insults the twice-born with gross invectives, ought to have his tongue slit. If he mention their names with contumely, an iron style, ten fingers long, shall be thrust red-hot into his mouth. Should he spit on him through pride, the king shall order both his lips to be gashed. If he seize the Brahman by the locks, or any other part of the body, let the king, without hesitation, cause incisions to be made in his hands." It is believed by Colonel Sykes, on the evidence of inscriptions and other proof, that Brahmanic influence and Puranic beliefs were most prevalent in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries.

If Brahmanism had been dominant through the whole of India, and specially if, with this spiritual unity, all the vast peninsula had been under one sceptre, the case of the Sudras and out-castes would have been hopeless indeed. But God is in favour of human liberty, civil and religious, and takes care it shall not finally perish from the world. When a dominant church becomes insolent, schism arises, and the power in which it trusted is broken. The same is the divine plan most frequently adopted for humbling a proud state. Religious and civil disunion and separation were then the speedy consequence of the Brahmanic predominance in India.

It is not easy to trace the dates when the several changes of religious belief took place; but an effort to indicate them, at least vaguely, must be made.

There was doubtless a time, which we cannot exactly fix, when the worship of Brahma to some small extent prevailed. There is a celebrated passage in the Linga Purana, in which the fiery Linga is introduced as settling the dispute

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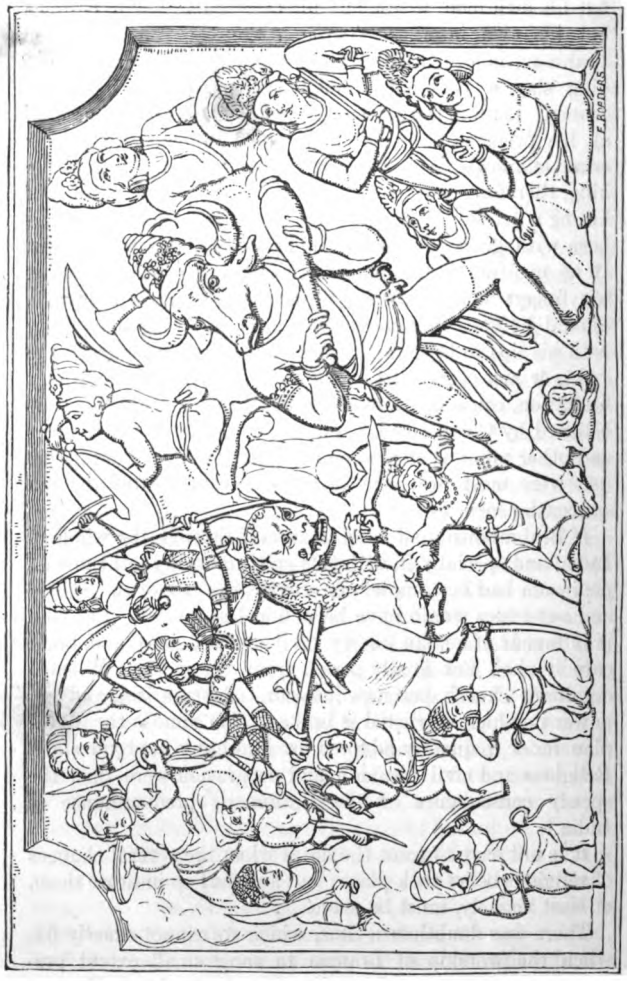

BATTLE BETWEEN THE GODDESS DOORGA AND THE ASURAS.—(AN ILLUSTRATION OF PURANIC MYTHOLOGY.)

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between Brahma and Vishnu for superiority, by taking to itself the honour which they respectively claimed. The Rev. Dr. Stevenson conjecturally interprets the myth to mean, that when the ancient worshippers of Brahma, and the Booddhists,—who may be supposed, in a manner, Vishnuvites, for Booddh is generally held to be one of the incarnations of Vishnu,—were contending for the mastery, the votaries of Siva, now at length worshipped, as at present, under the form of the Linga, became dominant over both. There were some slight shades of difference even among the votaries of the Sivaite faith. Many of them, for instance, became mystics, embracing the tenets of the Yoga or Patanjala school of philosophy, which had no slight influence in the early ages of the Christian era. Among other views held by the mystics of whom we speak, one was the possibility of acquiring, even in this life, command over matter by various ascetic practices. The Sivaite mystics are generally supposed to have constructed the rock-cut temples at Elephanta, near Bombay, as well as the Dumar Lena cave at Ellora, with some others in the south of India, taking a lesson in architecture from the unhappy Booddhists, then persecuted, and in process of being driven from the land. The date of these excavations is fixed by Ferguson as the tenth century of the Christian era. It is thought that the mystic Sivaism of the Yoga school gradually waned away under the rising influence of more ordinary Sivaism, as fixed by Sankara Acharya, already mentioned, who left his mark so deeply upon the history of those times that a brief sketch of his life must be presented here.

Sankara is, in mythology, held to have been an incarnation of Siva, to overthrow Booddhism, and settle on firm foundation the "orthodox" faith. Only a few particulars of his life are known. He is generally supposed to have been a native of Malabar, and to have belonged to the sect of the Namburi Brahmans. He led an erratic life; finally wandering as far as Cashmere, engaging in controversy with Vishnuvites, Sivaite "heretics," and others, and establishing convents in several places. He also penned various books; the most celebrated of which was his Bhashya, or Commentary on the Sutras, or Aphorisms of Vyasa. He

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seems to have lived during the eighth or, more probably, the ninth century. The fixing of modern Sivaism, much as we find it now, is generally attributed to his untiring efforts. Let it not, however, be supposed that Vishnuism quitted the field and left Sivaism to consolidate its power. The former stiffly held its ground against all efforts to extinguish it; and, according to a principle before stated, religious liberty must have been safer under their rivalry than if either had ruled alone.

In civil as in religious affairs there was disunion. The low-caste Guptas had reigned for a considerable period at Kanouj. At the same time the Andhras were in glory at Palibothra, the capital of the Magadha kingdom. Their fame, as has already been mentioned, extended even to distant Rome. It is thought they acceded to power about twenty years B.C., and continued to rule till 436 A.D. The greatest names of those times would seem to have been Soodruk, still remembered by the natives under the name of Kurna; Pooloma, who terminated his existence in the Ganges, A.D. 638; and Ramdeva, who encountered the Persians, but without success. Then, it is said, the Andhra Bhrityas, or servants of the Andhras, succeeded, as if the prime minister had superseded the king, in the manner the Peshwas did to their masters, or as, even in Europe, the functionary termed in France the Mayor of the Palace, at last set aside his sovereign, and ruled in his stead. It is pretty plain that, from the expulsion of the Booddhists, there was for a long time anarchy in India. And anarchy paves the way for despotism. The splitting of a nation into a multitude of petty sovereignties, in constant hostility with each other, is the general prelude to foreign invasion. Union is strength; disunion is weakness; and now that India was so thoroughly disunited in civil and religious matters, now also that religious persecution had left its bloody foot-prints on the land, every thing seemed to evince that long years of trouble and distress and foreign domination drew near.

436 A.D.

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PERIOD II.

The Mohammedan Period.

CHAPTER I.

THE RISE AND SPREAD OF MOHAMMEDANISM.

Life of Mohammed.
The Caliphs who succeeded Mohammed.
Soonees and Shiahs.
The Mussulmans make way as far as France.
They are stopped, and hurled back by Charles Martel.

Not to many men has it been granted to produce such a change in the affairs of this world as that effected by the great Mohammed. He was born in Mecca in the year A.D. 569, and was an Arab of the race of the Koreishites, and that branch of it to which was intrusted the custody of a temple called the Kaaba, containing a black stone said to have fallen from heaven. His grandfather had not merely had charge of the Kaaba, but was president of the republic at Mecca. In race, of course, Mohammed was an Arab; and this must be observed, that while a country whose climate combines both moisture and heat, is apt to beget effeminacy in its inhabitants, one like Arabia, with heat, wanting the moisture, leaves its people with the energy of the human frame comparatively unimpaired. Hence we do not look upon the Arabs as indolent and degenerate specimens of humanity, but rather regard them as types of manly enterprise and daring. There is a peculiar obstinacy in the Syro-Arabian, more than in the Aryan race,—a will that not merely resists when the object is worth resisting

A.D. 569

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for, but does so doggedly and blindly, often sacrificing the life for no worthy end at all. Though, in unyielding will, Mohammed equalled, nay, even went beyond his countrymen, yet there were various respects in which his temperament differed from theirs.

He had a fine nervous organization, and in early youth seems to have been affected with epilepsy, which is a nervous disease. Such a bodily temperament is the ordinary one of genius and refinement, and accordingly we are not surprised to learn that Mohammed had in his youth no ardent love for coarse sports, or the brutal delights of war. We are told, as we expected, that in early life he was modest and retiring, with a dash of melancholy in his composition; and, though unable to read, yet eloquent and an admirer of eloquence, with a remarkable thirst for knowledge, and especially knowledge bearing on the subject of man's destiny, and the world beyond the grave. At the age of twenty-five, he went into the service of a widow of some rank called Khadijah, then about forty years old, and after a time married her. As he approached his fortieth year, his contemplative tendencies increased, and alone or accompanied by his faithful wife, he would retire for days together to a cave at the foot of Mount Hira, north of Mecca, and meditate on religious subjects. He was dissatisfied with the idolatries of his countrymen. He knew a little of Judaism, but was not favourably impressed by it. And he had, to some extent, inquired into the Christianity then professed, but, alas, it had become corrupt, and in consequence did not meet the wants of his soul, as, when pure, it has met the wants of so many in every country and clime. He had come to understand the two great truths of the unity of God and the evil of idolatry, and sought to spread abroad among the people what he knew. At first he met with little success, the inhabitants of Mecca declaring that only a prophet like those with whom the Jews and Christians had been favoured would make them give up their old belief. Hitherto the career of Mohammed had been worthy of all approval, but his conduct from this time becomes subject to very serious doubts indeed. Taunted by the inhabitants of Mecca for not being a prophet, he, with some misgivings, persuaded himself into

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the belief he was what they desired—a prophet—and in that new character he now stood forth to proclaim to them what he termed "the faith." His wife, Khadijah, was his first convert. Seid, his slave, was the next. Ali, the son of Abu Taleb, his cousin, followed; and then Abubekr, one of the most influential citizens of Mecca. Still the work went on slowly, and after three or four years' public preaching in his new character, not forty persons believed in his claims. Nor were the unbelievers friendly. They commenced persecution; so that he had to advise some of his followers to remove to Abyssinia, and finally he himself was compelled to flee from Mecca to Medina. The year of his flight is called the Hegira. It is the year 622 of the Christian era, and the date from which Mussulmans ordinarily make their computations, as Christians do from the birth of Christ. This year, 1863, is the 1241st of the Hegira. Persecution produced its natural result on the distinguished fugitive. A change came over his spirit, and the ungentle elements in it were stirred up; and, having up to this period attempted to spread his religion by persuasion merely, he now fell into the terrible sin of resolving to do it by force. "The sword," he said, "is the key of heaven and hell; a drop of blood shed in the cause of God—a night passed under arms on his behalf, will be of more avail hereafter to the faithful than two months of fasting and prayer. Whosoever falls in battle, his sins shall be pardoned; at the day of judgment his wounds will shine with the splendour of vermilion, they will emit the fragrance of musk and of ambergris, and the wings of angels and of the cherubim shall be the substitutes for the limbs he may have lost." Mohammed's first battle was fought at Badr, between 350 Mussulmans and somewhere about 950 Koreishites. Considering that the 350 were inspired by fanaticism, and the 950 were not, the disparity of strength was not great, and, as might almost have been anticipated, Mohammed was the victor. The Mussulmans believe that 3000 angels, led by the archangel Gabriel, were needed to decide the fate of this battle. And yet, strangely enough, they regard the prophet's victory in an unequal(!) struggle as a proof that he was sent from God. Moham-

The Hegira A.D. 622

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med was soon after defeated and himself wounded in a battle fought at Ohud, six miles from Medina, and no fewer than seventy "martyrs" "entered into the joys of paradise." This check was only temporary. His followers still increasing, in 629 Mecca had to be surrendered to him by Abu Sophyan, the most pertinacious of his foes. Without much delay, the inhabitants professed themselves believers in the Koran. Within three years from that date Arabia was conquered, and a desire had arisen in the mind of every Mussulman to subdue the world. The career of Mohammed himself was, however, drawing to a close. He had fought in nine sieges or battles, and his lieutenants in fifteen, when, worn out with his great exertions of mind and body, he died at the age of sixty-three, in the year A.D. 632. Abubekr, the first beyond the limits of Mohammed's own household who had believed in his mission, was made caliph or lieutenant of the "prophet." When his death, which occurred two years later, was approaching, he, with the consent of the Mussulmans, nominated the courageous Omar his successor. "I do not want that place," said Omar; on which Abubekr replied, "But the place wants you." During the caliphates of Abubekr and Omar, the Mohammedans had attacked the falling Roman empire in the East, as well as that of Persia; they had subdued Syria, Persia, and Egypt; and, with that violation of the dearest right of man—the right of conscience—which has marked their whole career, had destroyed many thousand churches or temples. To all nations were offered the three-fold proposal, "The Koran, the tribute, or the sword." On the assassination of the caliph Omar, Othman, Mohammed's secretary, succeeded; and when he, like his predecessor, was murdered, troubles arose about the succession. It is strange that Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of Mohammed, and who had, moreover, been named by him his vizier or prime minister, should so long have been passed over in elections for the caliphate. This time, accordingly, he was chosen by the Arabs; but Moaviah, son of Abu Sophyan, Mohammed's great rival, had been elected to the same high honour by the armies in Syria. Ali had a powerful opponent in Ayesha, Abubekr's daughter, the most beloved wife of

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Mohammed;—the *most* beloved, it is needful to say, for after the death of Khadijah, the "prophet," who had much altered from what he had been in his earlier years, and having commenced his career an enthusiast, seems to have terminated it an impostor, had married, by some accounts fifteen, by others seventeen wives, all widows but one,—that one the same Ayesha now introduced to the reader's notice. The mutual claims of Ali and Moaviah led to a sanguinary civil war. At last two umpires were appointed to end the quarrel. They resolved that, to make peace, both caliphs should be compelled to abdicate. In intimating this decision, the one umpire commenced his speech by declaring that Ali had ceased to be caliph; on which the other instantly put in his word, and added that consequently Moaviah was left in undisputed possession of the sovereignty. From this treachery on the part of one of the "faithful" began the schism of the Mussulmans into Soonees and Shiahs. The Soonees consider Moaviah to have been duly elected caliph. The Shiahs believe Ali was deposed illegally, and are even against the claims of the three caliphs, Abubekr, Omar, and Othman, who intervened between him and Mohammed. The Soonees also believe in the authority of the Mussulman traditions; the Shiahs reject these. The Turks, Egyptians, and some other nations, are now Soonees; the Persians are Shiahs. The trick played on Ali did not terminate the civil war; nor did Ali's murder, which took place five years later. Hussun, the son of Ali, and grandson of Mohammed, was chosen by the Shiahs. He was unambitious, and soon acknowledged Moaviah caliph;—a complaisance which did not prevent his being poisoned by some of the "faithful." Hosein, Ali's second son, a more warlike character, was set up against Moaviah, and marched at the head of a small force towards the Euphrates, expecting a powerful rising to take place in his favour. One had broken out, but had been suppressed before his arrival, and he found himself and his small force confronted by a powerful army. Disdaining flight or surrender, he fought the great host opposed to him with determined valour for a time, but was ultimately overpowered,

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and his small band of followers, with himself, were destroyed to a man. In commemoration of the deaths of Hussun and Hosein, grandsons of Mohammed, wailing cries take place in India at the Mohurrum festival, and taboots or biers are paraded through the streets. Though these great civil commotions now described necessarily retarded the progress of the Mohammedan arms, yet they continued to make way in various directions. The Mussulmans overran the whole north of Africa, crossed at the Straits of Gibraltar, established themselves in Spain, and, under their leader, Abderrahman, had even penetrated into France, when, in the month of October 732, Charles, surnamed Martel or the Hammer, met them on the plain of Poictiers, and after skirmishing seven days, at last encountered them in a great battle, killed their chief, Abderrahman, and put their enormous host to rout. They were never able to establish themselves so far north again, and Europe and the world were saved.

A.D. 732

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CHAPTER II.

THE GHUZNEVIDE DYNASTY OF MOHAMMEDAN EMPERORS.

Invasion of Scinde by Mohammed Cassim.
The Arabs or Saracens are succeeded by the Turks.
Rise of the Ghuznevide empire.
Mahmud of Ghuznee and his twelve expeditions to India.
The dynasty of Ghuznee displaced by that of Ghore.

If even proudly independent Europe was brought into jeopardy by the Mohammedan arms, it was not to be expected that poor feeble India would long escape. Gradually the danger crept nearer its borders. In 632 Persia was invaded by the Mussulmans, and soon after lost its liberty. In 664 an Arab force made its way as far as Cabul, while plundering expeditions to India, not even then for the first time begun, became frequent. And the eighth century had not far run its course, when an invasion, led by Mohammed Cassim, son of the governor of Bussorah, and meant to result in permanent conquest, was set on foot against Scinde. It succeeded for a time, but before the Moslem government was properly consolidated, the Hindus overthrew it, and recovering the lost province, were troubled no more by the Mohammedans for several centuries.

Finally, however, a new and more terrible Mussulman invasion of India took place. The Mohammedan Arabs, generally called Saracens, had now in large measure become luxurious and effeminate, and their vast empire had broken to pieces. So extensive, however, had been the regions ruled over by the caliphs, that even the fragments of the extinct dominion made goodly sized kingdoms. One of these, constituting much of what is now called Independent Tartary, broke off in A.D. 873 from subjection to the caliphs; and Ismael Samani, its ruler, one of the hardy race of Turks, soon destined to supplant the Arab dominion, took the title of king. The province of Khorasan revolted from this new power about a hundred years later, and Abistagi, the successful rebel, managed to extend his sway over the

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mountain territory to the eastward, and finally selected Ghuznee for his capital. He "went the way of all the earth," and on his demise, not his son, but his general, Subuktagi, became his successor. He too died, and his son, the celebrated Mahmud of Ghuznee, found himself in possession of the throne. He made it the object of his life to invade and plunder India, and no fewer than twelve expeditions to that down-trodden country are enumerated among his exploits. The first took place in the year A.D. 1001, and was directed against Jeypal, the Hindu king of Lahore. This brave ruler had been conquered by Subuktagi, had broken his bonds, and been subjugated again. Still his spirit was not quite broken, and with some hope of victory he advanced to meet Mahmud at Peshawur. Soon, however, his hopes were dashed to the ground. He was defeated and taken, and, resigning the throne to his son Anungpal, ascended the funeral pile.

A.D. 1001

It would be tedious to recount the several incidents of Mahmud's various expeditions. A few must suffice. In his fourth invasion of India, begun in 1017, he had to encounter a vast host of Hindus, Anungpal being assisted by the kings of Oojein, Gwalior, Kalinjer, Kanouj, Delhi, and Ajmere, who had for some time begun to awake to a sense of common danger. But after victory had for a little hung doubtful, the Mohammedans, as on other occasions, began to prevail, and finally drove the Hindus with immense slaughter from the field. In the expeditions that followed at intervals, the forts, towns or cities of Nagurkote, Thaneswur, Muttra, and Kanouj, were taken and plundered; it being particularly gratifying to the half civilized barbarian to think he was trampling down the faith of the idolaters and filling his own coffers by one and the same effort. If the Mohammedan historian Ferishta were to be implicitly believed, we should have to suppose the sums of money taken at each of these places enormously great; but the sober estimates of European inquirers cut them down considerably. In 1022 Mahmud annexed the Punjaub to the Ghuznee empire;—a date worth remembering, for it was in that year that the Mohammedans first established themselves permanently in India, all previous expeditions,

A.D. 1022

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though successful as far as plundering went, having left no settled conquest behind. Two years later Mahmud's twelfth and most celebrated expedition occurred. Ardour to extend "the faith," and the report of the vast wealth to be obtained by pillaging the Hindu sacred shrine of Somnath, in Guzerat, impelled Mahmud to make a dash at so rich a prize. The Hindus for a time courageously defended their gods and their riches, but at length both fell into the hands of Mahmud. There was a story in regard to what followed once extensively believed, but now discovered to be untrue, which the greatest of the historians of British India thus narrates:—"Having triumphed over all resistance, the religious Sultan entered the temple. Filled with indignation at sight of the gigantic idol, he aimed a blow at its head with his iron mace. The nose was struck from its face. In vehement trepidation the Brahmans crowded around, and offered millions to spare the god. The Omrahs, dazzled with the ransom, ventured to counsel acceptance. Mahmud, crying out that he valued the title of breaker, not seller of idols, gave orders to proceed with the work of destruction. At the next blow the body of the idol burst open, and forth issued a vast treasure of diamonds, rubies, and pearls, rewarding the holy perseverance of Mahmud, and explaining the devout liberality of the Brahmans." It would, however, seem that this whole story about Mahmud and his breaking of the image is a fabrication. The image, one of the twelve Lingas set up through India, was a shapeless stone; it had not a nose to be demolished; nor is it now believed that it was hollow, or had the jewels stowed away within its interior. In the year A.D. 1030 Mahmud died, at the age of sixty-three. It requires high qualities to lead men to victory on the battle-field, and yet we confess we have not very great admiration for the glory that is acquired in war. We think of the agonies of the wounded and the dying, and the wail of widows bereaved, and of children left fatherless. And, in our view, Mahmud derived less of real glory from the shrines he plundered than from the university he founded at Ghuznee, and the little he did in the way of building up as a part set-off against his too great success in breaking down. He had

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not one of those happy deaths which humble Christians often have, but wept to leave his gold and his jewels, his horses and his elephants, his armies and his retinues, and all the pomp and dignity of his state. But he had to leave them notwithstanding; and gradually his empire fell to pieces. There was not one of his race so able or vigorous as he had been. His elder son, Mohammed, weak in character, was dethroned, and had his eyes put out. The younger, Musood, who ordered the cruel deed, was dethroned in turn, and the blind brother set up again. Still efforts were made to extend the Mussulman sway over India, but they were not very successful, as the Seljook Turks were now pressing the Ghuznevide empire on the west. It is unnecessary to trace the reigns of the not very distinguished sovereigns that followed the death of Mahmud's sons, or their intrigues, plots, and quarrels. We pass at once to the time when Byram, by publicly executing one of the Ghore family, commenced a feud destined at last to be the ruin of his race. He had consequently to abandon Ghuznee and make Lahore nis capital, leaving Alla-ood-deen, the Ghorean, free to mount the throne of Ghuznee; which he did after plundering that capital, and massacring the most distinguished inhabitants. Mohammed Ghory, brother of the new sovereign, aided him in maintaining his authority; and at a subsequent period, taking Lahore from the grandson of Byram, transferred the whole empire from the house of Ghuznee to the house of Ghore, in the year A.D. 1189.

A.D. 1189

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CHAPTER III.

THE GHOREAN DYNASTY.

The mountain land of Ghore.
Mohammed Ghory and his nine expeditions to India.
The slave Kootub-ood-deen becomes the first Mohammedan emperor of Delhi.
Conquest of Bengal.
Altumsh.
The Sultana Rezia and her lover.
The economic emperor.
Balin and the tumble-down kings.
Tchenghis Khan and the avalanche of Mogul shepherds.
End of the house of Ghore.

GHORE, from which the subverter of the Ghusnevide empire sprung, was a wild mountain territory on the loftiest part of the Hindu Koosh. When in 1189 Mohammed Ghory obtained the surrender of the fort of Lahore, the last stronghold of the Ghusnevides, he had already ruled five and twenty years in his brother's name. And even now, not for four years more was he to be an independent king. But men of his vigour of character somehow manage to have their own way, whatever offices they fill, and accordingly Mohammed Ghory proceeded to lay his plans and carry them out, as if he had held the supreme authority. He had rooted up a dynasty which had inherited its greatness from the conquering Mahmud; he would be another Mahmud, and have his great invasions of India too. And during the four years of which we speak, and the three years succeeding, during which he ruled alone, he made no fewer than nine expeditions against the Hindus, which ultimately inflicted far more misery on that unhappy people than they had suffered from Mahmud's twelve. We do not wonder that the Ghorean made the conquests he did, when we hear that the Hindus of Northern India were quarrelling and fighting with each other, instead of husbanding their whole strength to launch it at the fitting moment against the common foe. The first great battle between Mohammed Ghory and the Hindus, under Prithiraj the king of Delhi, was fought a few miles from Thaneswur, and ended disastrously for the Moslems, Mohammed being deserted by

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his inexperienced Affghan troops, and many even of their officers; in consequence of which he was wounded and narrowly escaped being slain. Returning to Ghuznee, he disgraced the timid nobles who had deserted him, by sending them round the capital with bags of barley tied round their necks, out of which they were compelled to feed, after the manner of horses. At length he restored them to their places, and gave them an opportunity of recovering their character, by aiding him well in a new expedition. Again he encountered the Hindus under the heroic Prithiraj, and this time with entire success. The unfortunate Hindu chief was taken prisoner; the Rajah of Chittore was slain. Delhi saved itself for a little by becoming tributary; but, finally, Kootub-ood-deen, Mohammed's lieutenant, who was left behind with a large force, when his master returned to Ghuznee, first seized Meerut, and then managed to possess himself of Delhi itself. By-and-by Mohammed returned, and, being joined by Kootub, inflicted a sanguinary defeat on the Hindus, led by Jay-Chandra, king of Kanouj. This potentate had looked on with grim satisfaction, when the Mohammedans overthrew the Delhi kingdom, with which he was at rivalry; and now he found that the barrier which he had with such pleasure seen removed, was all that had stood between himself and the ocean of invasion rolling in. After the fall of Kanouj, Benares, which seems still to have been under the sway of a Booddhist prince, fell into the conqueror's hands. We need not trace in detail Mohammed's further progress; suffice it to say, that

A.D. 1206 he fell in 1206 by the hands of assassins belonging to the tribe of Gukkurs on the Nilab or Indus, and, as he left no sons, a lieutenant of his seized the Affghan part of his dominions, while Kootub declared himself independent at Delhi, and was the first of the race of Mohammedan emperors there. The romantic addition must be made to this part of the narrative, that Kootub had once been a slave, and knew what it was to be bought and sold. Thus it is true, however startling it may appear, that the founder of the first dynasty of Mohammedan emperors of Delhi was an emancipated slave. His descent being Affghan, or Pathan, as it is sometimes called, the first Moham-

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medan emperors of Delhi are often termed a Pathan dynasty. The discerning eye of Mohammed Ghory had not been mistaken in perceiving in Kootub-ood-deen that combination of talents which fits one to rule rather than to serve. Some of his exploits have already been noted. To these it must now be added, that even before the death of Mohammed he had subdued Guzerat, and little pity can be felt for the defeated rajah, who, like his friend of Kanouj, had allowed petty jealousy to make him hold aloof, while the king of Delhi was in a life-and-death struggle with the enemies of India. Kootub had also despatched a distinguished general, Bukhtiyar Khilijee by name, like himself an emancipated slave, to subdue Behar, which he had succeeded in doing. Bukhtiyar had for two years been drawing together troops avowedly for the invasion of Bengal, and yet no preparations were made to repel his incursion. When at length the advanced guard of his army, seventeen men in number, presented themselves at the palace of Nuddea, the aged Hindu monarch, listening to the Brahmans of his court, who sagely assured him that they knew from an ancient prophecy the hour for the conquest of his kingdom was come, fled from his palace and his kingdom without striking a single blow. Thus fell the independent Hindu kingdom of Bengal, nor is it known that the timid natives of the lower Ganges ever rose in rebellion against their Mohammedan masters for upwards of five hundred and fifty years, till the battle of Plassey—an English, and not a Hindu contest—struck the death-blow at Moslem domination, and enabled the Hindus to raise their heads once more. Kootub-ood-deen died five years after his old master, Mohammed Ghory, in 1210. His son Aram, a weak character, had within a year to give place to a new slave emperor, Altumsh by name, who took the fort of Gwalior and the city of Oojein. During his reign there was either erected or finished a round tower of red granite inlaid with white marble, called after the first Delhi emperor, the Kootub Minar (or Minaret), generally believed to be the highest column in the world. The successors of Altumsh were not distinguished. On his demise, they tried his son as emperor, and when they found

A.D. 1210

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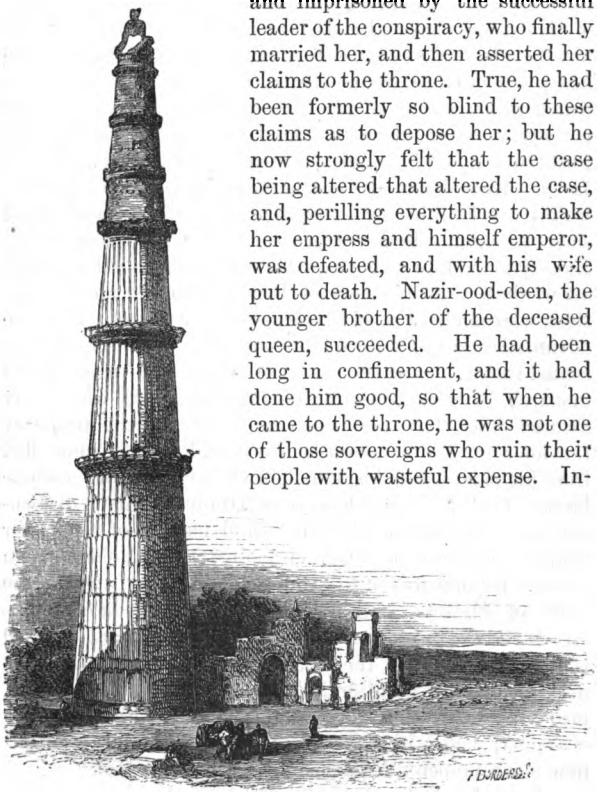
his son would not do, next they tried his daughter, the Sultana Rezia. She answered very well for a time, but having at last become too fond of a favourite, she was taken and imprisoned by the successful leader of the conspiracy, who finally married her, and then asserted her claims to the throne. True, he had been formerly so blind to these claims as to depose her; but he now strongly felt that the case being altered that altered the case, and, perilling everything to make her empress and himself emperor, was defeated, and with his wife put to death. Nazir-ood-deen, the younger brother of the deceased queen, succeeded. He had been long in confinement, and it had done him good, so that when he came to the throne, he was not one of those sovereigns who ruin their people with wasteful expense. In-



KOOTUB MINAR.

deed he went ridiculously far the other way. For instance, he lived on a small sum which he earned by making copies of the Koran, beautifully written with his own hand, and selling them to his nobles and the community generally. From similar motives of economy, he kept his wife financi-

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ally at the very lowest point; and when she complained that she burnt her fingers in cooking, and begged he would allow her a girl as maid-of-all-work, he refused to grant her petition, and saved his money at the expense of her fingers as before. He had a distinguished prime minister called Balin, who ultimately became emperor. He had been sold in his youth in the slave market of Bagdad, and the person who purchased him, hearing he was related to the Emperor Altumsh, took him to India, and disposed of him there for a handsome sum. And so he at last became emperor. His court was thronged with fallen potentates, of whom there were no fewer than fifteen, including two sons of the caliph, claiming his hospitality. How the overturn among the potentates had come about must now be explained. Nations inhabiting low-lying plains have a tendency to become effeminate. On the contrary, wandering shepherds feeding their flocks on an elevated table-land are hardy, and are well adapted to form the rough material of which conquering armies are made. Such a table-land was found in that vast tract of country which we now call Independent and Chinese Tartaries. Such shepherds were met with among the Tartars, who roamed over those extensive wilds. In the early part of the thirteenth century, Tchenghis Khan, a man of far-reaching ambition, cast in an iron mould, and knowing how to bend other wills to his own, combined those shepherds into a conquering army, and burst with them, like an avalanche, on all the neighbouring countries. After a life awfully destructive to his fellow-men, he died, but left behind him kindred spirits to complete the work of ruin he had begun. Hence it was that the court of Balin was so plentifully supplied with fallen kings. When we in future speak of the Moguls, let it be understood we mean the followers of Tchenghis Khan and those who came after him. But to return to India. When Balin died, his immediate successor, abandoning himself to pride, luxury, and licentiousness, fell, with his infant son, by the hands of a band of assassins; and when their leader, by name Jelal-ood-deen, mounted the throne, the Ghorean dynasty had ceased to reign, and the dynasty of the Khilijees had begun.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE KHILIJEE AND THE TOGLUK DYNASTIES.

Old Jelal-ood-deen's incompetency.
His nephew, the unprincipled Allah-ood-deen.
The conquest of the Deccan.
Mullik Kafoor.
Togluk, the Indian Caligula.
The break-up of the empire begins.
Feroze, the builder.
The ruthless Timur.
The Gipsies begin their wanderings.
The massacre at Delhi.

WHEN old Jelal-ood-deen became responsible for the double murder, which opened for him a way to the throne, he was at an age—seventy—when the lust of empire should have nearly burnt itself out in the human breast. What adds to our disgust at his conduct is, that Jelal was wanting in the qualities that fit one for rule. In short, he had stooped to commit odious crimes, to grasp a position which he was constitutionally incompetent to fill. Great strength of character is needed in an emperor; and, far from having it, Jelal was weak, and held the sceptre so feebly that the wicked everywhere reared their heads against the good. Taking into account that the blood of his murdered victims was clamouring for vengeance, and that his feebleness of character prevented him from vigorous rule, it was pretty evident that the old man would not have a peaceful end.

A.D. 1294

Nor had he. A very able but quite unprincipled nephew of his, by name Allah-ood-deen, was intrusted with 8000 men, to be employed in an expedition into the Deccan, where the Hindus had hitherto ruled without molestation. Presenting himself before the strong fort of Deoghur, now called Doulatabad, he represented that his men were only the advanced guard of a much more formidable army, and had a ransom paid for Deoghur. A piece of treachery on the part of the Hindu rajah's son led to the ransom being largely increased. Old Jelal, who coveted the money, was induced to meet the conquering hero, to receive from him the glittering prize. But it turned out that Allah's expressed intention of giving

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it up was all a piece of hypocrisy. In place of the old emperor receiving the money, he was murdered, and his head ferociously paraded through the camp by Allah's command. The assassin then mounted his relative's throne. It will be seen that though unrestrained by moral principle, he had great courage and determination. Wicked as he was, these qualities led to his being successful in various parts of India. He overran Guzerat, pitilessly plundering the Hindu towns, including those they deemed most sacred. He beat off an immense host of Mogul cavalry, who had had the audacity to besiege Delhi, investing it so closely as to bring on famine among its straitened inhabitants; and when, in subsequent years, the defeated Moguls recovered their boldness, and ever and anon appeared in India, like hungry jackals in quest of prey, he beat them off anew. He was victorious through a lieutenant of his in the Telugu country, and conquered in person at Chittore. Altogether, he acquired much of that sort of glory which can be obtained by largely shedding the blood of one's fellow-men. This so puffed him up, that he deemed himself a second Alexander the Great; and he thought of abandoning the Mohammedan religion, and setting up a new one of his own. He died after a reign of twenty years. It was suspected he had been quietly assassinated by a favourite of his, an emancipated slave, Mullik Kafoor by name, who had recently distinguished himself by an expedition into the Deccan. If this man did not, as was suspected, murder his royal benefactor, there is no doubt he killed the deceased emperor's two eldest sons, and setting up the youngest one—an infant—reigned in his name. It need scarcely be added that, in the righteous judgment of God, Kafoor fell as he deserved—by an assassin's hand. All that need be added is the time—thirty-five days—he enjoyed (if one can say *enjoyed*) the throne. After a few more overturns, plots, and murders, Ghazy-Beg Togluk, governor of Mooltan and the adjacent country, marched to Delhi, and, setting aside the Khilijee dynasty, founded a new one of his own. The Khilijee family had furnished but four emperors, and filled the throne of Delhi only thirty-four years.

A.D. **1316**

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With Ghazy-Beg, or Gheias-ood-deen, to call him by the name he now assumed, the Togluk family of em-
A.D. perors begins. Gheias had been, like many of his
1319 predecessors, a slave. Nevertheless, he governed well during his short reign. Short, we say; and it ended very remarkably. His son, Alif Khan, received him at an interview in a wooden palace, constructed for the purpose. It may have been accident, but it looked uncommonly like design, that, just when the son had left the building, and the father remained inside, the wooden erection fell in, killing the emperor and his friends, and leaving the way free for the constructer of the building to mount the throne. He did so with almost indecent alacrity, and reigned by the name of Mohammed Togluk. Rome once had an emperor, Caligula by name, (very probably out of his mind,) who had the impertinence to nominate his horse to one of the highest offices in the state—that of consul. Mohammed Togluk was the Mussulman Caligula, and mad as he; though there did, as has been said, seem "method in his madness" in the affair of the wooden palace. Happily, there was no Indian consulship requiring to be filled up; but still it was almost equally insulting to his people to witness the erection of a magnificent tomb over a tooth which one day he had got extracted, when troubled with toothache. Worse than this childish folly was a certain fatal resemblance to Caligula, in his readiness to shed human blood. Sometimes, when he had taken offence at the people of a place, he would assemble his warriors, nominally for a hunt, and then inform them it was against men, and not against animals, that the chase was to be directed. Struck with the fine situation of Deoghur—to which he was the first to apply the name of Doulatabad, or the Fortunate Abode—he wished to make it his capital; and, that it might grow quickly, ordered the people of Delhi to remove thither. Attempting to do so, they perished in multitudes, from exposure, from famine and disease, notwithstanding that he had planted large trees along the road for hundreds of miles, to shelter them on their journey. Indeed, the misery wrought by this mad freak was such that even the pitiless emperor at last relented, and allowed the wretched people

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to return to their old abodes. He planned the conquest of the world; but, commencing with the great empire of China, he received such a lesson as made him abandon the wild scheme. Men like Mohammed Togluk were created, not to conquer new kingdoms, but to lose those already subdued; and it was during his disgraceful reign that the break-up of the empire began. As some little set-off against the follies and crimes of Mohammed Togluk, we must in fairness mention his great courage, and the love he is said to have had for learning and for learned men. How could such opposite qualities meet in the same man? Very easily. Speaking of great intellect under the designation of great wit, one of the English poets says,—

> "Great wit is sure to madness near allied.
> And thin partitions do their bounds divide."

In this case the partitions seem somehow to have got knocked through, leaving the "wit" and the "madness" free to combine. India was not relieved from the presence of this monster till after he had reigned twenty-seven years. He was succeeded by a prince of quite another character, called Feroze, a man of pacific disposition, who sought glory, not in bloodshed, but in erecting edifices for the people over whom he ruled. He built bridges, colleges, serais, dams for lakes, and mosques in large numbers; but is now remembered chiefly for the canal he constructed near Delhi, from the Jumna to the Caggar. At first it was of much benefit to the country, by facilitating communication, and promoting irrigation of the fields. Then it was neglected, and began to diffuse disease and death abroad. Some years ago the British government, following in the footsteps of Feroze, deepened two hundred miles of it, and thus conferred on the people around Delhi advantages of no slight kind. Feroze reigned from first to last thirty-seven years. Not long after his death, confusion, anarchy, and bloodshed broke out anew; taking advantage of which, the pertinacious Moguls reappeared in India. Hitherto they had been defeated when they came. Now, led by the ferocious conqueror Timur, they were successful. Then followed

A.D. 1351

A.D. 1388

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massacre after massacre of the inhabitants of the various towns subdued. On one occasion Timur had 100,000 prisoners, whom he felt it difficult to feed; he therefore ascertained that they were mostly "infidels," and then murdered the whole in cold blood. It is generally believed it was at this time that one of the tribes of Scinde, terrified by the sight of such deeds, abandoned India entirely, and breaking into small parties, became the wandering Gipsies, now known over every country in Europe. The word Gipsy means Egyptian, and was given to the wanderers because they came to Europe at first by the way of Egypt, and, therefore, were supposed properly to belong to that country; but, in truth, they are just as much foreigners on the banks of the Nile as on those of the Thames or Seine, and the Hindu language they yet speak among themselves confirms the evidence from other sources that it was from the banks of the Indus they came. But to return to Timur: that ruthless oppressor was victorious over the army of the emperor, and Delhi surrendered for a ransom. A riot soon after occurring, a general massacre was ordered, and the streets of that capital ran, as they were destined often again to do, red with blood. Timur was a Mussulman, and his dreadful behaviour at Delhi was mostly to those whose religion was identical with his own. As the wretched inhabitants of Delhi fell, wounded and dying, under the swords of the pitiless Mohammedan Moguls, their feelings must have been all the more bitter when they reflected that the murderous blows were dealt by the hands of their brethren, who professed to look on those whom they slew as co-heirs with themselves of this and of the other world.

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CHAPTER V.

THE SYUD AND THE LODI DYNASTIES.

Order reappears.
The Syud dynasty.
The Lodi dynasty.
The revolted provinces—Mewar, the Deccan, Bengal, Scinde, Guzerat, Malwa, and Khandesh.

GOD is the author of order, and not of confusion; and often has it been seen in the history of empires, that though man may for a time succeed in reducing everything to anarchy, yet God sooner or later makes order reappear. So was it after the sack of Delhi by the ferocious Timur. Things were in a little time restored to some sort of regularity again, Kizr Khan, the governor of Mooltan, taking and holding authority in the plundered capital, though he reigned, not in his own, but in Timur's name. He was a Syud, and founded the Syud dynasty. By a Syud is meant a descendant of Mohammed, though so many Moslems claim this honourable title that it is hard to believe that they have all really descended from the noted Arabian. But let this pass. The Syud dynasty ruled thirty-six years, and furnished no very distinguished princes. From A.D. 1414 to 1450

That of Lodi succeeded. Beloli Lodi, the founder of the family was an able and ambitious Affghan, who had possessed himself of the fort of Mooltan,—Mooltan, that place near the Indian frontier from which dark clouds have so often risen, to burst over the Indian empire in storm. Beloli Lodi was, as has been stated, an Affghan. The Affghans are in many respects a fine race; still, they had been much overlooked in India, till Feroze, the maker of the canal, brought them into notice. The Affghan Lodi dynasty lasted seventy-six years, and gave to Delhi three emperors. Of Beloli we have already spoken. His son, Secunder, was able like his father, and in some respects wiser, though with the great blot on his character of being a persecutor of the Hindu faith. His son again, Ibrahim,

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was one of those people of haughty temper who have the knack of converting their friends into open or concealed foes, and thus, though able men, of losing place and power in the world. With him the Lodi dynasty fell, and a sixth family of potentates began to occupy the unquiet throne.

Some of the last reigns have been despatched rather summarily, for at this time the Delhi empire had shrivelled up into small dimensions, not fewer than thirteen independent offshoots from it flourishing at one time. At some of the most important of these we must look for a moment.

The first state to go off in rebellion, during Mohammed Togluk's tyrannical reign, was Mewar or Oodeypore. This revolt was not a Mohammedan, but a Hindu one, and resulted in the establishment of a Rajpoot sovereignty.

The next province to leave, during the reign of the madman, was the Deccan. In the contest carried on for independence, Hussun, the servant of a Brahman astrologer, highly distinguished himself. To his far-seeing master it was plain that his old servant would one day be king, and he told him so. When the event so shrewdly guessed at came to pass, the grateful Hussun termed his dynasty Brahmany, generally mispronounced Bahmany. The seat of the new kingdom was fixed first at Koolburga; but was at last removed by a Brahmany king, Ahmed Shah, to Beeder, the name of which he honoured himself by changing to Ahmedabad. The kings of the dynasty now spoken of rose to great influence, ultimately extending their authority from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal. Their progress might have been even greater, had they not had to maintain long and bloody wars against the Hindu kings of Vijuynuggur and Warangole. It was one of the Brahmany kings who built, but possibly not for the first time,

A.D. 1518 the celebrated fort of Gawilghur, on a mountain range in Berar. When at length, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, the Brahmany kingdom fell to pieces, through misgovernment and social corruption, five smaller kingdoms arose on its ruins, having their seats at Beejapore, Ahmednuggur, Gawilghur, Golconda, and Ahmedabad, or Beeder. The most interesting of these was Beejapore, of which extensive ruins yet remain,

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indicating how great at one time must have been the prosperity of the kingdom of which that city was the head.

As early as the reign of the madman, Fukeer-ood-deen, the viceroy of Bengal, had revolted; and when his successor, the peaceful Feroze, failed to subdue the rebels, he wisely acknowledged the independence of the new kingdom, instead of having recourse to reckless bloodshed in the hopeless attempt to put it down. A.D. 1356

It was one of the independent kings of Bengal, Hajee Elias by name, who built and gave name to the town of Hajeepore.

In the general break up, Scinde thought fit to depart. It was in Feroze's time that it went off. Whether the poor and sparsely peopled Scinde might have been conquered, if it had stood alone, there was no opportunity of judging; for, during the weak reigns of Feroze's successors, its rebellion was followed by that of Malwa, Khandesh, and Guzerat. Of this rebel trio the most stalwart power was Guzerat, which generally took a lead among the rest. Malwa stood next in point of strength; and Khandesh was so much behind that it sought safety by adhering either to Guzerat or Malwa. The Malwa capital was first at Dhar, where some centuries previously had lived the justly celebrated Hindu king, Bhoj Rajah. The seat of government was afterwards transferred to the strong fortress of Mando, on the frowning hills that look down on the valley of the Nerbudda. Such is human nature, that our readers will be prepared to learn that not merely were there hostilities between the parent empire and its revolted children, but that the rebel friends themselves cast out, and Guzerat, and Malwa, and even the more distant Brahmany kingdom, met each other in battle. The Hindu sovereignty of Mewar was, of course, a constant eye-sore to the Mohammedan potentates around, and they did their best to overthrow it; but that best was not enough. The most distinguished of the Mewar kings was Koombho, who reigned almost fifty years, dying in 1468. His name is commemorated in the town and fort of Komulnere, which he built and adorned. One of the Mohammedan kings of Guzerat, Ahmed Shah, is also commemorated in the large city of Ahmedabad, on the Sabermutty, which he erected. Guzerat, as has been stated, was, all things con-

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sidered, the strongest of the three sister kingdoms; and, after various vicissitudes, it effected the conquest of its rival, Malwa. One province more rose during the opportunity offered by the misrule of Feroze's successors; Juanpore it was called, from its capital being the town of that name. The authorities at Delhi keenly felt the departure of this part of the old sovereignty, lying so closely as it did to Delhi itself. Accordingly, when Beloli Lodi ascended the throne, he lost no time in marching against the King of the East, as the Juanpore ruler was frequently called. The struggle was long and indecisive, but finally resulted in the conquest of Juanpore, about eighty years after it had achieved independence.

Despite this success, it was manifest that all was over with the old Delhi empire, unless in providence some very distinguished man were to arise, and found a new dynasty, more vigorous than any that had preceded it, and not so liable to speedy decay. Such a man was to appear in the great Baber; such a dynasty was to be founded in India by the much dreaded Moguls. Are any of our readers surprised to learn that healing for the deeply diseased Mohammedan empire of India was to come from the Moguls, the followers of the half-savage Tchenghis Khan, and the ruthless Timur? There is really nothing in all this that need excite surprise or wonder. The all-beneficent God is sure, sooner or later, to bring good out of evil. Thus, after the scorching lava has, by his permission, overspread some portion of a country, destroyed its fertility, and driven out, if not put to frightful deaths, its wretched inhabitants, at last, in his providence, the very lava itself, decaying, is resolved into soil more productive than that which it destroyed; and fields and vineyards, and towns with happy inhabitants, spring up anew in the very spots most devastated by the fiery flood.

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CHAPTER VI.

BABER AND HUMAYOON, OR THE MOGUL DYNASTY IN ITS RISE.

Baber and his restless life.
He ends as Emperor of Delhi.
Humayoon and his fits of activity.
He loses the Delhi throne.
He recovers it after a time.

WHILST the ordinary race of mortals manage to slip through life with scarcely a brilliant incident to vary its dull routine, extraordinary characters are at intervals raised up, the course of whose existence is one continued romance, furnishing forth enough of incident to stock a hundred lives of the sort lived by every-day men. So shooting stars are occasionally projected athwart the sky, and have even been said at times to go off with a loud explosion in regions generally the abode of perfect stillness.

Two such characters as those now described were the first Mogul emperor of India, Baber, and his son, Humayoon. Baber was a lineal descendant of the well-known Timur, and on the side of his mother connected with the line of the equally distinguished Tchenghis Khan. Notwithstanding his illustrious descent, however, when, at the age of twelve, the death of his father placed him on the throne, that throne was only the petty one of Kokan, north of the great Tartar capital of Samarcand. On his accession, his relatives and the neighbouring powers, in regular Oriental fashion, resolved to attack him, thinking they had little to fear from so young a boy; but a panic among their troops saved him from the threatened ruin. Two years later, he had the audacity to make a dash at Samarcand. He actually captured it, but lost it again instantly, and had to cede part of his dominions as the price of peace. At the age of seventeen, he made another rush at Samarcand; but failed, and had to flee, almost without attendants, to the hills. He had nothing to console him in his distress except the excitement of making yet another swoop upon Samarcand. That coveted city

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was garrisoned by a large army, and he had not even a regiment; but, ordering eighty of his few followers to climb its wall and open a gate, he entered as an invader; and the inhabitants, who were oppressed by the Usbeck Tartars, foreigners then ruling there, rose in his favour, and massacred the usurping tribe. His rule was brief: the Usbeck chief, Sheibani, besieged him, and he was obliged to capitulate, and take again to the hills. At the age of twenty-two, he marched at the head of three hundred followers, armed with clubs, against Khosrou Shah, who ruled the vast territory between Badikshan and the Hindu Koosh. The people and the Moguls of the army rose in his favour, and he found himself in possession of by far the most important throne he yet had grasped. He conquered Cabul and Ghuznee, beat off his pertinacious foe Sheibani, quelled internal insurrection, and for nearly twenty years tried to build up an empire in Central Asia. Failing, after some transient success, in that project, he turned his attention to the throne of Delhi, then weakened by the quarrels of the Lodi family, who at that time reigned. Even then, it seemed to a distant spectator so strong that it was long before, in his own words, "he placed his footstep in the stirrup of resolution," and made an effort to obtain it, as he had done Samarcand in his youthful days. At length an encouraging opportunity presented itself. Allah-ood-deen, uncle of the Delhi emperor, Ibrahim Lodi, revolted against his nephew, and offered to purchase Baber's adhesion to his cause by the cession of the Punjaub. Meanwhile the uncle was defeated, and Baber had to maintain his cause almost alone. Conquering first the province given him in gift, he advanced, it is said, with but 12,000 men, against 100,000, led by the emperor in person. The decisive battle took place at Paniput, where the question of the empire of India has oftener than once been decided. Ibrahim fell, and with him the Lodi dynasty; and, on the 24th April 1526, Baber read the Khootba, as Emperor of India, in the Great Mosque at Delhi. He was the founder of the Mogul race of Indian emperors. His own reign in Delhi was, however, both brief and troubled. The Affghan omrahs, in charge of powerful provinces, were against him and the Moguls, as new comers and usurpers.

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Mahmoud, brother of the late emperor, had mustered a new army in the west, and had gained to his standard the chivalrous Rajpoot tribes; and a spirit less daring than Baber's would have had to quit the empire so recently gained; but our hero resolutely faced the difficulties of his position, and, chiefly by the judicious use of his artillery, achieved a complete victory. Insurrections in both his new empire and his old one filled up the remainder of his troubled life, till 1530, when, after an Indian reign of five years, he fell sick and died, his immoderate indulgence in liquors which the Koran forbids having, it is suspected, tended to shorten his days. He has given a narrative of his own exploits, from which he appears to have been a great lover of nature, and a keen observer of life; fond of poetry and music; generous, open, and unsuspecting; and altogether a man of a type of which the history of India scarcely furnishes another. He was but fifty when he died; and it may give some idea of the unsettled life he had led, that in his memoirs, penned when it was drawing to a close, he was able to say, that since he had been eleven years of age, he had never kept the fast of Ramazan twice in any one place. Baber was succeeded by his son, Humayoon. In inheriting the throne he inherited also the perils and troubles by which it was surrounded, and led, like his father, a chequered and romantic life. He was twenty-two when he obtained the empire; and, with a generosity which in Asia generally works ill, gave provinces to his three brothers. The result was, that two out of the three used them as stepping-stones whence to mount to their benefactor's throne. This amiable weakness was one source of Humayoon's troubles. Another was that the Mogul power in India was nowhere consolidated, not even in Hindustan proper, north of the Vindhya range, where it was strongest; and adherents of the defunct Affghan dynasty of Lodi swarmed in every place. Another source of trouble was more personal to himself,—that though very able, still, instead of the untiring energy of his father, he had only fits of activity, succeeded by intervals of opium-eating, pleasure-seeking, and sleepy lethargy, from which it took the near approach of stern calamity to waken him up. After some trouble from his brother Camran,

A.D. **1530**

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whom he had made ruler of Cabul and Candahar,—trouble that foreshadowed much more serious annoyance and danger yet to come from that quarter,—Humayoon had a brief campaign in Behar, and then marched against Bahadur, king of Guzerat. On arriving, he found that prince besieging the Hindu rajah of Chittore; and, in conformity with Mussulman etiquette, would not attack him while engaged in what was termed "a holy war." When that place fell, Humayoon was free to assail him; and did so with such effect as to chase him out of Malwa. He next took Mando, the capital, and then Champaneer, one of the strongest forts in India, at the head of three hundred men, mounting the wall of the latter place by iron spikes driven into its crevices. After these great successes, a fit of lethargy came over him, during which he ate, and he drank, and he frolicked, till nearly the whole country had risen against him. His most formidable opponent was an Affghan, Shere Khan by name, who, though at first defeated, ultimately compelled him to fly across the desert of Scinde for safety; and then himself mounting the throne of Delhi, reigned five years wisely and well. To the usurping Affghan, India was indebted for the formation of a highway from the Ganges to the Indus, bordered with fruit trees, with a well every two miles, and serais at every stage. He, moreover, dispensed justice with impartiality, and altogether carried on the government in a way fitted to show that he was, after all, a man worthy to rule. Meanwhile let us follow the fortunes of the royal fugitive. The fallen emperor and his few faithful followers suffered terribly from thirst in crossing the desert; and many of the attendants perished wretchedly among the sands. When the miserable party were about to emerge from the desert, the empress gave birth to a son, afterwards the celebrated Akbar. It was customary for a father to give presents on such an occasion; but Humayoon, who had nothing of value left with him, could do no more than break a pod of sweet-smelling musk, and express the wish that the fame of the son just born might spread everywhere, like the odour of the musk. His desire was granted at last; but, for the present, nothing seemed more unlikely than that it should be fulfilled, for the infant Akbar was left to fall into the

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hands of a treacherous chief, by whom he was handed to Camran, Humayoon's brother and mortal foe. Humayoon himself sought refuge in Persia, where he was forced by the shah to become a Shiite; ultimately, however, receiving, as the reward of his moral cowardice, Persian assistance to recover at least part of his empire. He marched against his brother Camran, took Candahar, and besieged Cabul; when his unworthy relative exhibited the boy Akbar bound to a funeral pile, and threatened to kill him if his father persisted in attacking the city. The father did persist, after dreadful imprecations if the threat were carried out; and Camran had to retreat. Humayoon then entered Cabul, and recovered both his son and a throne. Afterwards he resolved if possible to obtain again his old position at Delhi. The circumstances were not unfavourable for his enterprise; for the great Shere Khan was dead, and his descendants were degenerate or unpopular. After a severe struggle, in which the youthful Akbar, then scarcely thirteen, greatly distinguished himself, victory declared itself for the Moguls; and, on the 23d July 1555, Humayoon had again the satisfaction of entering Delhi as its sovereign. He did not long enjoy his restored honour; for, in less than a year after, he fell in descending the marble stairs of his palace, and was so severely injured that he soon after died. He was succeeded by his son Akbar, who, as we have seen, had already experienced many of the vicissitudes and dangers of life, and thus had been compelled to undergo a training of no mean value, before mounting the throne.

A.D. **1555**

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CHAPTER VII.

FROM AKBAR TO SHAH JEHAN, OR THE MOGUL DYNASTY IN ITS ZENITH.

Akbar tyrannized over by his minister, Behram.
He resolves to rule alone.
His conquests.
His financial and other reforms.
Jehangire emperor.
Noor-Mahal, his favourite queen.
Shah Jehan becomes emperor.
He reaps as he has sown.

THE two short reigns already passed in review had sufficed to lay the foundation of the Mogul empire; it now demanded one of some length, and distinguished for peaceful, no less than warlike achievements, to build that empire up. The reign of Akbar was precisely one of the kind required. It lasted for the long period of forty-nine years, and was equally remarkable for triumphs in war and successful administration during peace. For the first fifteen years he was on the throne, Akbar was almost constantly engaged in military expeditions. The Affghans, under one name or other, had now ruled so long, that, like an aged tree, they had sent their roots far into the soil, and were not to be torn out without difficulty. There were, besides, other foes. The proud Rajpoots had not yet given up the flattering vision of restored Hindu dominion; and, finally, Akbar's own officers were not always subordinate,—able Asiatic government servants very seldom are. While Akbar was yet a youth, Behram, the distinguished minister of his father, did him great service in establishing his authority in the Punjaub and Affghanistan, but became so intolerably overbearing on account of his successes, that his royal master felt quite oppressed. At length, when he could stand it no longer, the young prince suddenly proclaimed that he would henceforth conduct the government himself, and dispensed with the services of the insolent Behram. The dismissed minister revolted, but was defeated; after which he confessed his fault, and was forgiven. He was soon after assassinated,

A.D. 1556

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without Akbar's having had to do with the wicked deed. The dominions of the young sovereign were at first almost confined to Delhi and Agra; then they were extended to Ajmeer, Gwalior, Oude, Malwa, and other places. The Rajpoots were next subdued, and afterwards attached to his government by conciliation. Guzerat followed. The lovely Vale of Cashmere was another conquest of his arms. The toughly-resisting Affghanistan was overrun rather than subdued, its high mountains being, as usual, its defence. Scinde was annexed. Then the Deccan was thought of; but the strong resistance of the fort of Ahmednuggur delayed the conquest for a time. In his different campaigns, Akbar was in the habit of making extraordinary marches, and with small numbers attacking vast hosts, with a courage, not to say a rashness, like that of his grandfather Baber and his father Humayoon; but he escaped the destruction he seemed to dare, and was preserved to confer no little benefit on his vast domains. He was most successful in his choice of a minister of finance, selecting for the purpose a Hindu, by name Toorelmul. At the instance of this distinguished counsellor, he abolished a multitude of taxes that pressed heavily on industry, and, after a most painstaking survey, laid an assessment, never exceeding a third of the produce, on the land, which he made his only source of revenue. Other reforms of importance were also carried out. A literary man at his court, Abul Fazl, has recorded the result in the *Ayeen Akbaree*, or Laws and Regulations of Akbar. From this it would appear that, when his empire was at the greatest, it furnished about thirty crores of rupees—thirty millions of pounds—annually; or, making allowance for arrears never realized, say twenty-five millions,—perhaps as great a national income as was then anywhere possessed. Akbar's employment of a Hindu in a position so important shows that he had the great virtue of tolerance in religion, for which so few Mussulmans have been distinguished. Indeed, he seemed to take pleasure in collecting at his court men of different creeds and engaging them in disputation, so much so that the Mussulmans complained, and not without plausible reason, of his "unbelief." Akbar died in the year 1605, and was succeeded by his son Selim.

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The new monarch boastfully assumed the title of Jehangire, or conqueror of the world,—a plain proof that his intellect was much inferior to his father's. One of his own sons was set up as a competitor against him, but was defeated and imprisoned, and his adherents cruelly tortured to death, he being led out day by day to see their expiring agonies. Before mounting the throne, Jehangire had set eyes on a beautiful young lady called Noor Jehan or Noor Mahal, betrothed to a Turkoman nobleman, by name Shere Afkun; and now he took advantage of his position to engage the Turkoman in exploits in which he was likely to lose his life; but, proving unsuccessful in these secret wiles, he was reduced to the necessity of having Shere openly attacked and assassinated. The young lady would then at once have gladly submitted to be a royal bride, but the emperor, who felt some remorse for what he had done, would not see her for four years, after which she contrived an interview, and became his favourite wife. Jehangire was described by an acute observer of character as "of so good a disposition that he suffers all men to govern,—which is worse than being ill." This want of independence of will exposed him to the influence of firmer minds, chief among which in effect over him was that of his wife, Noor Jehan. She planned to make her own son-in-law successor to the throne, in prejudice to the right of Jehangire's children. The result was, that one of these, Shah Jehan, rose in rebellion, murdering his elder brother, the former rebel and captive, but who had been shortly before released from prison. A faithful commander of Jehangire's, Mohabet Khan by name, after considerable effort put down this rebellion; but being unjustly accused, by the empress and some other of his foes, of conspiracy, he was in self-defence driven into the rebellion charged against him, and brought both the emperor and empress into peril of no slight kind.

A.D. 1605

A.D. 1627

In 1627 the old emperor passed from this earthly scene, and the commotions resulting from the treatment of Mohabet became complicated with those about the succession to the throne. Noor Jehan had persuaded the emperor to nominate her son-in-law,

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Shariar. Mohabet and the prime minister Asiph espoused the cause of Shah Jehan. The latter prince at once massacred Shariar, his brother, with his nephews also, in short, all the descendants of the royal Timur, excepting only his own children. Even then he was not free from competition for the throne; for the Khan Lodi, a Pathan descended from the Affghan emperors of India, a friend and supporter of Shariar, was driven by injudicious treatment into rebellion, and maintained a long and desperate contest before he was slain. Shah Jehan was now secure on the throne, and, having a force of will more suited to his high position than the facile temper of his father had been, ruled, though at times rather cruelly, yet on the whole well. He made no important conquests, at least in India proper; but his reign is distinguished for architectural and other great works. He built the new city of Delhi, and in it erected a splendid palace of red granite, which yet attracts admiration. The Jumma Musjeed (chief mosque) in the same city owed its origin to him. So did the Shalimar Gardens. But the most remarkable building he constructed was the Taj Mahal, which cost seventy-five lakhs of rupees, and was in honour of Noor Jehan, his favourite wife;—not the Noor Jehan disreputably obtained by Jehangire, but another of the same name. It is made of white marble, and inlaid with precious stones. Splendid as this erection is, one feels that it was not a healthy state of things when a ruler had so much money to devote to his wife's tomb. One with so responsible a trust should expend little on his own family, and, in the edifices he erects, consult the advantage of the people at large. Splendid as the Taj Mahal undoubtedly is, we look with greater satisfaction to the excavation, during the reign of Shah Jehan, of a canal to convey the waters of the Jumna 120 miles, from the place where that river emerges from the mountains to the city of Delhi. In 1820 the British government cleared out and re-opened the canal, when the people of the city went out to meet the stream, casting sweetmeats and flowers into it as a manifestation of their joy.

Had God forgotten the early crimes through which Shah Jehan had reached the throne, in sending him such prosperity? Ah, no! God never forgets; and the proud ruler of

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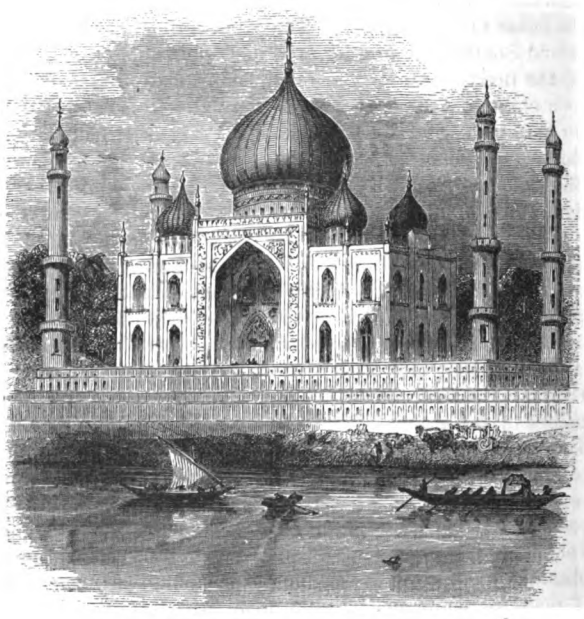

TAJ MAHAL.

Delhi was now about to reap as he had sown. If sons are indeed a blessing to a Mohammedan emperor, Shah Jehan had received that blessing; for he had four, all able, and, what was still more satisfactory, all seeming to regard each other with great affection. Dara, the eldest, though somewhat rash and impetuous, had still many good points about him, and was a lover of literature. For him his father designed the throne. He therefore remained about the palace. Shujah, the second, was a pleasure lover, but still distinguished for courage. He was viceroy of Bengal. Morad, the third, was bold, and delighted in war. He ruled in Guzerat. The youngest of all, Aurungzebe, was reserved in manner, and so assiduous in business that, had people not been assured to the contrary, they might have supposed him not averse to engage in public affairs. But if Aurungzebe

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himself could be believed, this was wholly a mistake—his thoughts were not on this world. Unlike Baber and his successors, who seem to have been indifferent to all religion, Aurungzebe gave out that he was a devoted Mohammedan.

While the four sons of the emperor were behaving well to him and to each other, he was taken so ill, that his end was believed to be approaching, and he directed Dara to assume the direction of affairs. That prince, nothing loath, acceded to the request, and then regarded his three brothers with a suspicion which speedily made them, if, indeed, they were not already, his foes. They therefore consulted for their common safety, and put their forces in motion. Meanwhile the old emperor recovered; Dara gave him back the government; and the other brothers were required to return to their duties. They felt they had gone too far to recede, and, in place of complying, proceeded with their designs. Shujah was the first to move, but was defeated by a son of Dara's. Aurungzebe told Morad he would do his best to put him on the throne, he himself desiring nothing but some tranquil retreat, where he might spend his days in religious contemplation. The two princes therefore moved together, defeated a body of Rajpoots in the emperor's service, and then the main army led by Dara himself. Morad being wounded, Aurungzebe, despite that love for contemplation of which he so frequently spoke, was left with the responsibility of full command. He then professed the deepest remorse for the part he had acted, and took care that an expression of this heartfelt grief might be conveyed to the emperor, his father. That potentate despatched Aurungzebe's sister, Jehanara, to make her observations; and she, looking on things with the unsuspecting confidence of girlhood, returned and reported she had no doubt her brother was sincere. Aurungzebe's son was therefore admitted into the palace, to arrange about the contrition to be expressed by the afflicted penitent himself. The son took care to bring a guard for his protection, (guilt is ever suspicious.) With this guard, he did what he had been expressly sent to do;—he seized the citadel, and made the emperor a prisoner in his palace. Morad had by this time recovered, and returned to Aurungzebe's camp. The hypocrite received

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him very warmly, and saluted him emperor, declaring that he himself had now no desire for anything, except to make a pilgrimage to Mecca, as a suitable prelude to a religious life. The preparations for the journey were on a scale so extensive as to create suspicion; but Aurungzebe managed to allay it, and then, inducing Morad to come to a banquet, seized and made a prisoner of him, threatening him with death if he ventured to resist. The so-called recluse was then with seeming reluctance induced by his friends to abandon his pious resolution of going into retreat, and allowed himself to be crowned emperor. Even then, he had hard work to maintain himself against his two brothers yet at large; but, finally, Dara was taken and assassinated, while Shujah was driven into Aracan, and, it was thought, perished there. Aurungzebe's own son, Mohammed,—the same who had perpetrated the treachery for his father in the palace,—having, as might be expected, turned against his parent the arts learned from him, was taken, and imprisoned. Meanwhile the old emperor was kept in confinement, though otherwise treated so well that an imperfect reconciliation at last took place between him and his rebel son. Though utterly condemning Aurungzebe, one cannot feel much pity for Shah Jehan, in the matter of his captivity. He had rebelled against his father, and what more natural than that his son should imitate the wicked example set? Thus as we do it is done to us in return; and if we would be happy in life, we must act on the precept, taught by the divine Jesus, to do to others as we would wish others in similar circumstances to do to us.

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CHAPTER VIII.

AURUNGZEBE AND HIS SUCCESSORS, OR THE MOGUL DYNASTY IN ITS DECLINE.

Aurungzebe's reign.
He creates the Seikh nation.
Shivajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire.
The degenerate successors of Aurungzebe.
Nadir Shah and the frightful massacre at Delhi.
The Affghans and the Mahrattas strive together for the empire of India.
The battle of Paniput.
Hindu reformers during the Mohammedan period.

AURUNGZEBE, having seated himself on the throne through a series of crimes, felt he must now desist from bloodshed, if he expected long to enjoy the elevation he had reached. And this must be said in his favour, that he had never perpetrated cruelty for its own sake; though, on the other hand, it must be admitted he had never scrupled to practise it when it promised to aid him in his designs. He now laid it aside, and addressed himself to the high duties of his sovereignty. Being sober and abstemious, in marked contrast to his predecessors, from Baber downwards, who were all more or less intemperate, he had one of the qualities of a good and great sovereign. He also avoided licentiousness, in which even the great Akbar had at times rioted. After the Deccan had been finally conquered, the Mogul empire, under Aurungzebe, reached its greatest limits. Its revenue is said to have been thirty-two crores of rupees,—thirty-two millions of pounds. That of Britain, excluding India, is at present seventy crores of rupees,—seventy millions of pounds,—the largest revenue in the world. Still, Aurungzebe was the emperor who struck the first formidable blow at the prosperity of the Mogul power. Though he had shamelessly used religion as a cloak of hypocrisy, yet he seems to have been sincere, and even bigoted, in his attachment to Mohammedanism; and he had the folly to adopt the persecuting tenets of that faith. He treated the Hindus intolerantly,—excluded them from office, prohibited their feasts, pulled

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down many of their temples, and built mosques in their place. The result was, to convert the peaceful Seikhs into a race of fanatic, Mohammedan-hating warriors; to alienate the proud Rajpoots, who had hitherto been a firm prop to the Mogul throne; and to assist at the birth of the Mahratta nation. The rise of the Seikh faith, from the time when the harmless Nanuk began to preach, in the reign of Baber, we postpone to the chapter on the first Seikh war; but the origin of the Mahratta power is too deeply interwoven with some of the leading incidents of Aurungzebe's reign, to admit of its being also deferred. The Mahrattas, though not much known till a few centuries ago, are really one of the old races of India. They have for many hundred years inhabited a triangular expanse of territory, with its base running along the Indian Ocean, and its apex extending away eastward into the interior of India. Part of this region, especially in the west, among the Sahyadri hills, consists of basaltic peaks, crowned by hill forts. There are parts of it where heavy cavalry could not act with effect; but the light hardy horses of the country can move over it with ease and rapidity, and soon carry their riders far beyond the reach of a less agile foe. A certain Babajee Bhonsla was hereditary patel of several villages near Doulatabad. His grandson, Shahjee by name, born in 1593, was married, through an impudent stratagem of his father's, to the daughter of a chief of rank; and, when raised to a position of importance, showed himself a bold and able leader. His son, born in 1627, near Jooneer, was the celebrated Shivajee. Shivajee grew up unable to read or write, but fond of listening to romantic tales, and skilled in all manly exercises. He became acquainted with a wild mountain tribe, called Mawulees, and at times accompanied them on their forays. In religion, he fancied himself under the protection of Bhowanee. On growing up, he bribed the killedar of Torna to give him over the fort; and, by a similar expenditure of money, induced people of influence at the Beejapore court to have his possession of it confirmed. Rajgurh, near it, he built. A few forts more he took without leave; and then the Beejapore court thought the honest man required looking after. It therefore treacherously seized the father, Shahjee, by way

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of keeping the son in order. The prisoner was at length released, and the worthy Shivajee was free to pursue his old courses again. He did so to such an extent that it became intolerable; and, finally, an army was sent against him from Beejapore. Its leader was a Mohammedan of rank, Afzool Khan, and had with him a treacherous Brahman, with whom Shivajee managed to put himself in communication. The confiding Afzool was deluded into the belief Shivajee was desirous of making submission, and was persuaded to hold an interview, to assure him of pardon for his deeds. He was inveigled into leaving first his escort, and then his solitary attendant, behind. The two chiefs met; and Shivajee, with apparent affection, put his right arm round the Mohammedan's neck, while with the left he struck into his bowels with a steel instrument called a wagnuk, made of three curved blades like tigers' claws. Afzool drew his sword against the murderer, but it simply rung on the armour which the ruffian had concealed under his dress. At a given signal, the escort was treacherously attacked and destroyed, and the main army suddenly assailed and defeated. Subsequent efforts were made to conquer him, which he sometimes met with simple courage, but out of which he more frequently wriggled, after the manner of a snake. His dominions were quickly extended, and all was going forward prosperously with him, when, meeting with a reverse, he unexpectedly surrendered, and made what might be called submission. A treaty was patched up; and he was induced to go to Delhi, in the hope of meeting with an honourable reception. In place of this, he was disrespectfully treated, and finally committed to prison. Soon after, the poor captive took, or rather seemed to take, ill; and, with mingled piety and benevolence, daily sent from his doleful abode hampers of provisions, to be distributed among the poor. One day the hamper was heavy beyond anything that had before been experienced; and the bearers would have complained, if they had not obtained an extra fee, as the price of silence. The intelligent reader will already have perceived it was Shivajee himself that constituted the viands the hamper that day contained; and the food, when taken out of the basket, was not broken up, as at other times, and

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given to the poor, but, remaining entire, mounted a horse, and was far on its way to the Mahratta country before the Delhi authorities could get ready their steeds and pursue. Again Shivajee made way against the Mohammedans, venturing at last to meet them in the open field. He plundered every town and province he could overmaster, unless *chouth* —that is, one-fourth of the revenues—were granted as the price of protection; by which was meant exemption from pillage. Shivajee died in 1680, in his fifty-third year, having amassed vast wealth, and acquired the rule over a territory of 50,000 square miles. No successor of his equalled himself in ability; and for a time Aurungzebe made way against the Mahrattas, even capturing and putting to death Shivajee's son and successor. But the losing party soon recovered heart; and their restless energy greatly disturbed the peace of Aurungzebe during his declining years. That peace was still more seriously disturbed in another way. He had been a rebel and a murderer; and now he feared to leave the world, and answer at the bar of God for his crimes. But the last enemy would not wait till the emperor should be prepared to go. The summons from heaven was sent to him, and he was compelled to obey it. He died at Ahmednuggur in 1707, about the age of ninety. Before his departure he had made a will, dividing his sovereignty among his sons, to prevent them fighting with each other for it; but the remembrance of his early conduct was enough to outweigh the force of his dying exhortations; and the sons, following their father's example rather than his precepts, fought till only one remained alive. Happily he was the rightful heir—Shah Allum, an amiable and accomplished man, who reigned not badly for the next five years. He died in 1712; and immediately his four sons hastened to fight for the empire, according to the ordinary routine, now for some time established. In a little, only one remained; but this time it was a worthless fellow, who was deposed and murdered by order of two brothers, calling themselves Syuds, who, four times in succession, set up emperors and ruled in their name. The last of the four, Mohammed Shah, had the king-makers killed, and then proved himself incom-

A.D. 1680

A.D. 1712

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petent to reign alone. He alienated his two leading ministers, Nizam-ool-Moolk and Saadut Ali, who withdrew from him in disgust, and laid the foundation of what at last became the Hyderabad Soobahdaree, now the leading kingdom in the Deccan; and the Viziership, at last transformed into the kingdom, of Oude. The Seikhs were still making way in the north, and the Mahrattas were thundering at the gates of Delhi, when Mohammed thought fit to provoke Nadir Shah, king of Persia and Affghanistan; and sustaining a defeat from him, brought new and terrible bloodshed on Delhi. Nadir had entered that city as a conqueror, and seems to have intended to act with moderation, when unhappily a report got abroad that he was dead, and the populace rose on the Persian troops. On this he gave orders for a general massacre in every house or lane where a murdered Persian could be found. For hours little could be heard but the shrieks of the dying; during all which time Nadir, who was a Mohammedan, sat in moody silence alone in a mosque. At length the emperor forced his way into the mosque, and, with tears, exclaimed, "Spare my people;" when the barbarian at once gave orders that the massacre should cease. It ceased, A.D. but for many days pillage went on; and then Nadir **1739** turned his steps homeward, taking with him crores of rupees and jewels, and, in short, everything of value he could carry away. He was at length assassinated, and, on his death, Affghanistan regained independence, under the leadership of one of Nadir's officers, Ahmed Abdalla Dooranee, who became its king. This powerful potentate the Delhi ruler had the folly to provoke, and a second sack of that capital, like that perpetrated by Nadir Shah, was the immediate result. This, of course, precipitated the fall of the Mogul power, now fast drawing on. It is scarcely necessary to trace further the reigns of its weak rulers. It was really between the Affghans and the Mahrattas that the contest for the supreme authority in India had for some time lain. The Mahratta peshwa, or hereditary Brahman prime minister, had before this time reduced the authority of Shivajee's family to a mere name; but the foreign enterprises of the nation were never more ardently prosecuted. The Mahrattas advanced into the northern part of India, and

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obtaining aid from the Seikhs, drove the Affghans across the Indus. Ahmed, however, soon returned, and inflicted on his adversaries a very severe defeat. They, little daunted, sent out a new army, stated—though we can scarcely credit it—to have amounted to 140,000 men, mostly cavalry. It was put under the command of Sudasiva Bhao, nephew of the peshwa. To meet this vast host, Ahmed audaciously swam the Jumna at the head of his army, and, finally, on the plains of Paniput, overthrew for ever the Mahratta hope of universal empire. Not merely did thousands fall on the field, and other thousands become prisoners, but the country people, rising on the fugitives, took vengeance on them for all the evil deeds they had done. The great battle of Paniput was fought in 1761, just four years after the battle of Plassey, yet to be described. Without Paniput, the ultimate results of Plassey might have been less; and, we doubt not, Paniput was divinely ordered, to snatch the prize of empire from the plundering Mahrattas, and hold it in reversion for the Christian strangers, one day to ascend the throne of India.

A.D. 1761

Throughout the centuries during which the Mohammedan domination lasted, the Brahman oppression of the inferior castes must, to some extent, have been restrained. When one tyranny is trampling on another, then individuals have an opportunity to commence reform; and a whole host of innovators started up during the Mussulman epoch and made modifications in the Hindu faith. They were mostly ascetics, revered for their renunciation of the world, who founded maths (monasteries) to perpetuate the tenets they introduced. The greater number of them were Vishnuvite teachers. The first of great note was Ramanuja, who flourished towards the end of the eleventh, or the early part of the twelfth century. Ramanand followed, at the end of the fourteenth, or beginning of the fifteenth. A disciple of Ramanand's, or at least one stated to be so, the weaver Kabir, who lived at the beginning of the fifteenth century, founded the sect of the Kabir Panthis, still flourishing. Kabir greatly influenced Nanuk Shah, the founder of the Seikh faith, from which ultimately sprung the Seikh nation. Nanuk began to teach about the year 1490, and was in the

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height of his glory in 1527. About the same time two Brahmans of Nuddea and Santipore in Bengal, Vaishnava teachers, like the rest, put forward the simple and not overwise enthusiast Chaitanya to preach justification through faith in Krishna, who, as our readers know, was deemed one of Vishnu's incarnations. At last the poor man, becoming absorbed in celestial contemplation, fancied he saw what to him were the heavenly three, Krishna, his wife Radha, and the Gopies, or milk-maids, sporting in the blue ocean. He therefore rushed in ecstasy into the waters, and, before he could be got out, was nearly drowned. He soon after disappeared, it being suspected that he had again gone into the sea, and this time with fatal effect. He vanished about 1527, being then forty years old. It is manifest he had lost his senses for some time before his death; nevertheless, he has still about 8,000,000 of followers in Bengal. It is remarkable that at the very time Chaitanya was introducing the doctrine of justification by faith into Eastern India, Luther was reviving it in Europe. But the objects of faith in the two cases, O how different!—the earthly Krishna, with his doubtful honesty, and still more doubtful purity; and the heavenly Christ, all spotless and undefiled, living, loving, labouring, and then dying in agony and desertion, that those believing on him might live for ever in bliss. It was not Krishna, it was Christ that gave evidence of being divine.

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PERIOD III.

The Christian Period.

CHAPTER I.

THE RISE AND SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY.

Life of Jesus Christ.
Labours of his apostles.
Constantine, Emperor of Rome, and the establishment of Christianity.
Barbarians from the North overrun Southern Europe.
The dark ages.
The Reformation.

CHRISTIANITY, as all our readers know, derives its origin from our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who, when he became incarnate, was born at Bethlehem, in the tribe of Judah, of David's royal line. The year of his birth was not recorded in the Bible, and hence, in the lapse of time, it has become doubtful. The Christian era--that noted on the margin of this little work—dates from the birth of Christ. According to the general computation, this is the 1863d year from that great event. But it is thought there is an error of four years in the estimate, and that this should properly be the year 1867. Though there is thus uncertainty regarding the date of Christ's birth, there is none regarding his actions. He lived on earth thirty-three or more years, going about continually doing good. He declared himself to be the Son of God, and to have come as the Saviour of the world. There were the best of all grounds for implicitly accepting his declarations as to the divinity of his origin, and the all-important nature of his mission to earth, his claims being fully supported by the

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great miracles that he wrought,—such as walking on the sea, healing the sick and the maimed, and even raising the dead. Though he did works so wonderful, and was, besides, in character spotlessly pure, as man never had been, yet the foes of truth and righteousness had him arrested, brought to trial, and condemned as a criminal to endure the shameful and cruel death of the cross. Had he wished to escape death, he might have done it; but he had come to earth expressly to die for those whom eternally he had loved. His affection for them prompted him to stand their substitute, and to assume their responsibilities,—to obey where they should have obeyed, and endure on their behalf that penal infliction which was justly their due. His heavenly Father saw and approved of every part of the gracious mission; nay, more, it was he who had sent him into the world to do and suffer what he did. The Scripture says, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." Men of every country and clime are offered everlasting life and happiness through the merit of the Saviour's blood. All they have to do is, in faith, to accept the gift; and the faith required the Spirit of God is willing to bestow. When Jesus had lain in the grave from Friday evening till Sunday morning, his heavenly Father raised him again from the dead. He remained on earth forty days after his resurrection, and, having given charge to his disciples to preach salvation through his blood to the people of every country, he finally ascended to heaven. The leading disciples, generally called "apostles," or people sent, did his bidding, and, so far as they were able, preached in every land the good tidings of salvation through the righteousness of Jesus. The power of working miracles was given them, to help them forward, and, in less than three hundred years from the death of Christ, Constantine, emperor of Rome, then the leading power of the world, became a convert, and established through his widely-extended dominions the religion of the Crucified One.

At that time the bold northern nations—ancestors of the English and other warlike people—felt their own

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territories too small for them, and were restlessly eager for settlements in the genial and cultivated south. They hung for another hundred years like a thunder-cloud over old Rome, and then the tempest burst. The empire became the prey of the rude barbarians, and its liberties, its civilization, its faith, were trampled under foot. Still in that faith there was such vitality that even then it triumphed and converted the victorious barbarians that at first had despised it, till they gave up for it their old ancestral religions. Yet such was the intellectual darkness which those barbarians brought with them, that for more than a thousand years Europe was in a state of ignorance, almost like that in which India is at present. In some respects, indeed, the Hindus must have been in advance of the Europeans during what are often called the dark ages; so that various discoveries in algebra and in astronomy seem to have been made in India before they were known in the West. During that dark period, image-worship was introduced into the Christian Church, though the Bible condemns idolatry in unmeasured terms. It was no longer for the advantage of the world that Christianity, thus become impure, should be extended into every land. To check it, therefore, till it should return from its corruption, God allowed the Mussulman faith to arise and extend itself over a great part of the Eastern world. About a thousand years after the birth of Christ, the power of the now degenerate Christian Church was, in providence, still further curtailed by a vast schism, which divided it into two portions, often termed the Eastern and the Western, or the Greek and the Roman Churches. The Emperor of Russia is head of the Greek Church, and the Pope of the Roman one. When the long night of intellectual darkness that had settled on Europe began to clear away, the art of printing was discovered, and prepared the way for great changes. A still more important event was the study of the Bible, which had been almost quite neglected during the middle ages. When that sacred book began again to be prayerfully read and compared with the then prevailing system, a great difference between the two was seen to exist. The result was the Reformation begun by Luther in Germany in

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1517. As this wonderful movement went forward, many millions of people left the Church of Rome, abandoned image-worship and other errors, made the Bible the rule of their faith and practice, and did what they could to restore religion to its primal purity. The Reformers, and those who have since followed them, are generally called Protestants. At the Reformation, Austria, France, Spain, Italy, and some other countries, remained attached to the Papacy; while England and Scotland, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, part of Switzerland, and a small territory which was ultimately developed into the modern kingdom of Prussia, left the Church of Rome and became Protestant. The powers that remained Papal at the Reformation have all more or less lost influence in Europe since; those which became Protestant have all more or less risen to prosperity.

A.D. 1517

The Christian faith has already sown in many parts of the East the seeds of extensive and beneficial change, sure to grow up, bloom, and bear fruit as time rolls on.

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CHAPTER II.

THE PORTUGUESE IN INDIA.

Discovery of the Cape of Good Hope.
Discovery of America.
Vasco de Gama reaches India.
Portuguese dominion in India—in zenith, and in its decline.

It will be found to be a rule in regard to all plants of high organization, whose existence is not cut short prematurely, that they must come forth in bloom and seed-bearing before they die. Once, at least, it must be; oftener it may be: so essential a part of their being, indeed, is it, that every change they undergo seems to be in preparation for the period of bloom and seed-bearing, contemplated from the beginning. It is with nations much as it is with plants. They, too, have their season of bloom; and while to some, as to long-lived trees, that season recurs again and again, others, like the annuals of the garden, bloom only once before they die. It was when Portugal had reached the period of bloom which all the leading nations more or less attain, that it first became known in India. But we must explain the matter more at length. If you glance at a map of Europe, you will see an oblong patch of land in the Spanish peninsula, with the word Portugal written along it. The inhabitants of that ribbon-like strip of territory have been described as Spaniards who hate other Spaniards, and are hated by them in return. This is putting the case far too strongly. There was a king of Portugal as long ago as the twelfth century. The Portuguese language, too, is different from that of Spain. In short, the countries seem to have been allowed to become separate, that the bloom of each, though somewhat alike, might still in certain points be dissimilar—that they might flower at different periods, and, having flowered, might then, at different periods, wither away. The most glorious epoch of Portuguese history was during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The special title to consideration which the country then possessed was founded,

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not so much on its influence on the councils of Europe, as on the discovery and settlement of new lands. The Portuguese, situated not far from the strait that divides Europe and Africa, drove the Mohammedans from Portugal, followed them southward into Africa, and then pushed their explorations along the west coast of that great continent, till at length, in 1486, Bartholomew Diaz, a Portuguese admiral, doubled the Cape of Good Hope. The long swelling waves then rolled in upon the great headland, as they often do, and Diaz in consequence termed it the Cape of Storms; but his sovereign, King Joan, or John II., thinking the name a discouraging one, changed it to that by which it has since been known,—the Cape of Good Hope. The special "hope" which the doubling of the celebrated cape excited was that of finding a way to India by sea. Shortly afterwards, the search for India led to a still greater discovery, —that of America, by the celebrated Genoese navigator, Christopher Columbus, in 1492. The island of San Salvador, one of the Bahamas, was the first part of America reached; and when it was found that the islands in that nook of the Atlantic were no part of Asiatic India, they were termed, by way of distinction, the West Indies. In 1497, or eleven years after the great achievement of Diaz, five after that of Columbus, Emmanuel, cousin and successor of John, despatched Vasco de Gama with three vessels round the Cape of Good Hope, in quest of India, which Columbus, notwithstanding his splendid discovery, had failed to reach. After a voyage of ten months, Gama safely anchored at Calicut, on the coast of Malabar. The ruler of that place was called, we are told, the Zamorin; which was probably a European mispronunciation of some word derived from *sumoodra*, the sea. He was a powerful potentate, and held some of the neighbouring sovereigns as his vassals. Nor does he appear to have been an unenlightened man; he was quite ready to facilitate the views of the strangers, and open up his dominions to their commercial enterprise. But, unhappily, both for him and them, the commerce of Calicut was then in the hands of the Mussulmans from Egypt and Arabia, who, with the ordinary feel-

A.D. **1492**

A.D. **1497**

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ing of monopolists, looked on the strangers as interlopers; and, being also Mussulmans, added to their commercial jealousy fanatical hatred of the Portuguese as Christians, and Christians who had driven the Mohammedans from Europe into Africa, in ruin and disgrace. They accordingly did their best to stir up the zamorin against Gama and his men. Still Emmanuel and his subjects were greatly delighted with the result of the expedition; and Alvarez Cabral was at once despatched to follow it up, with thirteen ships and twelve hundred men. Eight Franciscan friars were sent out with him; and as, unhappily, the Church of Rome, like the Mohammedan body, has not yet understood the great truth that force should not be used against conscience, he was instructed to carry fire and sword into every country that refused to listen to what the friars preached. On his voyage out, he discovered Brazil. In a storm off the Cape of Good Hope, Diaz, the first who doubled that promontory, perished with his ship. Cabral finally reached Calicut, and gave rich presents to the zamorin, who allowed him to obtain cargoes for his vessels. But the Mussulmans, or Moors, as he called them, again thwarted him, and things going from bad to worse, an armed mob at last attacked the Portuguese factory and overpowered the inmates, killing fifty men, or all except such as succeeded in swimming out to the boats. Cabral, now thoroughly roused, seized ten Moorish ships, emptied their cargoes into his own vessels, arranged them in a row in front of Calicut, and burnt them in full view of the inhabitants; then, standing in shore, he opened a furious cannonade on the city, setting it on fire in several places. After this manifestation of his displeasure, he sailed to Cochin, the second place in point of importance on the coast, and further recommended to his notice from his learning that it was kept in reluctant vassalage by the unfriendly zamorin. Great was the joy of the king and people of Cochin at the arrival of Cabral. Though even there the Moors were jealous, he easily got what remained of his cargoes filled up. He was well received also at Cannanore, and finally, sailing for Europe, safely reached Lisbon, then as now the Portuguese capital. Reinforcements from Europe, that were going out as he was coming

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home, were directed to Cochin, where they beat off an attack from Calicut; and, some time afterwards, Gama again appeared in the East with fifteen ships, while three more guarded the entrance of the Red Sea. This new fleet touched, as it passed, at Calicut, with the usual consequences to the unhappy Hindu king. Three expeditions now successively arrived from Portugal, one of which found the King of Cochin driven from his capital by the forces his tenacious foe, the zamorin, had sent against him. The besiegers, however, seemed to know enough of the Portuguese to feel the expediency of taking their departure whenever they saw the formidable strangers arrive. Peace was at length made and broken, and new troubles arose, in which Cochin being again invaded, the Portuguese chief then there, with a few hundred men and a small squadron, on two separate occasions beat off protracted attacks of the armies and fleets of Calicut, and laid the foundation of a European empire in the East. In 1505, Francisco Almeyda was sent out with the pompous title of the first "Viceroy of India." It needed his most strenuous exertions to keep the position of his countrymen in the East. The Sultan of Egypt had equipped and despatched a large fleet under Meer Hookum, to destroy the "infidel" brood, so fast obtaining a position in Asia. Lorenzo, the son of Almeyda, then out cruising with the Portuguese fleet, was ordered by his father to attack the Egyptians, before they could obtain assistance from the native powers. They came upon him off the harbour of Choul, before he was quite ready for them. He fought them, notwithstanding, with great courage for two days. The first day, he had considerable success; on the second morning, however, Mullik Eiaz, the viceroy of Diu, came to the aid of the Egyptians. The Portuguese determined to retreat that night, and were doing so successfully, when Lorenzo's vessel fell foul of some fishing stakes, and could not be got off. The rest of the fleet had, consequently to abandon the ill-fated ship. Still Lorenzo would not desert it, and, disdaining to surrender, he, with the shattered remnant of his crew, encountered the combined fleet, till he and nearly all with him fell. Almeyda, in a most unchristian spirit, took sanguinary vengeance for the loss of

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his son, first on Dabul, a town on the coast that had made common cause with the Egyptians; then he attacked the Egyptian fleet, and destroyed it nearly all. Mullik Eiaz afterwards sued for and obtained peace. It is disgraceful to Almeyda to be obliged to add, that in place of then restoring his prisoners, he massacred them, enraged by the loss of his son, who received death as he was inflicting it, in open war. In the year 1506, Alphonso Albuquerque was sent out to take the command in the East, and after some difficulty in obtaining the authority out of the hands of Almeyda, who was superseded before his battle with the Egyptians, finally forced himself into the possession of the supreme power. His views were larger than those of any other Portuguese viceroy. He felt Portugal ought not to trust merely to its fleets in the East, but should have some city it could call its own. Calicut, the capital of the old offender, the zamorin, was the first sought; but that tenacious potentate could not be dislodged from his lair. An Indian, a piratical friend of Albuquerque's, Timoia by name, then suggested Goa. The Portuguese viceroy in consequence captured it in the absence of its ruler, the zabaim, as when one has the audacity to go into the den of a wild beast, and make himself snug, while it is out after prey. But, by-and-by, the savage animal returns in wrath, and a life-and-death struggle begins. The zabaim came back in a great rage, and, making a desperate effort, succeeded in expelling Albuquerque from Goa The viceroy, nothing daunted, thought of a second time entering the den, and, this time, notwithstanding all that the rightful owner could do, he was unable to expel the intruder. At the end of Albuquerque's career, the Portuguese boasted that their dominion in the East extended over about 12,000 miles of coast. What is meant is, that having factories here and there along that wide expanse, and fleets with which those of no native power could grapple, they exercised a loose sort of authority over the vast region they, in a certain sense, called their own. After the death of Albuquerque, which took place soon after he had been removed from office by his ungrateful sovereign, the Portuguese dominion in the East began to decline. True, there were at times acts of great

A.D. 1506

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heroism manifested; as in the defence of Diu against the combined forces of the Egyptians and Guzerattees; and that of Goa in 1570, against two great officers of the Mogul, assisted by that inextinguishable foe of Portugal, the zamorin. But success produced vice and effeminacy. The Portuguese of pure descent degenerated in the East; and besides, few were of pure descent, the policy pursued by Albuquerque of encouraging marriages with native women having ended in producing a race quite unfit to rule. Many Portuguese turned pirates, and it is said to have been they and the Mughs of Aracan that reduced the Soonderbunds of Bengal from a well inhabited district to the state in which we find them now. Though Francis Xavier, the greatest missionary that the Church of Rome has ever produced, set sail for India in 1522, when the Portuguese dominion was flourishing, yet the trust of the Romish Christians was less in persuasion than in force, and the bloody Inquisition was consequently established at Goa. Afterwards Portugal was conquered by Spain, and only a few ships came out to the East. And last of all, the excessive tyranny, especially in religious matters, of Spain drove Holland into revolt; and that republic, rising to splendid power, especially on the ocean, finally overthrew the Portuguese dominion in Ceylon and in the Eastern Seas. In the west of India the Portuguese had also at last to encounter the formidable rivalship of the English, in a way we shall attempt to explain as the history proceeds.

in 1536 A.D. 1536 A.D. 1570

It was the Portuguese who first recalled to the mind of the West—what had been forgotten since the Macedonian times—the superiority of the European to the Asiatic arms. But the fate of their dominion reads a lesson to all successful conquerors. It is more easy to raise than to maintain an empire. Courage may, with surprising speed, rear up a dominion; but it will soon crumble into ruin, or be overthrown by some sudden tempest, unless it be maintained by the blessing of God, which is given to those that seek after Him, but is withheld from the impure, the proud, the cruel, the persecuting, whoever or wherever they be.

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CHAPTER III.

THE ENGLISH, WITH SOME MISGIVING, APPEAR ON THE SCENE.

The English perseveringly seek a new way to India.
They are compelled at last to take the old road.
They reach India.
The East India Company formed.
The changes it undergoes.
Origin and growth of the three presidency seats.

AT the beginning of the sixteenth century, there was not a nation in Europe that did not envy the Portuguese their position in the East, and wish a share of the good things going, if they only knew how they were to be obtained. "Where there is a will," says the proverb, "there is a way;" and the English thought that way might possibly be found by steering north-west, through the forbidding region between North America and the Pole. But pertinacious effort in that direction (continued to our own day, too, for scientific purposes, after its uselessness for its original end had been discovered) showed unmistakably that it was not the proper route. The north-east way, round Siberia, was found almost equally unsatisfactory. And, finally, it came to be understood that the English must just follow in the wake of Gama, of Cabral, and of Albuquerque; in short, go round the Cape of Good Hope, and be prepared to do battle with the Portuguese, if they attempted churlishly to stop the way. After all, what was a brush with the fleet of that nation, compared to a protracted struggle against ice-floes and ice-bergs, amid the darkness and discouragements of the frozen North? It was a great day for England, when Sir Francis Drake successfully completed a voyage in which, having sailed from London in 1577 for America, he had gone through the Straits of Magellan, across the Pacific Ocean to Ternate, one of the Moluccas, returning home by the Cape of Good Hope. Drake was the first person in England, and, with the exception of the Portuguese Magellan, the first in the world, who had circumnavigated the globe. Voyages of discovery at once

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became all the rage, and were undertaken by men of high position in society. One of these adventurers, Thomas Cavendish. sailed round the world, and had commercial intercourse with the people of the Philippines and Moluccas. While a route was sought to India by sea, a company, called the Levant Company, imported Eastern productions by the way of Syria and the Mediterranean,—in short, by almost the same channel which is now termed the overland passage. But this did not restrain ardour in the direction of the Cape. In 1599 an association was formed, and more than £30,000 subscribed, in 101 shares, for trading to the East. On the last day of December 1600—that is, the last day of the seventeenth century—a charter was granted "to the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." The gentlemen thus incorporated managed their affairs by a committee of twenty-four and a chairman. No other merchants were without their sanction to trade anywhere within their limits. This was the origin of the East India Company. The voyages made by their servants were, on the whole, successful, and continued to encourage hope. At first the Company's privileges had been granted for only fifteen years, but King James I. of England (VI. of Scotland), who was an easy-going kind of man, made them perpetual. In 1607 the Company sent out Captain William Hawkins to solicit commercial privileges from the Mogul Emperor Jehangire. He was not very successful; but an ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, despatched by the king in 1615, effected larger results. Two years previously, permission had been obtained to establish factories at Surat, Ahmedabad, Cambaya, and Goga; and thus, for the first time, an actual footing was obtained by the Company on Indian soil. Just before this a change had taken place in their home constitution. Hitherto each adventure had been the property of a certain number of gentlemen, who managed it as they pleased. In 1612 it became what is called a joint-stock company, with a certain capital, increased as necessity demanded, and managed by the governor and directors. Opponents to the Company

A.D. 1588

A.D. 1599

A.D. 1600

A.D. 1613

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had already sprung up, who wished their monopoly taken from them, and given to other monopolists; and, as years rolled on, and what is called "free trade" began to be understood, many contended that there should not be a monopoly of the East India trade at all, but that it should be thrown open to all competitors. Once, indeed, another company was actually allowed to take the field; but the contentions of the two were so disastrous both to themselves and the interests of the nation, that in the year 1702 they were finally amalgamated into one, under the name of "The United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies." As early as A.D. 1624, the Company had grafted on its commercial character the first germs of political authority, having obtained the power of life and death over its servants in the East. In 1661, or thirty-seven years later, it was granted the yet more formidable permission to make peace or war with any prince or people not Christian, as well as to seize unlicensed persons within its limits, and send them to England. The mention of peace or war comes upon us with startling effect; but, in fact, its servants in the East had never scrupled to engage their Portuguese and Dutch rivals, and often with success. The comparatively effete Portuguese could by no means stand against them. The Dutch held their position more tenaciously, and in 1623, at Amboyna, in the Eastern Seas, most unjustifiably seized and executed nineteen people, of whom ten were English, on a charge, believed to have been unfounded, of conspiracy. There was really ample room for all in the Asiatic world, could they only have been got to agree. But passing from these quarrels with Christian rivals, it will be remembered that the Company had received permission to fight with non-Christian nations. In 1664 its servants made a promising beginning in this new department of enterprise, by successfully defending their factory at Surat against Shivajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire. The Mogul emperor was pleased with their success, and favoured them for a time. Oftener than once, too, they were helped forward by the skill of English medical gentlemen,

A.D. 1702

A.D. 1624

A.D. 1661

A.D. 1623

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who performed remarkable cures on some of the Indian grandees, and then, in place of seeking recompense for themselves, solicited concessions to their honourable masters, the Company.

The Company were now to obtain what has proved a great acquisition,—the island of Bombay. It had been ceded by the Moguls to the Portuguese in 1530, and was given to the King of England in 1662, as part of the dowry of Catherine, the Infanta of Portugal; A.D. **1662** the rulers of this world, even in those not very remote times, supposing the people of an island like Bombay might be given away as part of the dowry of a girl, or pawned, like the Shetlanders, as security for a debt. We fear, too, such transactions are not yet quite extinct, even in this most enlightened of ages. The Portuguese authorities in India were loath to give up the island; but they did it at last, and finally it was bestowed on the East India Company. The voyages to Bombay and the rest of India were, besides, much facilitated by the Company obtaining, as it did in 1673, the island of St. Helena, a convenient resting-place between England and the Cape of Good Hope. Troubles oftener than once took place at Bombay after its cession,—the last and most serious case being a mutiny and insurrection of both Europeans and natives against the Company, and in favour of the King of England. The king did not accept the gift of the insurgents; and on promise being given of a general amnesty, the rebels made their submission. To diminish the danger of new outbreaks, the seat of the Company's government in Western India, which had hitherto been at Surat, was, between 1685 and 1687, transferred to Bombay.

A.D. **1673**

A.D. **1685** to **1687**

The earliest settlement of the English on the Coromandel coast was at Armegon, thirty-six miles north of Pulicat. In 1639, a small patch of territory, where Madras now stands, was granted to them; and their chief, Sir Francis Day, abandoning the old factory at Armegon, began to erect, on the ceded bit of land, Fort St. George, the centre around which the populous city of Madras has since sprung up. A place, too,

A.D. **1639**

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A.D. 1691 near Pondicherry, called at the time Tegnapatam, was purchased from a native prince in 1691, and called Fort St. David.

It was found tougher work to settle satisfactorily in Bengal than it had been on the two other parts of the Indian coast already mentioned. The native powers, probably not at first discerning the difference between the English and the Bengalees in ability to resist oppression, tyrannized over the English; who, few in number, but audacious, thought they might give a practical exemplification of that difference, by taking up arms in self-defence. The step was a premature one; and, though at first successful, they had raised a storm too great for them to allay. Aurungzebe, the emperor of Delhi, became exasperated, and commenced hostilities against them in different parts of India. Their factories at Surat, Masulipatam, and Visagapatam were seized, and the greater part of Bombay taken; and it was only by soothing the enraged sovereign that further disasters were averted. "To be weak," says the poet—"to be weak is miserable, doing or suffering." And as the Company brooded over the unhappy end of their conflict with Aurungzebe, they wished they were not weak, but that they had a place among the princes and potentates of the East. Accordingly, having obtained a grant of the towns of Chuttanutee, Govindpore, and Calcutta, they cautiously began to erect Fort-William. The seat of government there was

A.D. 1707 called a presidency, and became the nucleus of the modern Calcutta. Up till 1707, when Calcutta was created a presidency, the settlements of the English in Bengal had been under the control of Madras.

In the present chapter, it will be seen, we have briefly sketched the history of considerably upwards of a century. We have described the origin of the East India Company, and some of the various changes it underwent with the lapse of years. Had there been room for a more extended narrative, it should have been divided into several parts;—the first, showing how the East India Company began to trade with India; the second, how, for purposes of trade, they built factories; and the third, how the factories became forts. Thus far have we already proceeded on our way.

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Subsequent chapters would then have had to tell how the forts became presidencies; and, last of all, how the presidencies became an empire. The series of events constituting the history of the Company and its fortunes is one of the most wonderful that has ever occurred in this world. A historical parallel to it, it were difficult to discover. We must go to the realms of fiction, to meet with aught that is similar. An illustration from these realms of fiction may be pardoned by our readers. A poet represents a king of Scotland, who is seeking an encounter with a freebooter, as coming on a certain "Lady of the Lake," Ellen by name, and holding conversation with her, the day before he does battle with his dangerous foe. That night, accordingly, when he slept, he dreamt a dream, in which he blended the pleasant reminiscences of the day gone by with the graver anticipations for the morrow. The figure of Ellen presented itself. At his solicitation, she granted him her hand, when—what succeeded is best described in the poet's own words:—

"He sought her yielded hand to clasp,
And a cold gauntlet met his grasp;
The phantom's sex was changed and gone,
Upon its head a helmet shone;
Slowly enlarged to giant size,
With darkened cheek and threatening eyes,
The grisly visage, stern and hoar,
To Ellen still a likeness bore."

In similar manner, the figure of the East India Company appeared harmless, if not even attractive, when the native potentates of the East first saw it before them, in day-dream or in night vision. It excited no alarm, for its character seemed peaceful and feminine. But as they went on to hold converse with it, a change came over the spirit of their dream. Chiefly through their own imprudence, the harmless commercial company, like the phantom figure, seemed to alter. It, too, grasped their hand with a "cold gauntlet." "Upon *its* head a helmet shone." *It* "slowly enlarged to giant size." The marks of full and even formidable manhood manifested themselves unpleasingly. Its eyes looked less at ledgers, and now oft on the battle-field successfully confronted foes. And yet it "bore" a certain "likeness" to an ordinary trading concern, even when it had gained extensive empire.

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CHAPTER IV.

FRENCH AND ENGLISH RIVALRY IN THE CARNATIC.

Establishment of a French East India Company.
Its two presidencies.
Labourdonnais takes Madras.
Dupleix refuses to restore it.
War in consequence.
M. Godheu purchases peace.
War recommences.
Count Lally and his unhappy career.
First appearance of Hyder Ali on the scene.

WHEN the establishment of East India Companies became the rage in Europe, it was not to be expected that a nation so enterprising as France would be long unrepresented in Southern Asia. Accordingly, Colbert, the French Minister of Finance, in the year 1664, planned an East India Company; and two settlements, like the English presidencies, were after a time begun,—one at the Isle of France, and the other at Pondicherry. Wars, sometimes, it is to be feared, wholly unjustifiable, have often been waged between England and France; though it is to be hoped both nations will be wiser in time to come, and feel, as they do at present, how much more desirable it is to be in firm alliance than to be engaged in the work of mutual slaughter. One of the unhappy wars of which we speak broke out between England and France in the year 1744; and the possessions of the two nations in India were of course involved in the storm. In 1746, a very able Frenchman, Labourdonnais by name, arrived in India; and, though in part controlled by the presence of an English fleet on the coast, captured Madras, which then contained only three hundred Englishmen, not more than two hundred of them soldiers. He was a moderate man, and promised to restore the place for a ransom. The governor of Pondicherry at that time was the celebrated Joseph Francis Dupleix. This ruler, prompted partly by love of his country, and partly by excessive vanity, laid gigantic plans of a political kind, which he carried out with little regard for the rectitude of the means he employed, but with no slight skill and activity. Whenever Labourdonnais

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left India, Dupleix broke the solemn promise that had been made by the departed general, to restore Madras to the English; and one equally solemn from himself, to give it to the nabob. The nabob assembled forces to compel the fulfilment of the engagement to him; but his troops were encountered by 1200 French soldiers, and completely routed. The Portuguese had already shown the superiority of Europeans to the Hindus and Mussulmans in the armies of the native powers; but the lesson was becoming forgotten, when Dupleix recalled it to mind. A great discovery of a similar kind was soon after made by the French,—that natives disciplined and led by Europeans were formidable to the armies of the native potentates. The two secrets, it has been well shown by Mill, the great historian of British India, were both learned by the English immediately from the French; and, being known, led directly to the conquest of India. When the English lost Madras, they still had Fort St. David, with Cuddalore, which held out to the conclusion of the war. By the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle Madras was restored to them, and the result of Dupleix's treachery undone.

The quiet in the Carnatic was not long. The English, whom the conclusion of the war had left with a superabundance of troops, were persuaded by a deposed prince of Tanjore to plunge into the politics of the native powers, and obtained as a reward the fort of Devicotah, at the mouth of the Coleroon. Meanwhile the French had been engaged in transactions of great moment. While the Mogul empire was strong, the functionary who, immediately under the emperor, governed the Deccan, was called the soobahdar; and the Carnatic, both above and below the Ghauts, was ruled by a nawab, or nabob, as the English called him, appointed by the soobahdar, if the emperor were weak, but, in ordinary circumstances, by the emperor himself. Under the nabob of the Carnatic, and immediately accountable to him, were the rajahs of Trichinopoly and Tanjore. A certain Chunda Saheb sought to obtain the nabobship of the Carnatic; and the soobahdarship of the Deccan then being vacant, he attempted to get a friend of his—Moozuffer Jung—appointed to that high office. Dupleix eagerly went into the scheme, depict-

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ing to himself how great he and his nation would become if he succeeded in exercising the power, hitherto confined to the Delhi government, of creating a soobahdar and a nabob. It was natural, in these circumstances, that the English should be impressed with the merits of a rival soobahdar and a rival nabob. They accordingly embraced the fortunes of the actual soobahdar, Nazir Jung, and wished to associate with him Mohammed Ali as nabob. There was something positively ludicrous in a handful of strangers from France, and another handful from England, proceeding thus coolly to exercise imperial functions, and put this prince or that prince on what really were thrones. Yet they did not do these deeds in jest, but in deadly earnest; and blood to no small amount was shed in that unseemly and hitherto unexampled strife. It would require far more space than can be spared in this brief history to detail the incidents of the changing contest.

A.D. 1751

Suffice it to say, that for a time the French party seemed to prevail. In 1751, Dupleix was appointed governor of the Mogul dominions on the coast of Coromandel, and Chunda Saheb his deputy at Arcot. Moozuffer Jung, the other French protégé, was also in a fair way of gaining the throne designed for him, when he was killed in a mutiny of his troops, and Salabut Jung, his uncle, and son of the celebrated Nizam-ool-Moolk, was proclaimed by an able French officer, M. Bussy, soobahdar in his room. The English would at that time have acknowledged the French candidates, if Dupleix would have allowed Mohammed Ali to keep Trichinopoly; but the victors were too much elated by their success to make this concession. Hostilities therefore went forward, the wild waves of war surging with great fury around Trichinopoly, Arcot, and other places, and dragging into their vortex not merely the parties immediately concerned, but even the Mysorean and the remote Mahratta powers.

Finally, the English and French Governments, and East Indian Companies in Europe, disgusted to find that, instead of trading diligently, their servants in India were fighting at such a rate, resolved to interfere for the termination of the struggle. M. Godheu was therefore sent out from France, to supersede Dupleix and make peace at any price.

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When a negotiator intimates that this is his design, he generally has to pay pretty handsomely for his peace; and M. Godheu was no exception to the general rule. To obtain what he sought, he had to yield nearly everything to the English. Mohammed Ali, in consequence, became nabob of the Carnatic, though the arrangement was not disturbed by which Salabut Jung was left soobahdar of the Deccan, with the Frenchman Bussy for his friend. There was an article of the treaty of peace on which subsequent events afforded a strange commentary,—the one which stipulated that "the two Companies, English and French, shall renounce *for ever* all Moorish government and dignity, and shall *never* interfere in any differences that arise between the princes of the country." Will it be credited that scarcely had Godheu turned his back upon India, when both English and French plunged into native quarrels again? The English took the lead; and the French, finding their remonstrances of no avail, followed the example. Their mutual hostilities became more intense in 1756, when war broke out between their respective nations in Europe. The French government sent out an able general, of Irish descent, Count Lally, to strike a great blow at the English settlements in India. So confident were the French ministry of splendid success, that Lally was ordered to commence operations with the siege of Fort St. David; and he, resolved to meet their expectations, had his troops in motion against the place the very day he reached India.

For a time, things looked dark for the English; but finally, Lally, with his hot Irish blood, got into what his countrymen call *rows* (that is, quarrels) with everybody. He forced the natives of Pondicherry, high as well as low caste, to act as coolies for his army. He fell into disputes with the French officials there, and made them all his bitter foes. He ransacked the celebrated pagoda of Kiveloor, took away the idols, dragged the tanks for money, and blew six Brahmans he found away from guns; the effect of which outrage on all Hindu minds our readers will easily conceive. He most foolishly recalled Bussy, who had become almost the ruler of the Deccan, and treated all his statements of his splendid position at Hyderabad as idle tales. When

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besieging Tanjore, he threatened to carry the rajah and his household slaves to the Mauritius; which so stirred up the king that he put forth every effort, and, with English aid, beat the invader off. Still Lally made some way. He took Arcot, and advanced to the presidency itself. Though some actions between the French and English fleets that had recently taken place had not been very decisive, yet the French vessels were damaged sufficiently to prevent the French fleet from co-operating, as Lally had wished, in the siege of Madras. He had, consequently, to attack with a land force only. He had taken the Black Town, and was besieging the English, who were making a most gallant defence, when the British fleet appeared; at sight of which he raised the siege. The relation in which he stood to his countrymen at Pondicherry may be inferred from the significant fact that his failure before Madras produced at Pondicherry every demonstration of joy. From that day his prospects became less and less encouraging, till, finally, he lost every military post—not excepting Pondicherry itself—that his country had possessed in the Indian peninsula. Lally had been sent out to overthrow the English power on the Coromandel coast: he had overthrown the French power instead. Undoubtedly, he had committed many blunders; but he had done his very best to discharge the trust he had received, and deserved honourable treatment. But fearful was his fate. The Parliament of France, hounded on by the mob, had him arrested, put in prison, and condemned to die. He seized a pair of compasses, with which he had been constructing a chart of the Coromandel coast, and tried to strike them to his heart, but some one behind held his hand. He was dragged the same day in a filthy dung-cart to execution, his mouth being gagged to prevent his speaking to the people. God, in his providence, gave three distinguished men to the French East India Company. At its instigation Labourdonnais was imprisoned, Dupleix was defrauded, and Count Lally ignominiously slain. This last and crowning instance of folly and crime was before long fatal to the Company itself. It figures in history no more.

After the departure of the French from the Carnatic, the English nabob, Mohammed Ali, was more firmly seated in

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his government, but had neither much ability nor willingness to repay his allies for the military and other services they had rendered; and the reduction of some of his refractory dependants did not mend matters much, if at all. The Frenchmen's friend, the soobahdar of the Deccan, was murdered by his brother, Nizam Ali,—the same from whom the English first learned the name they have applied to all who have subsequently ruled at Hyderabad—the Nizam. The Emperor of Delhi having granted the English and their nabob the Carnatic and the northern Circars, independently of the nizam, the last named ruler assembled an army, and invaded the territory of the allies; but the Madras government managed, by concessions, to deprecate his wrath for the time. One article of the treaty—that which stipulated that they should aid him with troops—was carried out; and yet the nizam, with shameless ingratitude, joined with Hyder Ali of Mysore in invading the Carnatic. Hyder Ali was a Mohammedan adventurer, of a family originally from the Punjaub, who had risen from a comparatively low position to one so strong that he deposed his sovereign, a Hindu prince, and reigned in his stead. Hyder had quarrelled with the Madras government about a portion of the Baramahal he had conquered, but which they alleged belonged to the Carnatic. He was further irritated to think of the readiness with which they had engaged to render the nizam assistance against him. At first matters looked bright for the Mysore and Hyderabad rulers. They made a small English force fall back, and Hyder sent 5000 horse to threaten Madras. But soon they were defeated; and the nizam sued for and obtained peace. Hyder also wished peace, but was at first refused it, he being thought an enemy it would be easy to overthrow; but by ravaging the country south of the Carnatic with his cavalry, and finally making a sudden dash at Madras itself, he compelled the government ruling there to lower its pride and at once accede to his terms. Their opinion of the ability of the Mysore usurper had undergone a sudden change: he did not appear to them, as he had done at first, a foe easy to conquer; and they were destined in providence to have further unpleasant acquaintance with him, before his career on earth was done.

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CHAPTER V.

THE HOUR AND THE MAN.

Suraj-ood-Dowlah.
The Black Hole of Calcutta.
Appearance of Clive in Bengal.
The battle of Plassey.
More fighting.
Change in the Indian government.

THERE are recurring periods in the history of all nations, when things become more or less unsettled, and vast changes may be effected, if only there be a man competent to understand and turn to good account the circumstances of the time. The man required must not be cast in the ordinary mould, but must be possessed of what is termed original genius. He must be enthusiastic, and yet calm; imaginative, and still thoroughly judicious; and whatever he lacks, he must not be destitute of a will like iron, to overcome all opposition to the realization of the plans he may frame. When the hour that gives genius its opportunity comes, vast changes are often left unattempted from the want of a man of the kind demanded by the time; and many a man of genius dies unknown and unappreciated, because he does not live at a critical period of time. When the hour and the man come together, it is as if an intimation had been given from heaven that great changes are about to begin.

At the period which our narrative has now reached—a little beyond the middle of the eighteenth century—such an hour was manifestly approaching for Bengal and the adjacent countries, formerly, and even yet, provinces of the great Mogul empire. That empire was evidently breaking up; and Bengal was a great prize, to be given to the boldest. The Mahrattas thought they would be sure to have it, and actually seized on Orissa. The English looked with interest to the decision of the question, though not venturing to hope they would derive very much benefit from any solution it might receive. The governor of Bengal at this critical juncture was a weak, ignorant, conceited youth, termed Suraj-ood-Dowlah, who from boyhood had entertained

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hatred for the foreign strangers. Irritated that they had given shelter to a refugee from his territories, and were, besides, strengthening their defences against the French, Suraj seized the factory at Cossimbazaar, and made its chief, Mr. Watts, a prisoner. Calcutta was next attacked, and, being deemed indefensible, was but weakly defended, and a retreat from it by water completely mismanaged, so that many English were still in the place when it was finally taken by storm. When night came, the prisoners, 146 in number, were thrust into a small, ill-ventilated apartment, subsequently called by the English "The Black Hole." There was not within the narrow space pure air enough to sustain life; their sufferings, consequently, were terrible. Some expired soon after being put in; others grew mad. The Mohammedan guards would afford no relief, and in the morning it was found that, out of the 146 persons thrust into that small apartment the previous evening, all but 23 had been suffocated, and died horrible deaths. As, in the providence of God, the persecutions of Arungzebe struck a nearly fatal blow at the Mogul empire, so the brutal cruelty perpetrated in connection with the Black Hole of Calcutta led to a series of events which gave that empire the finishing stroke. The hour had evidently come for the English to act, if they only possessed the man. The man was found in Clive, who had already distinguished himself by acts of extraordinary daring in the Carnatic war. He having now been raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the King's service, and appointed Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, had just arrived from England, and was sent on to Bengal to recover Calcutta, Admiral Watson accompanying him with a fleet. The land and the sea commanders proceeding together to Calcutta, captured it in two hours, took Hooghly, and war having meanwhile broken out in Europe between England and France, finished off by occupying the French settlement of Chandernagore. Clive had been ordered to return to Madras, when the affairs of the Company were re-established in Bengal. He thought it would not be for the interest of his honourable masters to comply, and resolved to remain. Nay more, he repeatedly said to his companions in arms

A.D. 1756

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"that they could not stop there," and "suggested the necessity of a revolution." At this juncture, Meer Jaffier, paymaster-general of Suraj-ood-Dowlah's forces, who had cause of offence against that tyrant, formed a plot to remove him from the soobahdarship. This conspiracy becoming known to the English, they eagerly went into it, and the two parties resolved to carry on war in company. Meer Jaffier was to compensate the English for their aid, and they were to make him soobahdar. When the Europeans, true as usual to their engagement, had reached Cutwa, where Meer Jaffier was to meet them with all his forces, no Meer Jaffier was there, but, instead, there was word that the plot had been discovered, and Meer Jaffier pardoned on condition of joining his offended master against the English. A private letter was, however, received from the worthy paymaster himself, saying that he had been compelled to promise to help Suraj against the English, but bidding them go forward, nothing doubting, as he would without fail come over to their side in the middle of the battle. There was an anxious deliberation whether, in these circumstances, they should proceed or not. Their own troops were so very few that if Meer Jaffier did not help them, they would be in great danger; and if he fought against them, they could scarcely fail to be destroyed. A council of war was held, when all, including Clive, thought it would be imprudent to fight. But it is said that "as soon as the council of war broke up, he retired alone into the adjoining grove, where he continued nearly an hour in deep meditation, and gave orders on his return to his quarters that the army should cross the river next morning." The crossing of the river meant fight. The forward movement decided on for the morning was carried out, and at a little past midnight Clive and his men reached the village of Plassey. It was so called from the pullus trees that then grew in it abundantly. The pullus is a very common jungle tree, with each leaf divided into three leaflets, and scarlet pea-shaped flowers. The soobahdar was already at Plassey with 50,000 foot, 18,000 horse, and 50 guns. With Clive were but 900 Europeans, and upwards of 2000 sepoys. The battle was for some time confined to a distant cannonade, which

A.D. 1757

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resulted in the soobahdar's being persuaded to make preparations for escape from the field. Meer Jaffier was then seen moving to join the English, which so exhilarated Clive that, without more ado, he fell upon that portion of Suraj's army which still stood firm, and put it to rout. Suraj now carried out his intention of fleeing, went off on a swift camel, and was afterwards murdered by order of Meer Jaffier's son. In the battle of Plassey—one of what have been called "the decisive battles of the world"—only twenty Europeans and fifty-two sepoys were killed or wounded; a very small loss to occur in virtually settling the fate of an empire. Meer Jaffier had promised largely when he first applied for English assistance, but had no lively intention of fulfilling his engagements. On the other hand, the claims of the European leaders, who then held the most erroneous notion that the realized wealth of India was very great, were far too high; and though they had been promised large private rewards for their aid, according to the custom of the country they were in, they should not have accepted them, much less have defrauded a man who threatened to betray the plot, and had to be kept quiet by the promise of an extravagant sum. He had, doubtless, no right to extort it; but still, if they had yielded to the extortion, they should not have falsified their word. It is but too plain that some of the founders of the Anglo-Indian empire, though men of extraordinary ability, were not much under the influence of Christian principle.

Not merely had the English to help Meer Jaffier to what was virtually a throne; they had also to keep him on it. Within two years after Plassey, the Soobahdar of Allahabad and the Nabob of Oude agreed together to invade Bengal, using the Emperor's name to give their cause greater weight, and taking with them the Emperor's son, or Shahzada as he was titled. The worthy Oudean ruler, however, could not resist the temptation of seizing his ally's capital, Allahabad; in fact, it is suspected he got up the alliance with that special end in view. This invasion was consequently repulsed without difficulty. One by the Dutch from Europe looked formidable for a little; but Clive attacked them, and soon routed or captured their

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whole force. After this, he resigned the government, and went home to his native land. Scarcely was he away, when the shahzada, now become emperor, again invaded Bengal; but after more than one fight against Meer Jaffier's son, Meeran, and the English under Colonel Calliaud, in which Meeran behaved ill, and the victory had to be achieved by the English, he was compelled to abandon the enterprise. All this gallant fighting needed money, and Meer Jaffier governed so ill that he had none to contribute: his son-in-law, Meer Cassim, an energetic man, was therefore to have been given the real power, while Meer Jaffier retained the nominal authority; but Jaffier preferred to withdraw altogether, and allow his son-in-law actually to rule. Money was now more easily procurable, and the emperor was compelled to terminate the war. By the treaty of peace he gave to the English the Dewanee of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa.

A.D. 1761

This important concession was made four years after the battle of Plassey, or in 1761. If Meer Cassim was an able enough administrator, he was much less tractable than his predecessor, and presently war broke out between him and the Company. In his rage at his want of success against his opponents on the battle-field, he savagely ordered all the English who had fallen into his hands to be murdered; and a German, formerly in the French service, now in Meer Cassim's, disgraced his European descent by carrying out the infamous order. Cassim being driven into the Oude dominions, next got the vizier of that country to assist him. But both were utterly defeated at Patna and then at Buxar; and even the emperor, moved by the sight of the English successes, threw himself upon the protection of the Company. Meer Jaffier was set up to rule again; and on his death, shortly after, his son gave the military defence of Bengal entirely into English hands. Clive was coming out a second time as governor, and perceived that the time which he said he had "long foreseen" had arrived, —"I mean that period which renders it necessary for us to determine whether we can or shall take the whole to ourselves."....."We must indeed become nabobs ourselves, in fact if not in name;—perhaps totally so, without disguise." This might have prepared one for further great events, but

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in reality all that was practicable had been effected already, and only required to be formally settled. Clive, therefore, after giving himself to retrenchment of expenditure and to internal reforms, went home again in 1767.

He was succeeded by Mr. Cartier, during whose administration a frightful famine occurred in Bengal, and carried off a large proportion of the inhabitants.

A considerable change was now to take place in the constitution and powers of the East India Company. It was very natural that the Company and their friends should defend the doctrine, that when they had gained the sovereignty of certain territories that sovereignty belonged to them, and not to the nation of which they formed a part. It was quite as natural that the ordinary subjects of that nation should hold the opposite view, that territory gained by private citizens belonged to the sovereign, as representing the nation. The latter was the view most likely to be taken by Parliament, which, with the Sovereign, is the supreme ruling authority in the British empire. It was therefore dangerous for the Company to have to approach Parliament as petitioners asking for aid. Especially was it perilous to sue for money; for, as the Bible says, "the borrower is servant to the lender." Notwithstanding this, the Company were so distressed for money that they had to go to Parliament to beg the loan of a million and a half of pounds. They got pecuniary aid, but had their constitution changed. Some of the alterations made were, the conversion of the governor of Bengal into a governor-general, the appointment of four councillors to assist him, the subordination of the other presidencies to Bengal, and the establishment at Calcutta of a supreme court of justice. In short, a stronger than the Company, the British Government, had taken the occasion presented by the application for a loan partly to introduce the King's authority into the Company's government; and though it was not to a great extent at first, it was still the insertion of the thin edge of the wedge, which now needed but successive blows to drive it home.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF WARREN HASTINGS.—PART I.

Warren Hastings.
The Company assume the civil rule in Bengal.
Disputes in the new council.
The execution of Nuncomar.
Desultory hostilities with the Mahrattas.

IN casting the eye over a range of mountains, some peaks are seen to stand out unmistakably high above the rest; but this very elevation makes them more exposed than others to tempests, which frequently rage around them with a fury fearful to behold. It is much the same with the men that occupy the high places in this world's history. Of any line of rulers, those of the most towering eminence will generally have the lives most stormy; and yet, through the midst of every tempest, their essential greatness will be seen. Clive had led a troubled life; the next very great Indian ruler—Warren Hastings—had scarcely a moment's quiet, at any part of his career.

A.D. 1772

Warren Hastings had risen in the Company's service to the position of member of council, and had served in that capacity both at Calcutta and Madras, when, in the beginning of 1772, he was appointed Governor of Bengal. Hitherto there had been a double government, that of the Nabob and that of the Company. They had worked—as divided authority always does—ill; and just before Hastings' appointment, the Company had determined to put an end to the evils flowing from this state of things, by themselves standing forward as Dewan, and managing all the revenues. This was a revolution, and not less important because it was effected quietly. It is not bloodshed that constitutes a revolution;—it is, as the name implies, that there is a *turn* of the wheel of government, so that the previous authority goes down, and a new one comes up. The double government of the Nabob and the Company went down; and, in

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lieu of it, the government of the Company alone came up. Committees were immediately appointed, of which Hastings was the head; and by-and-by new schemes for improving finance and justice were carried out. The principal office of revenue had hitherto been at Moorshedabad, the nabob's capital; it was now transferred to Calcutta. Civil and criminal courts of appeal were also set up at the English capital. At the same time revenue collectors were appointed for the country districts. The zemindars had formerly been the civil and criminal judges in the provinces; their place was now supplied by regular provincial courts. While these internal affairs were being arranged, anxiety, as usual, was felt regarding the relations of the Company with foreign states, a combination of two or three of which might have crushed the English power, yet in its infancy. But, to add to the difficulty of Hastings' position, he found it difficult to obtain money to carry the government on. Oude seemed the power with which it was safest to be in alliance, and the Lucknow government being really wealthy, services rendered to it might at once convert a powerful state into a warm ally, and relieve the pressing financial necessities of the Company's government. The Nabob Vizier of Oude was then in considerable danger from the Mahrattas, to whose protection the Emperor Shah Allum had foolishly intrusted himself, and had, consequently, become a puppet in their hands. The Mahrattas wished to engage on their side those Affghan Rohilla soldiers of fortune who had possessed themselves of authority in the province immediately north-west of Oude, and called it after themselves, Rohilcund. At once to ward off the danger from these strangers and satisfy his ambition, the nabob vizier was willing to hire against them for a considerable sum the resistless English troops; and Hastings, pressed for money to carry on the government, went into the arrangement. The Rohillas, though generally disunited, rallied round one standard to meet the danger; and, under a chief—Hafez Ruhmet—made a gallant stand, but were defeated. The Company did the fighting, and the nabob vizier the plundering part of the work; or, as the English soldiers worded it, "We have the honour of the day, and those banditti the

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profit." Only one Rohilla, Fyzoolla Khan, was allowed to retain any power in Rohilcund. The districts of Korah and Allahabad, given by the English to the emperor, were at this time covered by the Mahrattas, who forced from that unhappy potentate a grant of the districts. The emperor's deputy would not give them up, but placed them under the protection of the English; who, for a further sum of money, transferred them to the nabob vizier. It is not to be denied that many of the early transactions of the English in the East were of a very questionable character; and evil reports, whether against governments or private individuals, having a constant tendency to grow, the further they travel, the most unfavourable opinion was entertained in England of the doings of its sons in the East. The nomination by the crown of four councillors to associate with the Bengal governor in his administration, was intended to be a check on delinquencies; and three of the four members of council who were sent out from Europe arrived full of prejudice, and prepared to put the worst construction on all that Mr. Hastings did. As there was only another councillor, the members from Europe were in the majority; and scarcely had they entered on their duties when dissensions began. The most determined of Hastings' opponents was Mr.—afterwards Sir Philip—Francis, a man of great ability, but with a fierce, bitter, unloving spirit. From that hour whatever Mr. Hastings did was deemed wrong, because he did it; and if any man had anything to say against the head of the government, he was introduced into the council chamber to say it there, in presence of the accused. Thus the majority of the council constituted themselves judges of the conduct of their superior, and wished him to plead before them as defender, against any Hindu accuser who might come in from the streets. He very properly declined their jurisdiction; but this did not in any way stop the proceedings. The tempests of wind and rain that usher in the Indian monsoon, are suddenly followed by the appearance everywhere of insects, frogs, and, in brief, of all crawling or croaking things; and the tempest in the regions of government which for a time overthrew the power of the highest

A.D. 1774

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functionary, was fitted to call forth false accusers, false sneerers, and loathsome characters of every description. And they were coming forth in numbers, when the chief of all—a Brahman, by name Nuncomar, astute in intellect, but destitute of moral character—was arrested by the Supreme Court on a charge made against him by a native of forgery; sentenced to be hanged, (that being then the too heavy punishment of forgery in England,) and the sentence actually carried out. Loud were the shrieks which burst from the vast assemblage that had come together to witness the death of their countryman. Connecting his present melancholy fate with the reminiscence that he had stood forth shortly before on the floor of the council chamber to accuse Hastings, they all fancied the Governor-general had been the real author of the guilty Brahman's death. This does not, however, seem to have been the case. Nuncomar's execution doubtless put an instant termination to all accusations against Hastings, but it was really the Supreme Court of Calcutta that was responsible for his fate. The judges had just come out from Europe with the most exalted idea of the extent of their functions, and of the perfection of English law, and they would have taken no advice from Hastings as to how they were to discharge their duty. Indeed, when, by deaths or resignations in the Supreme Council, Hastings again obtained power, the Supreme Court, by issuing its summonses everywhere, among natives and Europeans, terrified the Hindus in no slight degree, and almost stopped the machinery of government itself. It is not very creditable to the chief judge—Sir Elijah Impey—that he became more tractable after receiving an office held at Hastings' pleasure; but it needed the interposition of Parliament itself to confine within reasonable limits the action of the Supreme Court.

A.D. 1776

It will be remembered that, by new regulations made in London, the Bengal government for the first time obtained a certain control over those of Bombay and Madras. After the first little collisions were over, the scheme gave increased strength to all; and it was soon necessary for the Calcutta administration to afford aid, both on the Bombay and Mad-

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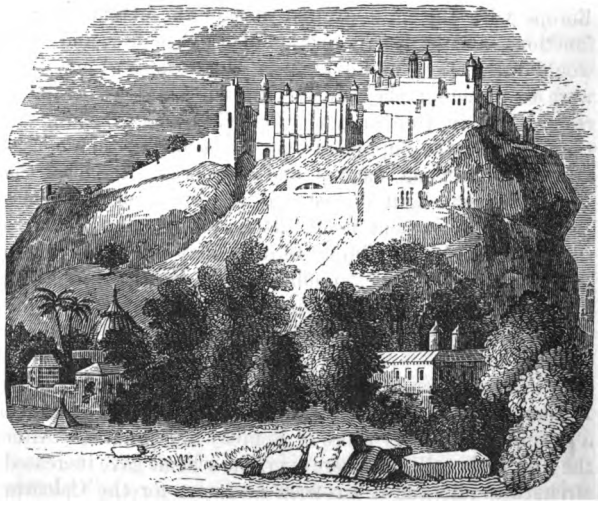
ras side. On the former, a dispute had occurred in the succession to the peshwaship,—a restless, ambitious ex-peshwa, Ragoba by name, heading the one faction, and the partisans of an infant prince the other. The East India Company had written out, strongly urging their servants at Bombay, if possible, to obtain by purchase Salsette, Bassein, and part of the Surat province. The Bombay government could not do it by purchase, but, in their zeal for their masters, thought they might obtain the coveted places as the price of raising the fugitive Ragoba to the peshwaship. They had succeeded in part, when the Bengal government interfered, adhered to the party against Ragoba, and, after being on the brink of war, concluded a treaty, called that of Poorundhur, by which they obtained Salsette. The peace did not last long. A split soon after took place in the Poonah government—a party declaring for Ragoba, and asking the English to assist in putting him on the throne. The Bombay government went ardently into the proposal, as did Hastings, who then had

A.D. 1775



FORT OF GWALIOR.

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the majority in the Calcutta council. The Bombay commandant failed to conduct his share of the war aright, but the English affairs were retrieved by an army audaciously marched across India, by way of Nagpore, from Bengal; a detachment of which, led by Captain Popham, further distinguished itself by capturing Scindia's strong fortress of Gwalior. But the English, though making way, were obliged to hurry out of this contest, in consequence of finding themselves suddenly involved in a great war in the south, which gave promise of proving the severest Indian struggle they ever yet had seen.

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CHAPTER VII.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF WARREN HASTINGS—PART II.

War with Hyder Ali.
Visit of Hastings to Benares and to Lucknow.
His bad and his good deeds.
He returns to Europe.
He is impeached before the House of Lords.

It was their old foe, Hyder Ali, that had taken the field again. A rash article had been allowed to creep into the treaty with him, binding the two powers to join, in the event of the dominions of either being invaded. When, then, the Mahrattas made an expedition into Mysore, the Madras government were asked to join their forces with those of Hyder. They felt themselves unequal at that time to meet the Mahrattas, and put off fulfilling their engagement. Hyder was in consequence much irritated; still the storm in his mind would probably have blown over, but for another irritating incident. War having again, unhappily, broken out between the English and the French in Europe, attacks were made on the French possessions in India. They fell at once, the chief struggle being one, both by sea and land, at Pondicherry; and now nothing remained to the French but the little fort of Mahé, in Malabar, in a dependency of Hyder's. The work in which the English had engaged seemed undone while Mahé remained unassailed. Assail it accordingly they did, and take it, notwithstanding threats on the part of Hyder, which they supposed meant nothing, though really they meant a great deal. The Madras government, notwithstanding that they had given offence to the nizam, as well as to Hyder Ali, made no warlike preparations, but continued to flatter themselves with the prospect of peace, till word was brought that Hyder was already in the Carnatic at the head of 100,000 men. 30,000 of these were cavalry, who spread themselves everywhere, and plundered the country mercilessly wherever they spread. It was necessary now

A.D. 1780

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to get together as quickly as possible some of the scattered detachments of the small British force, and obtain carriage and supplies. The army of the Madras commander-in-chief, Sir Hector Munro, and a small detachment under Colonel Baillie, were to have met near Conjeveram; but, before the contemplated junction could be effected, Baillie was attacked by a large force under Tippoo Saheb, Hyder Ali's son. By desperate efforts, he beat off his powerful assailant, and, obtaining some reinforcement, commenced successfully to retreat. Already the pagoda of Conjeveram began to appear in the horizon, when he was attacked, first by part, and then by the whole of Hyder's army. Still he long held in check the mighty host opposed to him, till the blowing up of two tumbrils deprived him of ammunition. Thus left almost defenceless, he was finally overpowered, the sepoys with him destroyed, and the 400 Europeans constrained to surrender. They gave themselves up as prisoners of war, with the promise of quarter; but the promise was shamefully broken, and they would all have been murdered had not some French officers in Hyder's service interposed for their deliverance. After the destruction of Baillie's detachment, Munro retreated to St. Thomas's Mount, near Madras. Had Madras stood alone, it would now probably have fallen; but Warren Hastings and the other members of the Bengal government resolved to put forth all their energies on its behalf. The nizam was conciliated; peace, as has already been stated, was made with the Mahrattas; and Sir Eyre Coote, the Bengal commander-in-chief, sent to conduct the war against Hyder Ali, carrying with him such reinforcements as could be spared from Bengal. Hyder was still making way, and had captured Arcot, when Sir Eyre Coote took the field against the vast Mysore armies with 7000 men, of whom only 1700 were Europeans. The result was what might have been anticipated: Coote was generally victorious when he could bring the enemy to stand for a battle, but could not, as a rule, with his small force, reap the fruits of victory, or restrain the enemy's cavalry from their pitiless plunderings wherever they went. The greatest battle was at Porto Novo, near Cuddalore, in which Hyder was completely defeated. Other considerable

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actions were near Conjeveram, and at Sholingur, on the road to Vellore. To add to the perplexities, the nabob would or could furnish little aid to the troops, fighting as much for him as for the Company; Madras was threatened with distress, which afterwards became actual famine; and a French admiral, one of the ablest France has ever possessed—Monsieur Suffrein—coming out with a fleet, landed a French force, with the celebrated Bussy at its head, and then fought a series of determined naval battles with the English war-ships. But sometimes the darkest part of the night is that just before the dawn. The success of the Company's forces on the Malabar coast recalled Tippoo to the defence of the Mysore dominions in that quarter; the death of Hyder Ali, who expired at Chittoor in December 1782, at the age of upwards of eighty, left no Mysorean of equal intellect to carry on the war; the conclusion of a peace in Europe between the French and English drew off Suffrein and Bussy with the French fleet and army, just after Bussy had defeated the English with loss at Cuddalore; and now at length the British began to gain the decided superiority in the contest. Bednore was taken, though lost again; Mangalore was captured, and Palghautcherry, and Coimbatore. Finally, an attack on Seringapatam was being thought of, when peace was made by Tippoo, on the basis of a mutual restitution of conquests, and the war for the present closed.

A.D. **1784**

Nothing is more expensive than war. That with Hyder and Tippoo had swallowed up a vast sum of money; and Hastings, who, in the depression of the Madras presidency, felt he must obtain funds if they were to be obtained at all, experienced great difficulty in fixing where he should turn for the much needed supply. He thought the zemindar of Benares, by name the Rajah Cheyte Singh, (who was reputed very wealthy,) should aid him; it being an understood obligation of a protected state to aid the paramount power in any season of very dire emergency. The Benares rajah was of another opinion. He considered that, having paid up the ordinary subsidy, it was unjust to make any further claim on him; and Hastings, attributing his opposition to hosti-

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lity to the Company, "was determined to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the Company's distresses." With this end in view, he repaired to Benares, had the rajah arrested, and confined to his own residence; the result of which was an insurrection, in which the prisoner was rescued, and Mr. Hastings brought into imminent danger of his life. But troops being hastened up from various quarters, the disturbances were quelled almost as suddenly as they had arisen. Mr. Hastings did not obtain the money he had expected at Benares, and had to wend his way to Lucknow, in hope of faring better in regard to a debt due the Calcutta government by the rich nabob vizier. It was hoped that ruler might find it convenient to pay up; in place of which, he eagerly pressed a claim to have the English force maintained at his expense reduced. A transaction not the most honourable took place, by which the burden of the support of the troops was to be removed from him, if the nabob vizier would take from two princesses or begums—one the late nabob's mother, the other his own(!)—their treasures and jaghires, and, with the money thus obtained, pay part or the whole of the Company's debt. Hastings went into the arrangement all the more readily, that the begums had been active in aiding the Benares insurrection against his government and life. It needed violence and torture of some of the attendants before the treasures were given up;—no new thing in an Asiatic court, but a new thing for a European resident, however extreme the pecuniary necessity of the government he served, to connive at, if not to sanction.

It is pleasing to turn from these transactions to state that Mr. Hastings was the first Governor-general who much encouraged literature in India. He saw the necessity there was for the English to make themselves perfect in the native languages. He founded the Mohammedan College of Calcutta; while the Asiatic Society, though not of his creation, took origin under his government; and though he sometimes had done strong deeds, he was regarded with affection by the natives over whom he ruled. He left Bengal for England on the 8th February 1785; but found he had not, like his predecessors, gone home to obtain repose.

During his administration, as, indeed, in all those that

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had preceded it, there had been various doubtful transactions, and exaggerated accounts of the misbehaviour of the English in the East had excited deep feeling at home. An impeachment of Hastings, for high crimes and misdemeanours committed in India, was therefore begun in the early part of 1788; and the trial continued for the long period of eight years. The destruction of the Rohillas, the death of Nuncomar, the treatment of the rajah of Benares and the begums of Oude, were some of the leading charges. The chief prosecutor was the celebrated orator, Burke; who at first carried public feeling with him, but proved so little, and manifested such virulence, as at last to turn the tide strongly in favour of the accused. Hastings was acquitted, and rewarded for the services he had rendered the Company and his country in the East; and when, some years later, he was summoned to give evidence regarding India before the House of Commons, the members, now well aware of his greatness, and feeling how harsh was the treatment he had received from the English government, paid him the remarkable compliment of all rising from their seats in his honour as he retired.

While Warren Hastings ruled, important changes took place in the constitution of the Indian government, both in London and in the East. In London, those who held shares in the East India Company had been formed into what was called a Court of Proprietors. Their power was now reduced. The Court of Directors of the East India Company were at the same time put under what was called a Board of Control, which was nothing more than a department of the King's government. In India, the Governor-general was made more independent of his council, to prevent a repetition of the unseemly disputes that had been such a scandal when Hastings and Francis were opposed to each other in daily debate.

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CHAPTER VIII.

LORD CORNWALLIS'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

War with Tippoo. | The permanent settlement in Bengal.

ON the departure of Warren Hastings from India, the senior in council, Mr. M'Pherson, succeeded temporarily to the office of Governor-general, and A.D. was so successful in retrieving the finances, that **1785** he was made a baronet, and became Sir John M'Pherson. He had not, however, held the government long, when Lord Cornwallis came out to take the supreme power. Cornwallis, three years subsequently, obtained from the nizam the cession of Guntoor. The nizam was anxious to make friends with the English, from an apprehension of the dangers that threatened him, on the one hand from the Mahrattas, and on the other from Tippoo. The restless Sultan of Mysore was not then directly threatening the nizam, but he was meditating mischief in another quarter. The King of Travancore had been formally noted as one of the Company's allies, war with whom was war with the Company. Yet Tippoo seemed anxious to go at least to the brink of hostilities with him, whatever the result might be. Some years previously the Travancore government had constructed a deep ditch and a rampart with a series of bastions for thirty miles along their northern frontier;—a kind of defence more likely to make weakness visible, and invite aggression, than to hold off a powerful invader. A far better defence was that an English force was placed behind the wall, and Tippoo warned against attacking the lines. The headstrong man could not, however, be restrained by words: he passed round one end of the wall, and was beaten back with loss. Then, in true Oriental fashion, he pretended that all had happened by mistake, and contrary to his will, though it was proved that he had led the assault in person. War was in conse-

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quence declared against him, and a treaty made with the nizam and the Mahrattas, who engaged to lend their aid against the common foe. Without waiting for this declaration of war, Tippoo, though still professing a desire for peace, again attacked, and this time carried the wall; after which he seized on the whole north of the Travancore country. The English preparations for hostilities, however, speedily recalled him to the defence of his own dominions. It had been intended, if possible, to prevent his return from the elevated table-land of Mysore; but Tippoo was too quick for his enemies, and descending by the Gujelhutty pass, before the force designed to guard it was quite ready, proceeded, in Hyder Ali fashion, to ravage the Carnatic. But, though he gained some trifling successes, it would not do. He could not obtain French aid, as formerly; besides which, the English were much stronger than they had been, and he, though able and active, had by no means the talents of his father. The armies of the Company accordingly took from him the province of Malabar, and had successes in other quarters. But Cornwallis, thinking they had not made all the progress they might in the first campaign, resolved to give increased weight to their proceedings by himself taking the command in the second. Mounting to the table-land of Mysore by the Mooglee pass, he carried the pettah and then the fort of Bangalore, the enemy losing two thousand men in the defence of the first, and one thousand more when the second fell by storm. The invaders still advancing, a battle took place between Tippoo and Cornwallis at Arikera, nine miles from Seringapatam, which resulted in the defeat of the sultan, and his having to take refuge under the guns of his capital. Hitherto all had been effected by the force that had penetrated Mysore from the south, the nizam's cavalry who had come up not being worth their salt, while the Bombay army had not joined, and the Mahrattas were long behind their time. The last named members of the confederacy were to have brought up supplies, but were so long in coming, that, when they did appear, both the Madras and Bombay armies were falling back to obtain food and carriage. The Mahrattas were under two chiefs,

A.D. 1791

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one called Hurry Punt, and the other Parasuram Bhao. The former commander had with him twelve thousand, the latter twenty thousand men. Food and bullocks for carriage were obtainable from these new comers, as well as from enterprising Brinjarries, but at an exorbitant price. As, however, the season was now unfavourable for carrying on active operations, the siege of Seringapatam was postponed for a time, and a series of minor operations successfully carried on. On the 1st of February 1792, a new advance on Seringapatam took place, A.D. and, by the 5th, the armies had reached their **1792** camping ground, six miles from that capital. The strong fort and city lay before them on an island formed by two streams of the Cauvery, which, severing about a mile and a half above the city, re-united four miles below it. Tippoo was on the island with from forty to fifty thousand infantry, five thousand cavalry, and upwards of four hundred either field pieces or guns of position. To capture such a place on scientific principles an investment was required; that is, armies had if possible to be posted all around it, to stop communication between it and the outer world. Means were taken to carry this plan into execution when the English armies and those of the allies should arrive. Before the Bombay army came up to take its place in the investment, Cornwallis planned and carried out a night attack on the sultan's army, the audacity of which amused the Mahrattas, but did not induce them to render efficient assistance. It was, notwithstanding, successful. Not merely had the sultan to mourn over about four thousand killed in the contest, but his troops, losing confidence in themselves and in him, deserted in large numbers. The siege of Seringapatam was now commenced, and was going on favourably, when the sultan sued for peace. After the negotiations had been interrupted, and hostilities re-begun, peace was at length concluded. Tippoo lost half of his dominions, which the English, with much generosity, divided equally among the three allies; and the Rajah of Coorg, who had taken part against Tippoo, was, sorely against the will of that ruler, made independent. Two of Tippoo's sons—one ten years old, the other eight—were demanded as

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hostages for the fulfilment of the treaty. When they came out to surrender themselves for the purpose, the fort was manned with crowds of spectators; and the sultan himself, standing on the rampart above the gateway, saluted them as they went. Of course they were received with the greatest honour in the English camp, and treated with the utmost kindness, so long as they remained under Christian protection. Nor did it make the least difference that their father had once and again shamefully violated his royal word, pledged to English prisoners of war, and imprisoned them or put them to death, after they had been led to believe they would receive honourable treatment at his hands.

An event of a peaceful kind, and destined to effect results for good or for evil for a far longer time, and on a vastly more extended scale than the first siege of Seringapatam, was what is called the permanent settlement in Bengal. Sir Philip Francis seems first to have originated the germ of the idea, which ultimately found considerable favour in the Court of Directors; and Lord Cornwallis, when he came out, was instructed to do what he could to carry the scheme definitely out. There was not knowledge enough among the English rulers at that time to permit of their acting with perfect fairness to all parties. They were not at one in their answers to the primary inquiry, To whom did the land belong? To the supreme government? to the zemindars? to the ryots?—or to whom? Francis, Cornwallis, and others, assumed that the zemindars—most of them no more than hereditary tax-gatherers—were the real proprietors of the soil. Most of the land in England is in the hands of large proprietors; and Cornwallis supposed it must needs be so in India too. He therefore, without more ado, declared the zemindars proprietors, and promised that the British would at no future time tax their land at a higher sum than that fixed with them then. He, the Court of Directors, and others, fancied that the zemindars would become a body of men like the English nobility and other landed aristocracy, and would largely improve their estates. The immediate result of the permanent settlement was very different from what the expectation had been. The estates

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were not improved; the zemindars were not converted into a permanent aristocracy; but being often left for long periods unpaid by their ryots, they failed to meet the claims of government, and were in hosts sold out of the places where it was designed they ever should be. The permanent settlement has at length, however, produced a class of wealthy though not very reforming landed proprietors. For a time the Cornwallis scheme was extremely popular; afterwards it was looked on as an ill considered, not to say a mischievous measure, and other modes of settlement were tried in other parts of India. Public opinion, however, seems again coming round in its favour, both in India and in England. With the revenue reform, others of a judicial nature were carried out by Lord Cornwallis; and then his first administration, of which one part had been spent amid the excitement of a warlike campaign, came to a close both amid external and internal peace.

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CHAPTER IX.

SIR JOHN SHORE (AFTERWARDS LORD TEIGNMOUTH).

Sir John Shore Governor-general.
His temperament and character.
Renewal of East India Company's charter from 1793 to 1813.
The nizam rashly provokes the Mahrattas.
More trouble about Oude.

THE next Governor-general was Sir John Shore. The earlier part of his career had been spent in the Company's service in India; in which, though comparatively friendless, he had risen to a high position. He had specially distinguished himself as a revenue officer; in which capacity he had aided Lord Cornwallis in framing the perpetual settlement for Bengal. Returning home, with the intention of remaining in Europe, he was after a time made a baronet, and persuaded to accept the governor-generalship of India. The nervous system of Sir John Shore was delicate, and he never had the animal pleasure of feeling in perfect health. But by one of the compensations that exist under the economy of Providence, it was ordered that, if subject to continued petty derangements, he should be exempt from the more violent diseases; and he lived, as delicate people often do, beyond eighty,—the age characterized by an inspired writer, not as that of weakness, but of "more strength." Minds tenanting such bodily frames generally seek the eddy-corners of life, rather than boldly push out into the stream. In their retirements, some distinguish themselves for profound thinking, some for the quiet exercise of every virtue. It was to the last mentioned class that Sir John Shore belonged. His talents were solid rather than brilliant, while his conscience was sensitive and his integrity great. He reached Calcutta, as Governor-general, in March 1793, the East India Company's charter being renewed about that time, without material change, for twenty years more. No very important events marked the course of his administration.

It will be remembered that there had been a tripartite

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treaty between the English, the Mahrattas, and the nizam, against Tippoo, by which it was provided, that if any one of the three allies were attacked by that restless potentate, the other two should join in defence of the power assailed. Such alliances are not well adapted for the East. The nizam, the weakest of the three allies, provoked the Mahrattas, and then interpreted the treaty to mean that the English should join him in fighting those he had stirred up. At the same time the Mahrattas, faithless to their engagements, opened communications with Tippoo. In circumstances so different from those contemplated by the original treaty, Sir John Shore disallowed the nizam's interpretation, and left him to the consequences of his own acts. He fell into the hands of the Mahrattas, and was not released till he had paid heavily in money and territory for his rash enterprise. Enraged beyond measure that the British contingent in his pay had not been allowed to aid him, he forthwith dismissed it, and supplied its place by a considerable force under French officers, of whom Raymond was chief.

A.D. 1794

A.D. 1795

An effort was now required for much mis-governed Oude, and Sir John Shore resolved to visit Lucknow, and attempt to bring about some reform. The mental and moral calibre of the Lucknow monarch may be inferred from his telling the Governor-general, that after having spent lakhs of rupees in amusement, he had found no pleasure half so satisfactory as that of seeing old women racing in sacks. A few months later, this incubus on the prosperity of Oude died, and Vizier Ali, said to be his son, ascended the throne. Given over to vice of all kinds, he had yet a desperate courage, which made him a very dangerous character to deal with. His hostility to the British was, besides, great, and scarcely disguised. Information most opportunely reached Sir John Shore that he was not, as had been reported, the son of the deceased monarch. A second journey was therefore undertaken to Lucknow, to make investigation. It was shown beyond all doubt that Vizier Ali had not a drop of royal blood in his veins, but that he was the son of a servant, and had been simply purchased by the late king, and brought up as his son. He was consequently removed from the

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palace, and sent to live at Benares on a handsome pension. Saadut Ali, the brother of the deceased king, was then placed on the Lucknow throne; and, in gratitude for his elevation, he ceded Allahabad, and made other concessions to the Company.

The subsequent history of Vizier Ali was in keeping with what was known of his character. The conduct of himself and his retinue was such, that it was resolved to remove him and them from Benares to Calcutta. Before, however, this could be done, he and his ruffian attendants rose and murdered the resident, Mr. Cherry, and all the Europeans on whom they could lay their hands. At last the whole band met their match in a Mr. Davis, who posted himself, in defence of himself, his wife, and family, in a narrow stair, and killed with a hog spear every intending murderer who attempted to approach. This check to the assassins gave time for troops to be collected, when they fled, gathered forces, and advanced towards Goruckpore, but were ultimately routed by the forces of the Company. An asylum was next sought with a native rajah, who gave them up, but on condition that Vizier Ali should not die. Of course the British rigidly observed their promise, though feeling the murderer had deserved capital punishment for his crimes. He was confined for life in Fort William, Calcutta.

Sir John Shore, now created Lord Teignmouth, left India on the 7th of March 1798, and almost entirely abandoned worldly pursuits. He became President of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and specially wished to see the Bible circulated among the natives of the East over whom he had ruled. He knew there was much misery in India, though its skies are bright and its soil fertile above that of almost any land. He traced the misery to moral causes. He felt that a reform of religion would benefit the Hindus in the most marked degree. As the basis of such a reform, he wished to circulate the Bible, assured that it was capable of blessing India, as it had already blessed so many lands.

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CHAPTER X.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD MORNINGTON (AFTERWARDS THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY).

Dissolution of the French force at Hyderabad.
The last fight with Tippoo.
Proceedings in Persia, Oude, Surat, the Carnatic, and Tanjore.

THE next Governor-general was Lord Mornington. His temperament was as different as possible from that of his predecessor. The natural tendency of Lord Teignmouth was to navigate his bark to some quiet creek in the river, and there placidly remain. Lord Mornington, on the contrary, steered his to where the current roared fiercest, and abhorred nothing more than retirement and repose. Though the members of a government change, yet the life of that government is continuous; and the two administrations which have now been contrasted may be looked upon as parts of a whole. The first was like the king of beasts crouching; the second like the same noble animal when the crouch has been succeeded by a terrific spring. A spring, indeed, there was likely to be, when Lord Mornington was made civil ruler; and his brother, Colonel Wellesley, afterwards the world-renowned Duke of Wellington, held a prominent military command. Nor was it only the presence of the men that omened something vigorous; the character of the time gave similar indications; and with Europe rent by political tempests, and troubled by wars and rumours of wars through its whole extent, it would have been strange if the East had escaped getting at least the tail of the Western storm. France, then under the control of the mighty Napoleon, was the great disturber of the peace of the world; and wherever Lord Mornington saw a Frenchman, there he was prepared to discern a foe. With these proclivities, the new Governor-general sailed for India, and had not got beyond the Cape of Good Hope before he obtained traces of the nation he disliked. On landing in South Africa, he met the resi-

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dent from Hyderabad, Major Kirkpatrick, who expressed the alarm he felt in regard to the growing authority of the French at Hyderabad, since the revolution by which the nizam had dismissed the British subsidiary force at his capital, and placed an army disciplined and led by French officers in its room. The major was anxious to convert the Governor-general to his views; and, truth to tell, never had teacher an apter pupil than that resident had away under the southern sky. Lord Mornington reached Calcutta on the 17th of May 1798; and immediately opened a negotiation with the nizam, which ended in a treaty stipulating that his French force should be dismissed, and a British one substituted in its room,—the Governor-general, in return, engaging to protect the Hyderabad ruler from any unjust demands on the part of the Mahrattas. To disarm and dismiss Raymond's force, 11,000 in number, was the next step, and it was manifestly a very delicate one. When the critical moment approached, the nizam wavered and drew back. His prime minister, though favourable to the English, did the same. Notwithstanding this, the English boldly marched on the French camp, and surrounded it. Happily for them, a mutiny had taken place the day before, and the sepoys had imprisoned their French officers. The captives, therefore, looked on the English rather as deliverers than as assailants; and having given themselves up without a struggle, were generously sent home to France. The sepoys receiving liberal treatment, also surrendered, without firing a shot. Some were disbanded, others enlisted to serve the Company: and the revolution at Hyderabad was complete, without a single life having been lost on either side.

The Hyderabad affair had not been settled a day too soon; for long before the policy shadowed forth at the Cape had been carried out, war with Tippoo loomed unmistakably in the not remote future. Tippoo, smarting under his defeats a few years previously, sighing for the dominions then taken from him, and anxious to be up and doing for Mohammedanism, now so depressed, had been intriguing here, there, everywhere, to get up hostility to his English conquerors. A kindred spirit, Zemaun Shah, the king of the Affghans, who also meditated Indian conquests for "the

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faith," was one of his earliest fellow-conspirators. It has already been mentioned that he was in communication with the Mahrattas, the hereditary foes of his race and religion. He, besides, applied for assistance to remote France; and if any man thought this crowning offence pardonable, certainly Lord Mornington was not that man. A privateer from the island of Mauritius, then a French possession, had to run into Mangalore dismasted, to be repaired. It is a failing of many Frenchmen to boast vain-gloriously; and not among Frenchmen only, but all the world over, one who boasts is very apt to fall into the sin of lying. The captain of the privateer thought it would raise his importance to pretend that he was second in command at the Mauritius. He further represented that he had been sent as envoy to obtain an arrangement with the Mysore sultan for the despatch of a French army from the Mauritius to aid him in expelling the British from India. Tippoo had almost found out that his new friend was an impostor; but the dazzling vision of French aid in carrying out the enterprise of his life was too fascinating to be summarily dismissed, and a couple of ambassadors were secretly despatched back to the Mauritius with the "envoy," to make arrangements about bringing up the troops. Need it be said that "the troops" did not exist? and wisdom would now have dictated the smuggling back of Tippoo's ambassadors as quietly as possible, and letting the whole matter drop. But, unhappily for the Mysore ruler, General Malartic, the governor of the Mauritius, was a man that "magnified his office." His zeal was, besides, as great as his prudence was small. He forthwith issued a magnificent proclamation about the coming of Tippoo's ambassadors, and gave an invitation, to which fewer than two hundred, if even so many, low adventurers responded, to enlist for Tippoo's service; winding up by saying of that ruler, "He waits only the moment when the French shall come to his assistance to declare war against the English, whom he ardently desires to expel from India." Among other places where this notable document was reprinted, was, of course, Calcutta. The poor man who issued it had forgotten that forewarned is forearmed; that pre-

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parations for war are a game at which two can play; and that Lord Mornington, who had his resources at hand, was likely to play soon, and, considering his known character, might be expected to play well. Even yet means were adopted, if possible, to settle matters peacefully with Tippoo, by sending him a resident; but he showed considerable disinclination to have anything to do with one, and made further applications to France, all the while hurrying on his military preparations, till it was seen there was no alternative but war. The Company's forces, accordingly, invaded the Mysore territory, about 20,000 men, upwards of 4000 of them Europeans, being from the Madras presidency; 6420 from that of Bombay, the Europeans amounting to more than 1600; with 12,000 troops of one kind or another from the nizam's country. General Harris led the main army, that of Madras; General Stuart that of Bombay. General Harris entered the Mysore territory on the 5th of March, 1799. Tippoo having tried, without much success, to impede the march of the Bombay troops, attacked the main army of General Harris on the 27th of March, near Malvilly, but was defeated, with the loss of more than a thousand men. He attempted to oppose the invading army again, but it slipped past him, and was soon in the vicinity of Seringapatam. Before beginning the resistance there, the sultan and his friends, bathed in tears, took leave of each other, as if they would never meet again in this world. On the 5th of April, just a month after the day on which the English army crossed the frontier of Mysore, it took post before Seringapatam. On the 15th of April the Bombay force arrived, and was put in line with that of General Harris, for the purposes of the siege. The confederates here made the alarming discovery, that, from some loss or fraud, they would in a few days be short of food, and a large part of the nizam's forces was despatched to look out for provisions. As the outworks of Seringapatam were gradually being carried, Tippoo wished to treat; but thought the conditions hard, and did not accept them. By the 3d of May all the outer defences were taken, and a breach, believed to be practicable, made in the wall of the fort. Tippoo might have cut off the damaged angle of the fort

A.D. **1799**

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from the rest; but, misled by foolish counsellors, he neglected this obvious measure of safety. Next day at noon, when the sultan's troops would be reposing, was thought a fit time to make the great assault; and that no warning of the coming struggle might be given, the men were massed in the trenches before daylight. The sultan had one able and faithful friend, Syud Goffhar by name, who, grieved at seeing him surrounded by boys and flatterers, went about seeking death, but could not find it. This man perceived, on the morning of the fatal 4th, from the number of men in the trenches, that the assault would take place that day, and sent word to Tippoo, which was unheeded. He waited till he saw that an hour would not elapse before the assault would commence, and then resolved to rush for the sultan, "drag him to the breach," and "compel him to exert himself at this last moment." But he was killed by a cannon-shot, before he could do the part of a faithful friend. The sultan was about to begin his midday meal, when the news was brought him of Syud Goffhar's death; and before that meal was over, the storm had begun. It was arranged that when the assailants should mount the rampart, half should wheel to the right and half to the left, and that they should meet over the eastern gateway. In less than seven minutes from the period of issuing from the trenches, the British colours were planted on the summit of the breach. The rampart being mounted, those who turned to the right met with little resistance, while those who turned to the left had a terrible contest to maintain. The sultan was in that quarter, not acting like a general, but firing, like a common soldier, with his own hands. First he was on foot; then, feeling one of his legs, in which he had been severely injured when young, pained and weak, he called for a horse, and mounted. By-and-by he was wounded in the right side by a musket-ball, but still pressed on. He was soon wounded again, and his horse, also wounded, sunk under him, so heavy was the fire at the spot where he fought. He was laid in his palanquin, to be removed from where he fell; but the place was soon so choked up with the dead and dying, that he could not be withdrawn. One of his servants who survived said, that a few minutes afterwards some

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English soldiers entered the gateway where he lay, one of whom, coveting the sword-belt of the fallen king, tried to wrest it from his body. On this, Tippoo, who still grasped his sabre, raised it, and struck at him with all his remaining strength. The man, wounded in the knee, retaliated by firing his musket, and the ball, entering the temple of the sultan, instantly terminated his life. The two assailing columns at length met, according to appointment, over the gateway; and all of Seringapatam but the palace was now within their hands. The British did not yet know that Tippoo was dead; and an officer, Major Allan, was despatched with a flag of truce, to offer the inmates of the palace safety, if they at once surrendered. He learned that the sultan's family were in the palace, but not the sultan himself. The sons of Tippoo were conducted to General Baird outside. He had been cruelly treated when a prisoner under Hyder Ali; his temper was naturally none of the best, so much so, that his honest Scotch mother, on hearing that her son and others were captured, and that the prisoners were chained two and two, is alleged to have made an involuntary exclamation of pity "for the man that is chained to *oor Davie;*" but, true to the honourable and humane character of a British officer, he received the princes with the utmost gentleness and respect. Then a successful search was made for the body of Tippoo. "It was warm when first discovered, the eyes were open; and Major Allan and Colonel Wellesley were for a few moments doubtful whether it was not alive. It had four wounds, three in the trunk, and one in the temple; the last made by the soldier's ball which terminated Tippoo's troubled career." It is impossible to contemplate so tragic a scene without feeling deep pity for the sufferer. But, while compassion is indulged, let us not forget the miseries the fallen tyrant had inflicted on others. Tippoo means tiger, and a tiger he had indeed been to many. A whole batch of these animals were found in his palace, and, being neglected, got hungry and fierce, so that they had to be destroyed. It was characteristic of the sultan that he had a machine representing a tiger devouring an Englishman, and imitating the moans of the dying victim. It fell into the

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hands of the English, and is said to be still in existence, but rather in disorder, so that it does not moan in the way it did in the sultan's palmy days. The British loss in the siege of Seringapatam fell short of fifteen hundred killed, wounded, and amissing: the vanquished lost eight thousand in the assault alone. Nine hundred and twenty-nine pieces of ordnance, and a hundred thousand muskets, fell into the hands of the conquerors, as well as correspondence which showed Tippoo's plots against the English to have been of the most extensive kind. Colonel Wellesley was made Governor of Seringapatam; and in three days the chief street was more like a fair than part of a city just taken by storm. Mysore was divided into several portions: the British retained the maritime provinces, which were necessary to connect their Madras and Bombay possessions: inland districts of equal value were assigned to the nizam. The peshwa, who had broken the treaty by giving no assistance in reducing Tippoo, was generously offered a lesser share, on certain conditions, which he rejected; and, with cool effrontery, unconditionally demanded an equal portion with the English and nizam, the reward of work which he had unfaithfully failed to perform. Of course, Lord Mornington would not hear of this, but at once divided the rejected territory between the two allies who had really done the work. The remainder of the Mysore dominions was given to the living representative of the Hindu royal family, which Tippoo's father had deprived of the sovereignty; the new potentate at his accession promising to be regulated by British advice in conducting the government. The sons of Tippoo were removed, on a liberal pension, to Vellore, where we shall hear of them again before long.

The great Mysore difficulty over, the Governor-general had now time to look around him, and see what other parts of the empire required his vigorous hand. In lieu of the districts of the old Mysore kingdom given to the nizam, that ruler accepted an increased subsidiary force, responsible for his defence against all foes. Zemaun Shah, king of the Affghans, menacing invasion, Captain Malcolm was sent to Persia to engage the Persians in his rear to attack him, if he carried out his threat. The obligation of defending

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Oude against the contemplated invasion resting with the British, and they requiring an increased force there for the purpose, at last, in a high-handed way, forced it on the Vizier Saadut Ali, ultimately obtaining for its support the Doab and Rohilcund, with Azimghur and Goruckpore. The affairs of Surat next claimed attention. It was then the largest city in India, with vast commerce;—called one of the "gates of Mecca," too, for it was there that Mussulman pilgrims for Arabia were accustomed to embark. The English had long been intrusted with the military defence of this important city; and now, on the death of the nabob, they obtained the civil authority too. About the same time a rajah of Tanjore, educated by a missionary, had such an esteem for the English, that he resigned to them his dominions, and retired on a pension. On the other hand, the nabob of the Carnatic was found to have been corresponding, contrary to treaty, with Tippoo; and his country being misgoverned to a fearful extent, it was determined, despite claims enough on the part of would-be successors, resolutely to transfer it to the Company. In a well ordered house there are periodic times when a thorough cleansing takes place, and the brush is pushed fearlessly behind book-cases and boxes, and into the inferior compartment of cupboards. Dust more than ordinary arises, compelled to breathe which, one half wishes the process had not been begun, but feels grateful, on experiencing the increased sweetness of the air, when the sweeping is done. In a similar way Lord Mornington had used the brush about the neglected corners of India, and when the dust that he raised settled, all felt the political atmosphere purer and more healthful to breathe than before he had begun. Having completed enough of events for one chapter of Indian history, and being thwarted and overruled by the Court of Directors in some comparatively petty matters, the Governor-general, some time before created the Marquis Wellesley, intimated a wish to be relieved of his office, at the end of 1802, but was strongly requested to retain it for at least another year. He consented, and undertook to remain at his post during 1803, neither he nor his employers having the faintest suspicion what kind of a year that one was to be.

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CHAPTER XI.

THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY'S ADMINISTRATION CONTINUED —THE FIRST GREAT MAHRATTA WAR.

Subsidiary alliances.
The treaty of Bassein.
Hostile position taken up by Scindia and the Nagpore rajah.
The war begins.
Capture of Coel, Alighur, Delhi, and Agra.
Battle of Lasswarree.
Battles of Assaye and Argaum.
Peace with the Nagpore rajah, and with Scindia.
War with Holkar.
Retreat of Monson.
Holkar beaten off from Delhi.
His infantry defeated at Deeg.
His cavalry routed at Furruckabad.
Unsuccessful siege of Bhurtpore
The Marquis Wellesley returns home.

THE Marquis Wellesley knew that, from time immemorial, India had been like the troubled sea, when it cannot rest. Wars and commotions had for ages inflicted untold misery on its inhabitants. Might not some plan, he reflected, be devised for inaugurating in the distracted land a reign of perpetual peace? He thought it might; he, moreover, believed that he knew the secret how it might be done, and, as a humane man, would make known his plan, and devote all his energy to carry it out. Suppose that each independent prince could be induced to engage a British force to protect him against foreign powers, or against his own subjects if they rebelled, the Governor-general could forbid the use of that force for foreign war, if it were demanded for a purpose which he disapproved. Thus, he thought, at his bidding *international* war would almost cease. If next a rebellion took place, the British would crush that rebellion, and thus again *civil* war would cease, and the reign of order re-begin. There was a very weak point in this second part of the plan. Suppose a king by fearful misgovernment drove his subjects into righteous rebellion, were the British troops to be employed in supporting that tyrant, and overthrowing the cause that was just? What was this but supporting the false principle, once extensively believed, but now, happily, almost exploded, at least in Europe—"the *right* divine of kings to govern *wrong*." Yet some early treaties bound the

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East India Company to this wickedness; though, in process of time, as the subject of government became better understood, stipulations crept into the treaties that the sovereign protected against assault—from within as well as from without his dominions—should take the advice of the resident at his court on important matters relating to the internal no less than the external affairs of his kingdom. A system not very unlike this once existed in Europe. It was called the feudal system; and the great central power, controlling all others, in the way Lord Wellesley wished England to do in the East, was called "the paramount power."

The first offer of a subsidiary force that was accepted was that to the nizam. The gaekwar took one, and was thankful. The gaekwar, or cow-herd,—so called because his ancestors followed that occupation,—was a Mahratta. His acceptance consequently excited hopes that other members of the Mahratta confederacy might follow the example set. But why not fly at once at the very highest, and try the peshwa, the head of the Mahratta power? Yes, why not? A subsidiary force was therefore at once offered to the peshwa, but refused. And why not also try Scindia, who, with his vast armies, in large measure disciplined and officered by Frenchmen, was the most powerful native potentate in India, and almost ruled the Mahratta country in the peshwa's name? Again, why not? A force was therefore offered to Scindia, who, however, "showed no disposition to improve his relations" with the paramount power. The matter consequently dropped for a time. Though Scindia's capital was away in the north of India, yet he was at Poonah, and ruling there with a high hand. In one case he was chargeable with a special enormity. Two brothers of the Holkar family were quarrelling about the sovereignty of a territory in Malwa. Scindia, heavily bribed it is said, decided in favour of the one competitor—Kashee Rao—and slew the other. Jeshwunt Rao Holkar, an illegitimate brother of Kashee Rao, espoused the cause of the brother slain, and encountered the forces of Scindia, but was totally defeated, and seemed extinguished. Not so. He had given such proof of his ability, that there was hope

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of plunder for those that joined his standard; and not long after he had been left with a few personal followers, he had again a force of 35,000 men. With these he overthrew the combined armies of Scindia and the peshwa near Poonah, and entered that capital in triumph. The peshwa now thought of Lord Wellesley's slighted offer, and professed his willingness to accept a subsidiary force. A treaty granting him one, and obtaining from him certain territories in payment for it, was concluded at Bassein, on the last day of 1802. Holkar and Scindia were then informed of what had been done; Holkar was urged peaceably to allow the return of his sovereign to his old capital; and, finally, the peshwa was actually replaced upon the throne. Up to this time all had gone on smoothly, and the Governor-general wrote home, saying how well everything had ended; adding, that Scindia and Holkar being at open war, and the Rajah of Berar, the only other powerful member of the Mahratta confederacy, being an indolent and pacific prince, there was no likelihood of their uniting to make war, even though they thought the peshwa should not have entered into an important treaty without consulting them. But unlikely events often happen, and presently it was manifest that Scindia, Holkar, and the Rajah of Berar, were communicating with each other, and were profoundly suspicious of the treaty of Bassein. They seemed to think with the poet,*— A.D. 1803

> "That when a great and powerful state decrees
> Upon a small one in its love to seize,
> It vows in kindness to protect, defend,
> And be the fond ally, the faithful friend.
> It therefore wills that humbler state to place
> Its hopes of safety in a fond embrace.
> Then must that humbler state its wisdom prove,
> By kind rejection of such pressing love;
> Must dread such dangerous friendship to commence,
> And stand collected in its own defence."

The poet's words are the strongest way of presenting the case from the Mahratta point of view. The Governor-general's side in the controversy should also have the advantage of a clear statement. Sometimes when a benevolent

* Crabbe.

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stranger is passing along the road, distressful screams are heard to proceed from some ill-governed house. He steps in to restore peace, trusting that his interference will be well received; when, to his surprise, the members of the family, with the connivance of the one that screamed, suddenly make up their quarrel, and fly at him like wild beasts. So did Lord Wellesley humanely step in to restore peace in the disorderly Mahratta house, trusting his motive would not be misunderstood; when, to his surprise, he saw that his

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intrusion would be resented—that the family quarrel would be patched up for a time, and he would soon have the whole household upon him. It was now too late to retreat, and nothing was left for him but to fight vigorously in self-defence; which, accordingly, he did with his usual vigour and success.

After some futile attempts to cast oil on the troubled waters, the Governor-general learned that, when Scindia and

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the Nagpore rajah had held a conference, they would say "whether it was to be peace or war."* The conference took place, and still no definite answer could be elicited. Meanwhile the confederate chiefs had taken up a position better adapted for aggression than for conference, quite close to the boundary-line of the English ally, the nizam. They were solicited, and finally ordered, to quit the threatening position; and failing obedience, war was declared. Holkar, though plotting, had as yet kept out of the storm. The Governor-general's programme for the war was a boldly-comprehensive one, but he realized it in every part. In the north, it was enjoined on Lord Lake "to conquer the whole of that portion of Scindia's dominions which lay between the Ganges and the Jumna, destroying completely the French force by which that district was protected, extending the Company's frontier to the Jumna, and including the cities of Delhi and Agra, with a chain of forts, sufficient for the navigation of the river, on the right bank of the Jumna." Bundelcund was also to be taken. Possession was, if possible, to be obtained of the person of the Great Mogul. Finally, the system of subsidiary alliances was to be extended among the petty states south and west of the Jumna. It was given over to Colonel Wellesley to defeat Scindia and the Nagpore rajah. Meanwhile Broach was to be taken from Scindia by the Bombay troops, and Cuttack from the Nagpore king by a force from another side of India. To carry out his part of the scheme, General Lake took the field with an army of 10,500 men, while 3500 more invaded Bundelcund. Scindia's forces were led by a French adventurer, General Perron by name, and were supposed to amount to 16,000 or 17,000 infantry, with about as many cavalry, and numerous guns. Lake entered Scindia's territory on the 29th August. Various successes followed; and then Perron, finding that the Mahrattas, and even his French companions, most foolishly and ungratefully distrusted him, resigned Scindia's service, and departed to Lucknow. Another Frenchman, called Bourquin, took the post

A.D. **1803**

* Though generally called the Berar, we prefer terming him the Nagpore rajah, as Berar was a part of his dominions which subsequently passed out of his hands.

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vacated by Perron, and fought a great battle to protect Delhi. It was in vain. French and Mahratta valour went down before the impetuous onset of the Company's forces, and sixty-eight guns, the whole Mahratta artillery brought into the field, fell into the victors' hands. Shah Allum, the Great Mogul, then sent a message, expressing a wish to place himself in the hands of the conquerors. He was upwards of eighty years old; besides which, a Mohammedan noble of ruffianly character had put out his eyes; and the unhappy descendant of kings was found, amid poverty and neglect, "seated under a small tattered canopy, the remnant of his royal state." He was graciously received, and provision was made for giving him all honour and comfort during the remainder of his earthly pilgrimage. The Emperor conferred on General Lake, his deliverer, the second title in the empire—"The sword of the state, the hero of the land, the lord of the age, and the victorious in war." The ravines near Agra, and the town itself, were captured on the 4th October; and the defeated battalions, consisting of 2500 men, without more ado, transferred themselves to the Company's service, and entered Lord Lake's camp. The fort soon after capitulated. A very large Mahratta army was next followed and overtaken near the village of Lasswarree by the English cavalry and horse artillery, the infantry being as yet far behind. Lake, who had got audacious even to rashness by his frequent successes, and was afraid the enemy might escape to the hills, resolved, contrary to all rule, to "try the effect of an attack upon them with the cavalry alone." The "effect" was very considerable, but scarcely enough to have saved him from defeat, had the infantry not come up. After its arrival, a very severe action ensued. The English were completely victorious, and captured seventy-two guns, being all the Mahrattas had brought with them into the field.

The army of the Deccan had not been inactive, while these great events were passing in the north. On the 8th of August, General Wellesley took the pettah of Ahmednuggur, and the fort was surrendered to him on the 12th. Scindia and the Nagpore rajah, having now crossed, as had been expected, into the nizam's country, it is supposed with

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the view of marching on Hyderabad, Wellesley and Colonel Stephenson were hurrying forward to unite against them, when, before the anticipated junction could take place, Wellesley came upon the combined army of the Mahratta confederates near the village of Assaye. He feared they would escape him and retreat, and, without waiting for his colleague, though the odds against him were fearful, fell with terrible fury on the Mahratta force. It was driven with loss from the field; but so out-numbered was Wellesley's army, that he was put in danger by a number of Mahrattas, who, when the English pursued the defeated foe from the field, lay down, pretending they were killed and wounded, and then rose and opened with artillery on the rear of the victors, when they had passed by. But this annoyance was quickly stopped, and on the hard-fought and bloody field were found no fewer than ninety-eight guns. Colonel Stephenson was now sent to take Burhampore and Asseerghur, the latter called the "key of the Deccan." Burhampore surrendered, and the "key of the Deccan" was not found difficult to take. The forces of Scindia and the Nagpore rajah now separated, and the Nagpore army and Scindia's cavalry were defeated by Wellesley and Stephenson again at Argaum. The two English generals then advanced to the attack of Gawilghur, the principal fortress of the Rajah of Nagpore, situated on a small table-land, joined by a narrow neck to a range of elevated mountains. Guns had to be got on the top of the ridge, and hauled forward over ravines with vast difficulty; but at last they were safely posted by night in trenches in front of the fort. Its strong defences were then speedily breached or surmounted, and its defenders driven forth from it with heavy loss. While these events were in progress, successful operations were being carried on also in Bundelcund and Cuttack, while on the other side of India the Bombay army captured Broach. The two Mahratta chiefs began to feel that they had better be quick about negotiations, since, if things went on long as they were doing, it was clear that soon neither of them would have dominions to negotiate about. The Nagpore rajah was the first to make peace. Cuttack was taken, as pre-determined, and part of Berar, for the nizam. Scindia soon made a

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treaty too, and lost very much what the programme had indicated he should lose, with Ahmednuggur for the peshwa. If Scindia, now too weak to resist his old rival Holkar, should wish a subsidiary force, one was to be given him, without any additional charge; and presently he sought and obtained the boon.

Holkar had not openly joined in the Mahratta war, and though he had been misbehaving to a considerable extent, Lord Wellesley was desirous of leaving him in the possession of his authority, if only he would assent to the very simple condition of not molesting the British and their allies. There are certain hands that seem as if they were made to pick and steal—certain minds to which the distinction between their own and their neighbour's goods can never be made plain. Such hands were the hands of Holkar—such a mind was that which the Indore chieftain offensively paraded to view. There was something sinister about Holkar's look no less than about the character of his mind. He had but one eye: Runjeet Singh, the great king of the Punjaub, had no more; but it was remarked that each managed to see more with his single eye than most people do with their two. Remonstrated with in regard to new plots, and new aggressions on the British allies, Holkar, with a freebooting truthfulness, let it be understood, that though he did not think he could resist the British artillery, yet he was sure he could do a great deal of mischief—"countries of many coss should be overrun, and plundered, and burnt;"—and so the strain ran. The English felt the presence of such a man insufferable; the warning he gave was neglected; and the war began. The Governor-general resolved to take none of the freebooter's possessions for the British, but give whatever he captured to Scindia, if that now humbled potentate rendered real assistance in the war. Holkar fled from the Jeypoor territory, which he had been ravaging, through Kotah, pursued by Lord Lake, who took Rampoora, a fortress in that quarter belonging to the enemy. The flying Mahratta had now gone so far, that Lord Lake soon afterwards went back into cantonments, sending a small force under General Monson to prevent the rover's return. Colonel Murray was at the

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same time ordered to advance from Guzerat and co-operate with Monson. Murray unaccountably fell back behind the Mhye river; and Monson, vastly under-estimating the number of Holkar's force, advanced considerably beyond what even the sanguine Lake thought prudent. The result might have been expected. Holkar, who had raised a vast army with his usual despatch, turned upon his pursuer, and inflicted upon him some loss. A bold assault on the Mahrattas, like that of Wellesley at Assaye, might even yet have been successful; but Monson, instead of trying it, began to retreat. The country was so flooded that his artillery could not be brought on, and had gradually to be abandoned; while masses of the enemy attacked him at every convenient point. Back, therefore, he was compelled to fall, and back from Hinglaisghur, which he had taken, to the Mokundra pass,—to Kotah; back, and still back, he had to go; nor did he feel himself safe till he was protected by the defences of Agra. Murray, in his retreat, had not been useless, for he had captured Indore; and Holkar himself soon received a humbling check. Leaving his cavalry to attract the notice of the commander-in-chief, he had with great enterprise suddenly appeared before Delhi, with 20,000 infantry and more than 100 guns; but the 800 men who garrisoned the place beat off this mighty host. His infantry, with some horsemen and 160 guns, were next attacked near Deeg by the British, and after a severe contest defeated, with the loss of 87 guns. Then the cavalry left to amuse Lord Lake were overtaken by that general near Furruckabad, after a continuous march of 58 miles, and assailed so suddenly before daybreak, that only a few men, including Holkar, were on horseback. The result was a tremendous slaughter of the Mahratta force; 3000 of them fell on the spot, while Lake had but two men killed. Deeg, into which large numbers of the beaten army had thrown themselves, was next attacked and taken; and the garrison of Bhurtpore, whose king had made an alliance with the English, having fired on them in the late fight with Holkar, it was resolved to reduce that fort. Lake, ignorant of its strength, seemed to regard it as a paltry place, demanding no very laboured appliances for its capture. But he soon learned, from his own sad experience, that it was

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really of very great strength. Need it be added, that he had not long prosecuted the siege before to his other embarrassments was superadded the baleful presence of the one-eyed man, with the yet considerable remnant of his swarming hordes? The result of all was four unsuccessful efforts for the capture of the fort; at the conclusion of which the rajah, knowing well what the end of such perseverance as that of the besiegers would be, gladly sued for peace, which was granted him on certain conditions. Holkar was now again reduced to the position of a fugitive; but such had been the effect of Monson's retreat and Lake's failures before Bhurtpore, that the enemies of the Company were all looking up again. Scindia especially was acting unsatisfactorily; so much so, that it appeared as if the war with him would have to re-begin. But, meanwhile, the Court of Directors, alarmed by the continuance of the hostilities, which seemed as if they would become endless, despatched the old Marquis of Cornwallis to succeed Lord Wellesley, and with all convenient speed make some sort of peace. The great Wellesley departed, his administration having been the great epoch in Indian history, in which the Anglo-Indian government had stepped from a second-rate position into the place of the paramount power. He had, besides, shown his enlightenment, by favouring private trade with India, and founding the College of Fort William. His great services to his country, though at last appreciated, were, however, lightly regarded at the time, and two petty efforts were made to bring him to trial for his doings in Oude and the Carnatic. But Parliament looked coldly on the proposed impeachment. They had had enough of that sort of procedure in the case of Warren Hastings, and were not now disposed to have recourse to it any more.

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CHAPTER XII.

LORD CORNWALLIS'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION— SIR GEORGE BARLOW GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

Cornwallis's longing for peace.
His death.
Sir George Barlow follows in his footsteps.
The mutiny at Vellore.

WHEN the advancing tide has broken far in upon the sands, it turns, and moves back again, before the influx of a second wave. During the Wellesley epoch, the tide of conquest in the Company's name had gone so far beyond their wishes or expectations, that they felt it would be a positive relief to see something of an ebb, and a few specks of territory rescued for a little from the advancing waters. They took the proper step to obtain what they desired. Youth and middle age are proverbially bold and energetic; old age is, on the contary, timid; and, therefore, having been led into enterprises beyond their ambition by the Marquis of Wellesley, a nobleman in the strength of his manhood, they thought themselves pretty sure of a policy of a contrary character if they sent out again the old Marquis of Cornwallis, a nobleman now manifestly far on in his decline. If any further guarantee for unwarlike measures were needed, they had it in the known pacific character and sentiments of the person to whom they now committed their affairs. Nor did he belie the expectations formed of him. They wanted no wars, and he gave them none; they were clamorous for peace, and he was clamorous for it too; they were eager for dividends, and he meant, if he were spared, to address himself to the task of retrieving the finances, disordered by the protracted Mahratta war. To glance more in detail at his measures,—the policy he pursued, for which there was no absolute necessity, was what is generally called the "Peace-at-any-price policy." He was entirely opposed to Lord Wellesley's system of subsidiary alliances, and was especially anxious to withdraw from treaties with the petty Rajpoot princes, with,

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or, if not, without their consent. Scindia, perhaps rightly, thought he could by treaty claim Gohud and Gwalior; and Cornwallis only acted properly in giving the Mahratta potentate the benefit of the doubt, and surrendering him the places he claimed. But it was tame beyond endurance to allow Scindia to detain by force the British resident at his court; and one cannot but admire the spirited, though somewhat irregular, conduct of Lord Lake, who, by a vigorous message to Scindia, obtained the surrender of the resident, and then suppressed the Governor-general's pusillanimous letter on the subject. Lake next sent a respectful remonstrance to the Governor-general against his policy as a whole; but, before it could be delivered, his distinguished correspondent was beyond caring for the affairs of this world. He died at Ghazeepore, on the 5th October 1805; having arrived in India only on the 30th July, or not a quarter of a year previously.

Sir George Barlow, the senior member of the Supreme Council at Calcutta, assumed the reins of government, and was confirmed in his high position by his honourable masters at home. The new ruler shared the views of his predecessor in regard to concluding peace at any price. He abandoned the Rajpoot states, excepting only the Rajahs of Bhurtpore and Macherry, to their fate. Some may have merited to be thus given up, but others were hardly dealt with in being left to their own resources. Holkar, who was a fugitive with a few troops, in vain trying to induce the cool, calculating Runjeet Singh to give him aid, was next offered peace, on such liberal terms that he grasped at it with astonishment and joy. He well might. It gave him back all his dominions, as if he, beaten so often, was entitled to the fruits of victory. Lord Lake, who saw the results of his hard won conquests given away in such a fashion as this, could endure the spectacle no longer; and, in 1807, he resigned his place, and went away in disgust to England. The end of the war enabled the army to be much reduced; and the saving of money thus effected in two or three years converted the deficiency in the revenue into a balance on the right side.

While these peaceful matters were in progress, the public mind was startled and shocked to hear of the murder of

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European officers at Vellore, by the native sepoys they commanded, and of the immediate destruction of the mutinous force. To the causes of this bloody event we must now advert. It is the wish of officers in general to see their men smart and soldier-like. Sir John Cradock, the commander-in-chief at Madras, largely sharing this feeling, but evidently very ignorant of Indian customs and ideas, hit on what he believed an excellent plan for making the sepoys look smarter than they did. Ear-rings he regarded as more fit for women than for military men, and forbade the sepoys to wear them on parade. The sectarial marks on their foreheads he deemed ugly and disfiguring, and wished them removed. Sepoy beards and mustachios were trimmed according to various patterns; and he would reduce them to one, for uniformity's sake. Finally, a turban of a new cut was held to look decidedly better than the turban which heretofore had been worn, and he would have it introduced. The sepoys, in their ignorance of Europeans and of Christianity, fearfully misinterpreted the design of these trifling changes. The order to blot out the mark on the forehead was supposed to be a command to give up the profession of Hinduism and Mohammedanism; while, to some lively imaginations, the shape of the new turban seemed distantly to approach that of a hat; and for any one to wear a hat, they supposed to be the same as his becoming a Christian. Need it be said that, if they had known what Christianity is, they would have been aware that it is a religion of the heart, and has nothing whatever to do with head-dress, or with body-dress, or with ornaments or appendages of the face. Being a religion of the heart, it does not seek to ally itself with force. Force, as our readers, if they think on the subject, will at once perceive, can at most make men hypocrites, instead of proselytes to any faith. Not all the force of the British government in India could make one sincere convert to Christianity. Would that the sepoys had understood all this, and history would not have had to record the massacre of 1806, or the more horrible ones of 1857. But to return from this digression,—on the promulgation of the commander-in-chief's ill-considered order, considerable excitement arose,

A.D. 1806

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which an effort was made to repress rather than to soothe. The danger of outbreak, consequently, became great. It might have taken place anywhere; but the presence of Tippoo's sons and their disorderly retainers at Vellore decided that it should be the place of explosion. At that station, consequently, early on the morning of the 10th July 1806, the stillness was suddenly broken by repeated discharges of musketry. It was the sepoys who had treacherously risen on their European officers, and the soldiers, their comrades in arms. The sentinels at the main guard and at the powder magazine were surprised and slain; the European barracks were surrounded; and the soldiers, who were without ammunition, assailed by heavy volleys of musketry and the fire of a field-piece; while the officers were killed in their houses, or murdered in trying to escape. It was like a scene from 1857, occurring about half a century before its time. More than one hundred Europeans were killed, and a considerable number more were wounded; but by no means all in the place. The surviving officers, with their usual courage and determination, forced their way through the mutineers, and put themselves at the head of the soldiers; took post on the ramparts; and held their numerous and treacherous assailants at bay till relief arrived. By six next morning the news of the mutiny had reached Arcot, nine miles from Vellore; by eight the first of the European cavalry from Arcot were before the beleaguered barrack; by ten the horse artillery guns were up; and, ten minutes after they had opened fire, the place was relieved, and the sepoys routed, with the loss of between three and four hundred killed, and many more taken. Seventeen of the worst were hanged; the rest were mostly dismissed from the service they had disgraced. The presence of Tippoo's sons had strengthened the tendency to mutiny; and one of them had actually been put forward as king. They were therefore transferred to the vicinity of Calcutta, to prevent further trouble. The thoughtless commander-in-chief was justly removed from his office, his objectionable regulation being at the same time withdrawn. The governor of Madras, Lord William Bentinck, who had confirmed the chief's order regarding dress, apparently without much looking into it, as a matter

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scarcely under his immediate control, was more hardly dealt with, in being removed from his office too. Finally, changes being the order of the day, Sir George Barlow was recalled from Calcutta, by the King's sign-manual, against the wish of the Court of Directors; but, as a solace to his wounded feelings, was appointed to the government of Madras,—the lesser prize, when the greater prize, Bengal,—nay, India generally,—was snatched away. The government in power in England had thought Barlow's government tame, even to weakness, and wished a ruler somewhat more enterprising, though still considerably short of what the Marquis Wellesley had been.

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CHAPTER XIII.

LORD MINTO GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

Bundelcund tranquillized.
Hurriana quieted.
The runaway sailor and his fortunes.
Persian embassies.
"Jock's at the bottom o't."
Troubles in Travancore and Cochin.
Quarrel between the civil and military powers at Madras.
The ryotwar settlement in that presidency.
Changes in the direction of increased liberty.

AFTER some discussion and trouble, Lord Minto was appointed Governor-general; and though still restrained from great enterprises, yet the circumstances in which his predecessor had been recalled from office, not to speak of his own disposition, were fitted to encourage him to a
A.D. course a little bolder than the Cornwallis and Bar-
1809 low one. The new province of Bundelcund had been in a good deal of confusion during the two weak governments. The intimation was now conveyed to the petty rajahs, and through them, doubtless, to the banditti and rovers of all kinds that infested the province, that mild measures having failed to quiet them, the time for measures not mild had come. This broad hint of approaching events was quite enough in many cases to produce tranquillity, and thus render unnecessary the carrying out of the threat; but in the case of the occupants of two hill forts. Kalinjer and Ajaygurh, words failed of effect, and deeds were required. When these places fell; when a rebel, by name Gopal Singh, was tamed; and when, finally, a lesson was read to the Rewa rajah, Bundelcund saw the expediency of behaving in a more peaceful manner than it had been accustomed to do under native rule. The fall of Kalinjer was especially impressive, that fort having baffled Mahmud of Ghuznee, with other conquerors of
A.D. inferior name. The natives of Hurriana, west of
1813 Delhi, had always been a turbulent race of men, given to plunder. One of the strangest events in their history had been the conquest of part of it, towards

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the end of the eighteenth century, by a European sailor, called George Thomas, who some years before had deserted from his vessel. His kingdom was about 100 miles long by 75 broad. Its capital was Hansi, which he raised from a state of ruin till it contained from 5000 to 6000 inhabitants. He reigned four years, and was then driven out by the disciplined battalions of Perron. On the fall of Scindia's power, Hurriana came into the hands of the English; who, not finding any one able to manage it, had to keep it themselves—giving the inhabitants a pretty severe lesson once or twice, when they took to their old plundering ways. After some discussion, and even danger, during which Loodiana was occupied for the first time, the British protection was extended to such of the Seikh states south of the Sutlej as had not been conquered by Runjeet Singh, and the Sutlej fixed as the boundary between the European and Seikh empires.

Colonel, afterwards Sir John Malcolm, was twice despatched by Lord Minto, as he had been once before by the Marquis of Wellesley, as ambassador to Persia; but so badly were matters managed, that both times he had to meet rival ambassadors from London. To prevent in future the absurdity, and even danger, of those double embassies, the right to despatch ambassadors to Persia was vested in the London government. One good result (though of trifling importance) followed from Malcolm's successive visits to Persia,—he compiled a history of that country, which made it better known than it had previously been. Connected with that history there hangs a tale, specially interesting to young people. When Sir John Malcolm was no more than John Malcolm, a farmer's son at a country school in the south of Scotland, his teacher was much troubled with him; for though not a vicious boy, still he was one of those active spirits who are very difficult to keep under control. When any mischief took place in the school, of which the teacher could not divine the cause, he felt he could not be far wrong in exclaiming, "Jock's at the bottom o't." When the "Jock" of school-boy freaks became the "Sir John" of interviews with monarchs, he sent a copy of his Persian history to his

A.D. 1808 to 1810

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old teacher, with the classic words inscribed on the title-page, "Jock's at the bottom o't."

Returning from Persia to India, we find that the affairs of the Madras presidency for a time have an importance which those of the others want. A subsidiary alliance had been formed with the Rajah of Travancore. The subsidy was in arrear, and could not be paid up, unless the rajah dismissed a useless and expensive force, termed the Carnatic brigade. This the rajah refused to do, instigated, it was believed, by his dewan. The resident, therefore, demanded the dewan's dismissal. That functionary consented to resign, but, meanwhile, attempted the murder of the resident; and when he failed in that nefarious project, he then rose in arms, and could not be reduced without a regular campaign. He was not long in alienating from him all sympathy, by systematic treachery, and the murder of unoffending persons in cold blood. At last he saw that all was lost, and committed suicide. The Carnatic brigade was then dismissed, and the power of the English in Travancore and Cochin largely increased.

A.D. 1808 to 1809

Sir George Barlow's rule in Bengal had not been glorious. In Madras it proved disastrous in the extreme. It was no fault of his that he had to carry out rigid economy in the public expenditure. This had been enjoined on him by his superiors, and was, besides, necessary, after the recent expensive war. But when unpopular deeds have to be done by a ruler, they should be tempered by gentle language; and, unhappily, Barlow was stern and unconciliatory. A quarrel arose between the government of which he was the head, and the military authorities, especially the Madras commander-in-chief, who was naturally a violent man, and further irritated because a seat in Council was no longer to be attached to his office. At first the blame rested almost entirely with the military authorities; but after a time Barlow also lost his temper; and things going from bad to worse, a large number of the Madras officers were at last in open or secret mutiny. At one place blood was shed, and a war between the civil and military powers seemed about to begin. At this alarming juncture, a returning

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sense of duty among the mutinous officers, and the soothing influence of Lord Minto, who went to Madras to try and calm matters down, terminated the danger. Some of the officers who had been most deeply guilty were mildly punished, and Sir George Barlow was removed from his office.

Various military successes, though of secondary importance, took place about this time. Among these may be enumerated the protection of Nagpore against Ameer Khan, a faithful friend of Holkar, but a perfect ruffian to every one else; the capture from France of the isles of Bourbon and France, and subsequently of Java, which, though a Dutch island, had been conquered by France some time before. Internal reforms were also pushed forward. The administration of justice was looked into. An effort was made to suppress dacoity. Reform in revenue matters was attempted. It had once been seriously intended to extend the permanent settlement made in Bengal to the Madras presidency; but such doubts were now beginning to arise, especially in the Court of Directors, regarding its merits, that the measure was not carried out. A rival system, with which the name of Sir Thomas Munro afterwards became associated, was thought of for a time. It was called a *ryotwar* settlement. Its principle was, that the government should, with infinite labour, deal directly with the very numerous peasant *cultivators*, so as to shield them from wrong. The labour was too vast, and a more practicable settlement with *villages* followed; then a modified ryotwar was introduced again; but it was deemed prudent that no permanent guarantee of any kind should be given.

A.D. 1809 to 1812

A certain stigma still attaches to the administrations of Sir George Barlow and Lord Minto, for their treatment of missionaries in the East. As early as the year 1793, the Rev. Mr.—afterwards the Rev. Dr.—Carey, had landed in Bengal, to devote himself to the glorious work of proclaiming the gospel to the native population. Four new missionaries joined him in 1799, two of whom, Messrs. Ward and Marshman, subsequently attained to great reputation. They were not allowed to settle in any part of the widely extended Company's domains, but found a refuge in the Danish

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settlement of Serampore. The great Lord Wellesley appointed Carey professor in the College of Fort William. Sir George Barlow and Lord Minto, as has been mentioned, were less friendly. Some interference of Lord Minto with the missionaries, including a demand that they should remove their printing-press from Serampore, where it was free, to Calcutta, where it would have been controlled, was an interference, both with the liberty of Denmark and with that of the missionaries, unworthy of Lord Minto, who belonged to a party pledged to aim at the extension of civil and religious liberty.

A.D. 1813

But at that period religious liberty was not so well understood as it is now; and yet it was making way. This was evident from the discussions at the renewal of the charter in 1813. Advantage was taken of the necessity under which the Company lay of borrowing money, to abate some of its power. It had claimed the right to the exclusive trade of India and China. That to India was thrown open to other competitors, while that to China was retained for a season. It followed, as a necessary consequence, that Europeans of good character, merchants, and others not in the government service, should be allowed to settle in India, which had not before been the case. Ecclesiastical arrangements were at the same time made, chiefly for the welfare of the numerous Christians in India. And, finally, missionaries received formal permission to labour in the country without molestation, and everywhere proclaim abroad the message of undying life and love.

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CHAPTER XIV.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE EARL OF MOIRA, (AFTERWARDS THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS)—THE NEPAULESE WAR.

The Ghoorkas conquer Nepaul.
They encroach on the British possessions.
War.
Troubles in Ceylon.
An effort against female infanticide.

LORD MOIRA reached Calcutta early in October 1813, his predecessor having departed in that year, and died soon after reaching home. The finances were as yet far from being recruited, when, contrary to its desire, the government was again involved in a first class war. A.D. 1814

The country of Nepaul, like most mountain lands, was occupied by tribes, various in their origin, and speaking diverse tongues. A cowardly tribe might be found here and there; but in general those mountaineers were extremely warlike. Of course, during their whole career they had had their feuds and their battles. The last result of these was, that the chief of a tribe, called Ghoorkas, had conquered the others; and the inhabitants of the whole Nepaulese territory, which for seven hundred miles ran along the British frontier, had come to be termed Ghoorkas, after the one dominant tribe. Success made the rulers of Nepaul arrogant, and the British provinces at the base of the hills were as tempting to their lust of empire as ripe fruit hanging on trees in an orchard is to a hungry boy. The Ghoorkas had not the boldness openly to invade the Company's territory, but they encroached upon it continually, as in places you may see the ocean every year wash away part of the shore. Remonstrances were vain—the washing process still went on. Conferences were next tried and found wanting; and then both parties prepared to fight. The Nepaulese regent minister, the head of the war party, reminded the timid and the prudent that the small fort of Bhurtpore, which had resisted

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the British, was the work of man, and triumphantly asked how little likely it was that they would be able to storm the mountain fastnesses, constructed by the hand of God. The peace men said, in reply to reasonings like these, "Hitherto we have hunted deer; if we engage in this war we must be prepared to fight with tigers." The regent prevailing, the Nepaulese, without more ado, began hostilities, and the British having in vain waited for an apology, issued a declaration of war, and then felt themselves also free to begin. Their army, 30,000 strong, entered Nepaul in four divisions. The first which came in contact with the enemy was that of General Gillespie. Being confronted by a small fort, by name Kalanga, on the summit of a hill, he, falling into an error not unfrequent with British commanders, trusted everything to courage, and nothing to skill. He was repulsed in an effort to carry by a bayonet charge what should have been taken by artillery. Meeting with this check, he declared aloud that he would carry the fort or lose his life. He was as good as his word; he lost his life, and his successor in the command, having proper recourse to his artillery, soon compelled the Ghoorkas to quit the fort, with the loss of seven out of every eight of their number. The bad beginning raised the spirits of the Nepaulese, and depressed those of the British during the whole war. Lord Moira had chiefly depended for the success of the campaign on the division appointed to march on Khatmandoo. It did not effect its purpose; but the operations in the west and those in the east of Nepaul answered the end which the invasion of its central provinces had been designed to effect. In the west, General Ochterlony captured the strong forts high up on the mountains, and severed part of the west of Nepaul from the main portion. Kumaon in the centre was also occupied. Finally, a detachment in the extreme east made way to the Rajah of Sikkim, with whom a treaty was concluded, which detached him from the Nepaulese cause. By-and-by, though the war had been a chequered one, the enemy professed a desire that it should be brought to a close. They were insincere; and hostilities were renewed, soon again to be interrupted by a new application for peace. This time all was settled. The Tirai at the foot of the hills

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was taken from the encroaching court; as was the country west of the Kali river, the petty hill rajahs being set free; Kumaon and Gurwhal were retained by the British; cessions were made to the King of Sikkim; and a stipulation entered into that a resident should be received at Khatmandoo. The Earl of Moira was created Marquis of Hastings as a reward for the part he had taken in directing the war.

It would have been difficult honourably to avoid the hostilities with Nepaul; but there was a disastrous occurrence shortly afterwards in Ceylon, which, it is to be feared, followed an injustice done. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to colonize any part of Ceylon. The Dutch followed, and drove out the Portuguese; then the French expelled the Dutch; and, last of all, the English ejected the French. When Ceylon came into English hands it was retained by the crown, instead of being put, like continental India, into the hands of the Company. The Europeans were on the coast, while a native prince ruled over the very ancient kingdom of Candy in the interior. The English had had some trifling complaint against the King of Candy, though it may be said he had a more serious one against them. He would not redress their grievance, and they tried to set up another rajah. To protect him, Major Davie, with 500 Malays and 200 Europeans—many of the latter sick—were left in Candy. They were attacked, and had to agree to evacuate it, retaining their arms. Being stopped on their march by a river, they were persuaded to part with their arms, that they might be ferried across; and being conducted in small numbers to the stream, out of sight of their comrades, were there savagely murdered. The king, who had planned this nefarious deed, some time afterwards became so furious and cruel that he was incessantly executing his subjects, and no one's life was safe. The English stepping in, deposed the monster, and themselves assumed the crown. Their rule was not at once submitted to, but rebellion raged in 1817 and 1818. Finally, however, it was quelled, and the authority of the British crown completely established.

A.D. 1815

Troubles, more or less extensive, were about this time experienced in Cutch, at Hyderabad, at Bareilly, and in

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Cuttack. The first named of these places had till now been quite independent of Britain; but plundering Wagars persisting against all remonstrance in crossing the Runn from Cutch to Kattiwar, and laying waste the villages, Bhooj and other places had to be taken, and the Wagars driven into the desert. The sea pirates were also rooted out, one of the towns it was necessary to attack for the purpose being the holy one of Dwarka, Krishna's old habitation. Some time previously an effort had been commenced (not, however, for a considerable time to be crowned with success) to achieve a conquest far more pleasing than any associated with bloody battle-fields—a conquest over the pride and inhumanity that gave over to death the whole female children of some of the Rajpoot tribes. The atrocious practice had been discovered by Mr. Jonathan Duncan as early as 1789 among the Rajkumars of Benares. He and Major Walker found it well-nigh universal among the Jhareja Rajpoots of Kattiwar and Cutch. Puffed up with the pride of caste, they thought the globe could scarcely furnish sons-in-law worthy to marry their daughters, or if it did, that their wealth would be wholly inadequate to provide festivities on a scale commensurate with their fancied dignity; they therefore solved all difficulties by taking the lives of their poor female infants almost as soon as they were born. In 1808, Major Walker, then resident at Guzerat, induced them to sign a paper pledging themselves to kill their infants no more. They adhibited their names, and for a time the poor innocents were preserved. But by-and-by, the Rajpoots, who deemed themselves so great, showed that they were not above breaking their word; thus manifesting how little they understood the proper idea of caste. He is low caste who tells untruths and commits murders, however highly he may be born; and he who speaks the truth, and is in other respects a good man, is really high caste, however low his birth or his position may be.

A.D. 1808

> "'Tis only noble to be good;
> Kind hearts are more than coronets,
> And simple faith than Norman blood."

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CHAPTER XV.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS CONTINUED—PINDAREE AND SECOND GREAT MAHRATTA WAR.

Discontent of the peshwa.
His evil counsellor.
The Pindarees and their deeds.
Proposal to put them down.
The scheme carried out.
The Mahrattas make common cause with the Pindarees.
Operations at Poonah.
Operations at Nagpore.
Operations at Indore.
The cholera becomes epidemic.

THE two powers that had first made intimate acquaintance (friendship it scarcely could be called) at Bassein, liked each other the worse, the more they came in contact. The peshwa Bajee Rao, one of the "high contracting parties" to that celebrated engagement, was naturally indolent, and only at times broke out into a fit of activity, which he could not long maintain. But he was a persevering plotter; and the thought that he had pledged his royal word to observe the treaty, in virtue of which he had been replaced on the throne, in no degree stood in his way when the day of temptation came. He was annoyed that the British would not acknowledge him as head of the Mahratta confederacy. He was further irritated that they would not aid him in enforcing his demands for "chouth" at Baroda and Hyderabad in the Deccan; their motive for holding back being that they deprecated the explosions to which the immediate prosecution of those outrageous demands, as yet uninvestigated, would be sure to lead. His evil-adviser was a certain Trimbakjee Danglia, originally but a courier and a spy, though now all in all at the peshwa's court. Under the auspices of this bold bad man, an ambassador from the gaekwar of Baroda, who had received a safe-conduct from the British government to and from Poonah, was badly received by the peshwa, and was at length barbarously murdered while returning from the temple of Punderpore, an escort of Trimbak's sepoys present with

A.D. 1814

A.D. 1815

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him deliberately abandoning him to his fate. The resident, seconded by the Governor-general, insisted that an investigation into this atrocious case should be made. Bajee Rao and Trimbakjee pretended to concur, but really set themselves resolutely against proper inquiry. No wonder. There was reason to believe that, though ruffians from Baroda might have planned the murder, still both the peshwa and Trimbakjee were accessaries to the crime. Hesitation was naturally felt to bring a direct charge against Bajee Rao, but his minister Trimbakjee was arrested and confined.

Leaving him meanwhile in prison, we must make brief acquaintanceship with two or three large fraternities of people, dear to such souls as Trimbakjee and Bajee Rao, though abhorrent to all honourable minds. Pindarees was their name; wholesale robbery their profession; torture, in many cases even to death, the treatment of all, whatever their age or sex, who would not give up their wealth the moment they fell under the robbers' power. The haunts of the Pindarees were among the savage hills and jungles of Central India, which they shared with the cheetah and the tiger; nor did they seem to have one whit more of remorse than those savage animals in inflicting misery and death. Getting daily bolder by the impunity they had experienced, they had recently extended their ravages from the native territories into various English districts. It occurred to the Marquis of Hastings, little seconded from home, to propose that all the regular, or, at least, all the respectable, powers of India, should unite under the leadership of the Calcutta government to put the ruffian robbers down. The powers applied to *seemed* to concur, and the realization of the plan began. To carry it out, not one or two large armies, but a number of small ones, were required. There was not much likelihood of great pitched battles having to be fought; but marauding bands had to be hunted all over the country, and given no rest till they were either destroyed or took to an honest mode of life. For this purpose the British army and those of the allies were divided into a number of com-

A.D. 1816

A.D. 1816

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paratively small detachments, posted all over Central India. The Marquis of Hastings was not wanting in the suspicion, seemingly uncharitable, but fully borne out by facts already known, and yet more so by subsequent events, that some of the Mahratta chiefs would make common cause with the robbers and murderers they had promised to assist in rooting out. What, indeed, was such a man as Holkar but a Pindaree on an unusually large scale? What the endless expeditions to impose or to recover "chouth" but Pindaree raids, great and successful beyond anything that robbers, pure and simple, could ever hope to attain? The whole Pindaree force was estimated at 20,000 or 25,000 horse, under various leaders, of whom Cheetoo, Karim Khan, and Wasil Mohammed were the chief. These three brigands belonged to that more numerous division of the Pindarees known as Scindia Shahi Pindarees, or Pindarees under the patronage of Scindia; the other and less numerous body being designated Holkar Shahis, or Pindarees under the patronage of Holkar. When at length the robber chase began, the durras, or bands of the three leaders named, and other chiefs, were hunted up and down in a manner that might have been called pitiless, if its absolute necessity had been kept out of view. Wherever they attempted to halt, they were soon obliged, by the approach of a military detachment, to recommence their flight; and often on their route cavalry burst in upon them, when they did not know cavalry were near, and inflicted on them heavy loss, before they could recover from their surprise. The villagers also rose on their old oppressors, and revenged themselves for former misdeeds. Great numbers of Pindarees consequently perished; others, including some of the leaders, surrendered, and promised to give up their wicked ways. On this they were generously presented with land, and settled down as farmers, that want might not tempt them again to a disreputable mode of life. At last, of the chiefs of note, Cheetoo was the only one that held out. He scorned to think of submission, and would rather dwell among the savage beasts of the jungle than yield and become civilized. A fearfully mistaken resolution it was; very sinful too, and, as the result showed, unblessed by God. A party of Holkar's cavalry found the horse of

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Cheetoo wandering alone in a thicket near the Vindhya Hills. Searching further, they came upon his sword, and parts of his dress, all torn and stained with blood. A.D. 1818 Last of all, his head was discovered; and no doubt was left that he had been devoured by a tiger, his death having been in ghastly harmony with the life that he had led.

Not to interrupt the Pindaree history, we have followed it out to its end, but must now come back from 1818, the year of Cheetoo's death, to the previous year, and narrate the series of events half expected by the Marquis of Hastings, —we mean, a succession of contests with the Mahrattas, consequent on their making common cause with the ruffians they pretended to abhor. Scindia was in that uneasy state which, with him, generally preceded an A.D. 1817 outbreak; but, happily for him and for the Company, the gathering storm in that quarter blew past. It was different at Poonah, Nagpore, and Indore.

Even with Trimbakjee in prison, the danger of new troubles at Poonah was considerable; and when the news arrived that that person had escaped from captivity, it was pretty evident the tempest would burst. To avert the peril, if possible, the peshwa was implored to make every effort to recapture the prisoner. He promised to do so; and then, with his usual duplicity, admitted the fugitive to more than one private interview, and sanctioned, if he did not suggest to him, the raising of troops. The resident then himself sent forces after the wrong-doer, routed his men, reduced him again to the condition of a fugitive, and finally capturing him, despatched him to the fortress of Chunar, where he died. Trimbakjee's escapade was fatal to the power of his master. The evident complicity of Bajee Rao with his unworthy favourite led to a treaty more stringent than that of Bassein being presented for his acceptance. He signed it; and soon afterwards sent an army, treacherously to attack the small British force encamped at his capital. The resident, Mr. Elphinstone, had not long escaped to the military quarters, when the official mansion he had occupied was burnt, and the conflict began. Though outnumbered immensely, the English force defended itself

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successfully against that of the peshwa; who, seeing he had failed in his enterprise, fled from his capital, not well knowing whither to turn. He was pursued up and down through the Deccan, and defeated wherever he made a stand, about one thousand men, the great majority sepoys, on one occasion holding his whole army in check at a place called Coregaum, for several hours. Finally, he surrendered to Sir John Malcolm, who promised him—but observe, *him only, not his descendants*—a vast pension of eight lakhs of rupees a year. The Governor-general thought the amount far too great; but as a promise had been made, he confirmed it, and engaged that it should be honourably fulfilled. Bithoor, on the Ganges, ten miles from Cawnpore, was assigned him as his future residence; and his territories were occupied, and as soon as possible tranquillized by the British troops.

While the Poonah government was thus in a state of anarchy and revolution, that of Nagpore was in no wise different. Raghojee Bhonslah, the rajah of Nagpore, had died, and was succeeded by his son Pursoojee, a prince infirm both in body and mind. A regent was consequently required. More than one person aspired to the high office; and Apa Saheb, the successful competitor, thought A.D. he could best preserve his position by entering **1817** into a subsidiary alliance of the Wellesley kind with the British government. It was instantly effectual, and he was firmly seated in the regency. But unscrupulous ambition grows with what it feeds upon, and Apa Saheb quickly made away with his imbecile sovereign, that the regency might be converted into kingly power. A final step still remained. The subsidiary alliance had been to him the ladder by which he had climbed to his high place. He found it expensive to maintain. Besides, he thought he would never need it again. He therefore resolved to kick it down. With this view he had himself invested with a dress of honour from the peshwa, after that infatuated ruler had attacked the Poonah residency; he raised the golden banner of the Mahratta empire; and collected troops, nominally against the Pindarees, but really against the resident and the subsidiary force. Mr. Jenkins, who then

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represented the British government at the court of Nagpore, was not deceived by the unsatisfactory explanations given him of these hostile deeds, but posted his small force on Seetabuldee Hill, in front of his house, and wrote urgently for reinforcements. They had not arrived when, on the evening of the 26th November 1817, without warning given, the Arabs in the rajah's service opened fire on the English position, and presently the whole Mahratta army began to appear in a vast semicircle round the hill. It seemed as if nothing could save the small force with the resident; yet it determinedly maintained the contest for eighteen long hours. Finally, the vast beleaguering host were thrown into confusion by the opportune charge of a small body of cavalry, and, not being able to rally, were compelled to quit the field. Though defeated in his appeal to arms, Apa Saheb, like Tippoo at the Travancore lines, had the effrontery to pretend that all had happened by mistake. Of course he was not believed; still proposals were made to reinstate him, on certain conditions, on the throne. With this view, when the reinforcements came up, he was ordered to come to the tent of the resident. He sent a message to the effect that he was willing, but that some of his military followers forcibly held him back. To set him free, the Mahratta army was attacked and routed by the British, the victors first and last capturing sixty-one guns. The Arabs of the beaten army then took refuge in the capital, which they desperately defended, but finally consented to go off on certain stipulations. Apa Saheb had come forth after the rout of his army, and was restored on certain conditions to his throne. He was not long in forgetting the lesson he had received. His valuables were despatched to the fortified town of Chanda, eighty miles south of Nagpore, and he was known to be quietly preparing for a new struggle, when he was suddenly arrested in his palace by order of the resident. Chanda, deemed by Apa Saheb impregnable, was then taken with the utmost ease. Finally the British assumed charge of the Nagpore country till the king, whom it was designed to put on the throne, then a boy of eight or nine years old, should come of age. The fallen prince was sent off towards Allahabad, but escaped before he had reached Jubbulpore,

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and fled to the Mahadeo Hills. There he ultimately met a kindred spirit, the Pindaree Cheetoo; and the pair took counsel together about their future plans. The loving friends were at last driven from the Mahadeos; and Apa Saheb, after being in the humblest position at various native courts, died at Jhodpore in obscurity and neglect.

We next turn our attention to Holkar's country. The one-eyed old Jeshwant Rao had gone mad and died, and his kingdom had fallen into a state of confusion and weakness. His ruffian friend, Ameer Khan, was still alive, and had most pitilessly plundered the Rajpoot states. As a protection to the afflicted people, a return to the Wellesley system of alliances was resolved on; and all the leading Rajpoot states, with Bhopal, rushed gladly into the plan, and were protected in future from Mahrattas and Pindarees alike. The oppressors were irritated to think that the shield of protection should be cast over their victims; and the late Holkar's army and Cheetoo's Pindarees assumed a hostile attitude at Mehidpore. The British wished to avoid extremities, and offered the Indore state conditions of peace, which were accepted by Toolsee Baee the regent, who wished to come over to the British camp for safety, but was seized by some of the war party, taken to the river side, and beheaded. That party then prepared the army for battle. Sir Thomas Hislop, and under him Sir John Malcolm, led the forces of the Company. A severe action ensued. The English loss was considerable; but that of the enemy was much greater. By the treaty which some time later followed, the territories of Holkar in Kandesh, and south of the Sautpoora Hills, passed from Mahratta into English hands.

It was while these exciting events were in progress that public attention was first directed to the cholera, which, though it had been known in India from the remotest ages, seems about this time to have altered its character, as diseases will sometimes do, and become a widely destroying pestilence. Commencing in 1816 about Jessore, on the low-lying wet lands of Bengal, it gradually spread, westward and northward. One division of the great army which had been brought together for the Pindaree war was assailed by it, and lost in one week 764 fighting men, and 8000 followers.

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Thence the fearful scourge gradually spread through Asia to Europe, and the world at large. When God wishes to summon men to their last and dread account, there is no lack of agents ready at hand which he can commission as messengers of judgment.

The latter part of the Marquis of Hastings' administration was peaceful, and afforded time for internal improvements. It is, however, on other grounds than these that he will be held in remembrance. Though, perhaps, the least able of the whole, he was still one of the series of great men —CLIVE, WARREN HASTINGS, THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY, THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS, AND THE MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE—under whom the British empire in the East was planted, and grew up, and flourished, and sent forth strong branches, till it everywhere overshadowed the land.

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CHAPTER XVI.

LORD AMHERST, GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

The first Burmese war. | The capture of Bhurtpore.

A.D. 1823 to 1828

WHEN Lord Hastings departed for Europe, after an Eastern administration of nine years, the senior member of Council, Mr. John Adam, took his place. He signalized the brief period of his authority by tyrannically ordering a newspaper editor out of India, for ridiculing a ludicrous act of government, in a style like that employed by all newspaper editors, on proper occasion offering, now.

Soon, however, Lord Amherst arrived from England, to assume the management of affairs. He reached Calcutta and took charge in August 1823. He had not been long in the East when it became evident that he would be forced into war with Burmah, quite beyond the limits of India proper. The arrogant court of Ava had, indeed, been long unfriendly. It is a boast of Great Britain, that whenever a slave sets foot upon its shores, he is free. All people fleeing from religious persecution, find in happy England a safe asylum; and when political revolutions take place, as they often do, on the continent of Europe, fallen kings, princes, prime ministers, and other high dignitaries, escape to Britain, when they are afraid to stay longer at home. Thousands on thousands of oppressed Burmese had fled to the British territory, and had not been given back; and when some of them had sought to revenge themselves on their old oppressors, the British had sent troops, and had themselves inflicted punishment on the delinquents, in place of handing them over to the tender mercies of the semi-savage court. There were, besides, disputes about the boundary line between the two countries, which the Burmese tried to adjust by means of outrage; and when Lord Amherst remonstrated, he was directed to state his grievance

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by petition(!) to Maha Bandoola, the Burmese commander-in-chief. Lord Amherst perceived that it was on an invasion, and not on a petition, that he would have to rest his case. About that time, one who had opportunities of knowing how things stood at Ava, said: "From the king to the beggar, the Burmans were hot for a war with the English." And language, says Dr. Judson, was used such as this: "They (the Europeans) contrive to govern the black foreigners, the people of castes, who have puny frames and no courage. They have never yet fought with so strong and brave a people as the Burmese, skilled in the use of the sword and the spear."

Even before negotiations with the British were over, the Burmese had begun the war for which they were so eager, on the eastern frontier of Bengal. Their numbers were at first greatly under-estimated, and the petty detachments stationed there could not hold their own against them. By-and-by, however, larger forces were sent, Assam taken and annexed, and the Burmese compelled to retire within their own limits. Three routes were then thought of, by which Burmah itself might be invaded. One conceivable way was through Munipoor, and interminable jungles; a second, through Chittagong, Aracan, and impassable creeks and swamps; and a third, by a fleet sailing up the Irrawady river, with a land force moving at the same time along its banks. It was resolved that the main effort should be by the Irrawady. This decision deprived the invaders of the assistance of the Bengal army. Its high-caste Hindu sepoys would not cross the sea; in fact, some of them refused to go even by land, and the mutiny had to be quelled by force. The war, therefore, fell chiefly on the European regiments and the Madras sepoys. Sir Archibald Campbell went as commander-in-chief. Under his leadership, Rangoon, at the mouth of the Irrawady, the chief maritime city in Burmah, was taken, almost without resistance, in the month of May 1824. Other successes followed during the monsoon, which soon after set in. When the rains were over, the army advanced up the river, defeating the enemy wherever they ventured to make a stand. In one of these contests the really able general Bandoola was killed by the bursting of a shell. The Burmese trust was found to be in stockades. These were generally

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square or oblong in shape, and formed either of solid beams of teak timber or of bamboos from the adjacent jungles. In either case, they were well bound together by transverse beams; loop-holes were left to fire through; and there were, in the interior, platforms or raised mounds of earth, on which small guns were mounted. Ditches were sometimes superadded; and, altogether, stockades were a formidable mode of defence. The sepoys, if left to themselves, were unable to take them; the European artillery, then but light, did not always rend them completely asunder; but the British soldier, with his usual desperate courage, almost always managed to get over their walls, or through openings here and there; when the Burmese, who neither surrendered nor were able to escape quickly, fell terribly with the bayonet. At length, confidence in stockades was almost totally lost. We need not follow in detail the many small contests that took place during the Burmese expedition. Suffice it to say that the English made way up the river—at the same time occupying its banks—to Donabew, to Prome, and then to Pagahm, the old capital; and finally, when they had reached Yandaboo, within sixty miles of Ava, the haughty Burmese, who had negotiated more than once before, but could not submit to the conditions offered, became thoroughly alarmed, and really made peace. One of their ambassadors was the American missionary, Dr. Judson, who, coming out in 1812, during the administration of Lord Minto, with the intention of devoting his life to the religious welfare of the Hindus, was forbidden to stay in India, and was compelled to go somewhere else. He fixed on Burmah, and had for many years laboured for its good, but had been seized, imprisoned, and threatened with death, by the misguided Ava government, to which he now rendered the service of negotiating a treaty, according to the Christian principle of not rendering evil for evil, but overcoming evil with good. By the engagement then entered into, Aracan and Assam became British, and a crore of rupees (a million of pounds sterling) were paid by the now humbled Ava king, towards the expenses of the war.

The contest with Burmah exerted an evil influence throughout India. The English losses in battle had not been great;

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those by sickness had, however, been very considerable. These being greatly exaggerated, the foes of the Company began to look up; and on occasion of some troubles about the succession at Bhurtpore, the regent there defied the English government, trusting that Bhurtpore was impregnable, because it had not at once fallen when besieged in 1805. An extraordinary ferment arose in India, when it was known there was to be a new siege of Bhurtpore. "If," says Sir John Malcolm, "the siege had failed, it would, in all human probability, have added to the embarrassments of the Burmese war that of hostilities with almost every state of India." That it might fail, the petty powers in the vicinity gave encouragement to the turbulent rajah; and no fewer than 20,000 men, chiefly warlike Rajpoots and Jauts, with some Affghans, were crowded into the place for its defence. All was in vain. Lord Combermere, the Bengal commander-in-chief, at the very outset, took means to keep the ditch round Bhurtpore dry, in place of filled with water, as on the former occasion. Instead of trusting to artillery alone to make an impression on the mud walls, as had before been done, he resorted to mining. When the chief mine, containing 10,000 pounds of powder, was fired, on the day of the assault, the earth shook—a dull muttering sound was heard—the sky was clouded with huge volumes of smoke and dust, and enormous masses of the hardened ramparts were seen flying into the air. The place was immediately afterwards carried by storm; 8000 of the defenders were killed, and 6000 more wounded; while the assailants had lost, of Europeans and natives, only 103 killed, 466 wounded, and 11 missing. When the news of the capture of Bhurtpore spread through India, all excitement ceased, and a profound calm ensued. The artillery in those days was light and ineffective. Europeans have now much more powerful weapons. Cannons of the most recent pattern would make short work of ten Bhurtpores. Lord Amherst left India in February 1828. The early part of his rule had been troublous—the latter part tranquil; as after a day of severe and protracted tempest, you will sometimes see the evening close beautifully serene.

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CHAPTER XVII.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK, GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

The British obtain Mysore and Coorg.
Economy and reform.
A Thuggee department organized.
Abolition of suttee.
A persecuting law repealed in Bengal.
Sir Charles Metcalfe Governor-general.
Freedom of the press.
Charter of 1833.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK'S name has already occurred in this history. It will be remembered that he was dismissed from the government of Madras for not having cancelled the foolish military order which led to the Vellore mutiny. He deeply felt the disgrace inflicted on him, and was anxious to be employed again by the East India Company. That body listened to his request to re-enter their service, and made him Governor-general. It was a happy circumstance that, when he arrived in the East, no gigantic war existed anywhere in the empire; and he, though firm as iron, was not the man unnecessarily to make one. A few political changes of lesser moment did, however, occur, though chiefly in the dependencies of the Madras presidency. The Mysore Hindu king, set up when Tippoo fell, had driven his subjects into insurrection. It needed his powerful allies to quell it; and when it terminated, they took the management of his territory into their own hands. A war in the petty mountain territory of Coorg, on the west of Mysore, led to the absorption of that small principality. But these transient interruptions of tranquillity fell to be dealt with rather by the Madras than by the Calcutta government; there was, therefore, nothing to divert the attention of the Governor-general from those domestic reforms on which he had set his heart.

A.D. 1828 to 1835

The finances had been deranged by the long Burmese war; and Lord William Bentinck, like Sir George Barlow, had to undergo the odium of cutting down salaries. The civilians and the military equally felt his economic measures come home to their pockets; and the Governor-general became

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the most unpopular of men. A civilian being asked if he was not related to Lady William Bentinck, replied, "No,—unfortunately to the brute himself!" While cutting down the emoluments of the civil officers, he took means to foster and reward merit among them wherever it appeared. He had steam communication opened between India and England, and steamboats placed also on some of the Indian rivers. He wished India thrown open to European settlers, his only fear being that too few would come out rather than too many. Considering that, up to this time, Europeans not in the government service had been disrespectfully called "interlopers," and threatened with being sent, as it was vulgarly termed, "over the surf," it will be seen that Lord William Bentinck's views were enlightened, liberal, and wonderfully before the age. But it was especially the natives of the country, rather than their foreign rulers, whom he desired to benefit by his reforms. He established courts of appeal and revenue boards at Allahabad, for the benefit of the north-west provinces. The assessment of the north-west provinces was dragging through so slowly, that it required an impulse. Powerfully seconded by Mr. Robert Mertins Bird, he had it finished in eight years. He abolished the transit duties, which vexatiously impeded the free passage of commerce. He promoted native education in English, and established the Calcutta Medical College. And while thus qualifying the natives of India to fill offices under a highly civilized government, he opened many offices to them, from which, especially since the first administration of Lord Cornwallis, they had been debarred. For this, if for nothing else, the Hindus ought to hold him in everlasting remembrance. It was during the administration of Lord William Bentinck that vigorous measures were first adopted for rooting out the organized gangs of murderers called Thugs. These ruffians, nominally religious men [!], under the distinguished patronage of the heathen goddess Devi [!], made a trade of worming themselves into the confidence of unsuspecting travellers, and then strangling them for the sake of their wealth. Now a *Thuggee* department was organized; some of the criminals induced to turn king's-evidence against others; and pursuit of the gangs commenced; while "ever

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at the stirrup of the Thug-hunting Englishmen went one or two apostate members of the murderous guild." Thuggee speedily received what appeared to be its death-blow; and yet, were vigilance relaxed, it is believed that the diabolical crime would soon rear its head and flourish anew. Two other measures of Lord William Bentinck's government, though the Hindus may not yet perceive it, were right, necessary, and a great boon to the land. The first was the abolition of suttee. That it was proper for a Governor-general to put this down by force was evident. To take part in suttees was to take part in atrocious murder, which no plea of conscience could really justify before God or man. But as the Hindus could not see this, and might have made commotion and occasioned bloodshed, when forbidden any longer to commit the cruel crime, it required great firmness in Lord William Bentinck to say suttee should be allowed no more. He accordingly asked the opinion of a great many people, Europeans and natives, as to the practicability of peaceably terminating the inhuman custom. Many were afraid it could not be done; and even Rammohun Roy, the Hindu reformer, who was against suttee, said the Governor-general should try it only among the timid Bengalees at first, and not among the warlike races of the north-west. Lord William Bentinck did not listen to this injudicious advice, but at once prohibited it everywhere; and in the kindness of God no outbreak occurred. The other great measure, which will yet be admitted by every one to have been a great and necessary reform, and for which Lord William Bentinck at least paved the way, was the abolition throughout Bengal of the Hindu law by which a native leaving the faith of his fathers was punished for it by the loss of his ancestral property. God is Lord of the conscience, and has left it in religious matters free; though, of course, violations of the ordinary laws of morality are not, and ought not to be, tolerated. Every one should receive the utmost freedom of conscience compatible with the preservation of similar liberty to others; and in no case should government allow itself to be made an instrument of persecution. When, then, Lord William Bentinck took the first step to relieving the British courts in Bengal from the

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necessity of enforcing an intolerant Hindu law, he did a right and a noble act, which will yet be better understood and more highly appreciated, both in the East and in the West, than it has hitherto been.

Though Lord William Bentinck's merits were great, still, like every one of us, he had his defects. He was often unnecessarily harsh in carrying out his measures, and unnecessarily suspicious of those with whom he came in contact. These faults, his unsparing retrenchments, and even the ardour of his reforms, made him for a time very unpopular among some Englishmen; but that unpopularity is fast wearing away. So you may at times see a mountain-top hung round for a considerable period with dense, unwholesome fogs; but ultimately the mist clears away, and the glorious greatness of the mountain is seen.

Lord William Bentinck left India in March 1835, Sir Charles Metcalfe remaining temporarily in charge of the government. It was during a brief rule, inserted between two of a more formal character, that Mr. Adam struck the blow at the liberty of the press which remains a stigma on his name; and, strangely enough, it was in similar circumstances that the press was at last set free. It had been practically so in Lord William Bentinck's time. Sir Charles Metcalfe, while for a brief period in authority, formally declared it free; and the government, by affording leave to every one temperately to discuss its policy and its actions, gave a pledge that every effort would be made to render these as unobjectionable as it was possible for them in this erring world to be.

In 1833 the charter of the East India Company was renewed; but they were deprived of their exclusive trade with China, and were directed in future to confine themselves to those political functions which events in the providence of God had so strangely thrust upon them, without any very ambitious desire on their part,—nay, even in large measure in direct opposition to their will.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD AUCKLAND—THE AFFGHAN DISASTERS.

War in Goomsoor, and Meria sacrifices.
The Sattara rajah deposed.
Expedition to Affghanistan.
Its disastrous termination.

LORD AUCKLAND reached Calcutta on the 4th of March 1836. The early part of his rule was characterized rather by local incidents than by events of great importance. A war which took place in Goomsoor, with the wild tribe called the Khoonds, would have scarcely deserved notice in this brief narrative, had it not been that it led to the discovery of the shocking rite of Meria sacrifice, described in our first chapter, and to the commencement of a series of measures for putting an end to the sanguinary custom. A.D. **1836**

About the same time, the Rajah of Sattara was deposed for plotting against the British, and his kingdom transferred to his brother.

But a train of events of another kind was now to attract the attention, not of India merely, but even of the world.

In certain unhealthy states of the political atmosphere in the East, the Anglo-Indian becomes affected with a dangerous fever. Like other maladies to which man is liable, it has a learned name: *Russophobia*, they term it,—this formidable word being made up of two Greek ones, signifying, in English, "fear of Russia." Like other fevers, it has its hot and its cold stages; nay, sometimes it wholly intermits. But let no one, when he sees it depart, flatter himself it will not return punctually at the periodic time. When the fit is on, the patient goes to a map of the world, and, musing over it, exclaims with a sigh, "How vast a country Russia is! How easily might it launch its hordes against our Eastern empire!—how easily shake our hold of the land!" But all this only shows the feverish state of mind into which the

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sick person has fallen. Nothing would be more easy than to take a map of the world, and march an imaginary army over it from Russia to India; and nothing more difficult than to march a real army by the same route,—across deserts, through defiles, amid all kinds of dangers,—and, when far from home and from help, then lead it on to victory. The malignant type of Russophobia disappeared with the Crimean war, and none but the mildest forms of the disorder have since been seen. When people are under the influence of any strong emotion, they are often hurried into doing extravagant, and even criminal deeds, from which at other times they would abstain. It was while under a panic-fear of a Russian advance upon India that the British planned the expedition to Affghanistan which ended so disastrously for their arms.

During the early part of the present century, the advancing power of Russia was beginning to tell on Persia, and to contract the latter country within narrower limits. The British, disliking the thought of having the great Russian despotism brought nearer their doors in the East, sent officers and disciplined the Persian battalions, to aid the court of Teheran in holding its own against its colossal foe. That court, instead of using its trained forces, as an enlightened regard to its own interest would have directed, allowed itself to be made the tool of Russia, and began to push forward in the direction of Herat, Candahar, Cabul, up to the very frontiers of India. It is looked upon as part of the orthodox creed of the Anglo-Indian, that to permit Herat to fall into the hands of any power in alliance with Russia would peril the security of the British empire in the East. Hence, not more surely does the sight of a stormy petrel in the wake of a vessel in mid-ocean suggest the idea of a commotion on the deep, than does a Persian siege of Herat foreshadow political trouble. When, then, Persia began to push its way eastward to Herat, the Calcutta government, acting under instructions from London, sent an agent, Captain Burnes, to Cabul, on a mission called "commercial," but in which, before long, the political measure of resisting the advance of Russia was the chief subject discussed. Under Abdallah Shah Dooranee,—the same

A.D. 1837

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who overcame the Mahrattas at Paniput,—Cabul had been an empire. His successor, Shah Soojah, had, however, allowed it to fall to pieces, and was now himself a fugitive within the British dominions. He was of the family of the Suddozyes. The family that displaced him were called Barukzyes; and it was with the chief of these latter princes, Dost Mohammed, ruling at Cabul, that Captain Burnes had to treat. Dost Mohammed was not personally much afraid of Russia, but he was delighted, notwithstanding, at the thought of a British alliance. One reason for this, among others, weighed much on his mind:—In the general break-up of the Dooranee empire, the Seikhs had possessed themselves of Peshawur, the frontier town of Affghanistan towards the east; and the British alliance opened to him hopes of getting it back to his countrymen again. There is a fable in which a monkey is represented as availing itself of the paw of a cat to bring out of the fire some nuts which were being toasted there. The city of Peshawur was a nut of this kind. Dost Mohammed, being himself ready to take the part of the monkey, wished Britain to become the cat, and lend its paw to obtain the nut; but Britain was by no means disposed to play grimalkin in the case. It did not expect to be able to obtain Peshawur peaceably, and as for war, it had no cause of quarrel with the Seikhs. Besides, it knew their king, Runjeet Singh, to be a man of great ability. It was also aware that he possessed abundance both of men and guns; and felt sure that the fire would be a very hot one that would blaze around that nut. The Dost thought the offered friendship of Britain was a friendship which asked much, and gave little or nothing in return; and there being then at Cabul a certain Captain Vickovitch, a Russian agent, kept till now in the background, the Dost thought he might as well hear what that individual had got to say. Vickovitch was in all respects com- A.D.
plaisant, and bid highly for the Dost's friendship. **1838**
The reason of this was unknown at the time, but became plain at a subsequent period. Though no one doubted at the time that Vickovitch was really an agent of the Russian government, yet the court of St. Petersburgh ultimately disavowed all connection with him; and he, after solemnly

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charging them with treachery, relieved them from the annoyance of his further existence by taking his own life. But at the time when Dost Mohammed accorded him an interview, no one suspected Vickovitch was not as well accredited as Burnes himself; and it was natural that the Dost should resolve on a Russian rather than on a British alliance. Still, so long as he committed no overt act of hostility to his former friends, they had, by the law of nations, no *casus belli* against him; that is, no legitimate cause of war. Notwithstanding this, the English government, being in the feverish state formerly described, resolved on hostilities, and misled the Parliament by statements which made it appear as if no possibility existed of honourably avoiding war.

In planning the campaign, the British government fell into the fatal mistake of supposing that the hearts of the Affghans were with Shah Soojah, and against his rival. They therefore calculated that all they would have to do would be to drive Dost Mohammed from his capital; next, to replace Shah Soojah on the throne; and then, after waiting with him till he had time to consolidate his authority, finally to withdraw, and leave him to his own resources.

A.D. 1839

To carry out this plan, the British entered Affghanistan, accompanied by the Seikhs; who, however, did them very little good. At first, everything seemed to go on successfully. The gates of Ghuznee were blown up in novel fashion, by bags of gunpowder placed against them outside, and that fortress, deemed impregnable, taken with a speed which astonished the Affghans in no slight degree. A few days subsequently, Shah Soojah and his allies entered Cabul in triumph, and all serious work seemed to be over. Scarcely, however, was the restored ruler seated on the throne, when the alarming discovery was made that the hearts of the people were not with him, but with the recently expelled king. Dost Mohammed was a person of a character manly and decided. Shah Soojah was a negative sort of being, unfit to reign; and even though he had had virtues, they would have been all obscured in Affghan eyes by the fact that he rested on foreign support. Rebellion, therefore, like a flickering flame, appeared at intervals here, there, everywhere through-

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out the newly conquered land. Now, for instance, it is at Kelat. Now, again, the Ghiljees rise in arms,—the Ghiljees, those savage mountaineers who have always received black-mail to keep open the passes. Then there is a certain lull. Its cause is, that the Dost has been treacherously made a prisoner by the Khan of Bokhara. But anon the captive escapes from prison and is at large again, and there is a ferment everywhere. Again it subsides, for he has presented himself before the envoy, Sir William Macnaughten, the highest British civil functionary in Affghanistan, has surrendered to him his sword, and met, of course, with that courteous reception which enemies always do when they fall into Christian hands. The fallen potentate is sent to live within the Company's territory, on a pension of three lakhs of rupees a year, and Affghanistan is tolerably tranquil again. It is, however, only for a time. The expense of the Affghan invasion and the propped-up king pressed heavily on the Indian finances, and economy was counselled from home. It began with the very worst measure imaginable,—the cutting down the black-mail to the Ghiljee chiefs, who forthwith so closed the passes that they were not forced again without loss of life. This was but the beginning of trouble,—far more formidable trials were at hand. On the 2d of November 1841, an insurrection broke out in the city of Cabul. Sir Alexander Burnes—the Captain Burnes formerly spoken of—with his brother and an officer who was then staying with him, were the first victims, his house being in the midst of the native city. The treasury, also injudiciously placed in the city, was soon plundered, as were the commissariat stores. The British military chief, General Elphinstone, had been a brave man in his day; but that day had long since gone by. He was now old, feeble, and diseased; and it was disgraceful to the government that one so circumstanced should have been intrusted with responsible command. He failed, of course, in energy at the critical moment. So did his second in command, though not so old, and still a brave man. Often, in the hands of able generals, a force of British much inferior to what was now at Cabul had achieved great victories; but on that dark

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November day all skill seemed to have departed, as if God himself had fought against the English, to show them that their Affghan expedition was unblessed in heaven.

Occasional fighting took place for the next few days, things becoming gradually more unfavourable for the Europeans. A great accession to the strength of the insurgents was made when, on the 23d or 25th of November, Dost Mohammed's son, Akbar Khan, reached Cabul, and took the command of the rebels. At length, on the 11th December, Sir W. Macnaughten, the envoy, who had not succeeded in inspiring the military authorities with any of his own heroic spirit, and had failed also in some very questionable measures for sowing discord among his enemies, was persuaded to treat with the Affghan insurgents. An engagement was come to, on the basis that the British should withdraw from Affghanistan, accompanied by Shah Soojah, if he wished to go with them; that they should be unmolested on their retreat by the Affghans; and should be given ample provision for the way. The British kept their stipulation to depart, while the Affghans broke theirs, withholding nearly every part of the promised provision, and attacking the retreating forces whenever opportunity occurred. At length Sir William Macnaughten was persuaded to meet Akbar Khan at a friendly interview. The two accordingly came together on the 23d December, each with a few attendants, when the envoy was shot dead by the treacherous Affghan. The fall of the leader foreboded the worst fate to the forces forsaken by God, which toiled along, in the depth of an Affghan winter, through treacherous defiles, commanded almost everywhere from above, and in the hands of a cruel and treacherous foe. But why need we trace in further detail the mournful retreat? Suffice it to say, that our countrymen, as the world knows, will make a great struggle before they will abandon guns; and should guns be lost, they will make a further heroic effort to retain colours; and if even these be taken from them, they will make the most desperate stand of all for honour. But when, on the 13th January 1842, to quote the words of a forcible writer, "Dr. Brydone, sorely wounded, and barely able from exhaustion to sit upon the emaciated beast that

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bore him, reached Jelalabad," it was to report that "Elphinstone's army [5000 fighting men, with 15,000 camp followers] —guns, standards, honour, all being lost—was itself completely annihilated." The mention of Jelalabad will suggest that some British stations in Affghanistan still remained untaken. This and others did so to the last. Though Cabul fell, and Ghuznee, the scene of former triumph, besieged thirteen days after the Cabul outbreak (the enemy and the winter snow coming together), had to be yielded up, Jelalabad, under Sir Robert Sale, held out; as did Candahar, under General Nott,—both these military leaders, and especially the very able Nott, inflicting heavy loss on the assailing Affghans.

Lord Auckland had doubtless looked forward to the East as a place for victory and renown. He saw it now in other colours; and though he had not had the chief responsibility in bringing on the Affghan war, yet during the last months of his Indian administration he was a disappointed and broken-hearted man. For if the great have their glories, let it not be forgotten that they have their fearful trials too; and when they fail, there sweeps around them a tempest of utter desolation, far more severe than any which common people have almost ever to encounter in their humbler spheres.

We fear it is but too plain that the expedition to Affghanistan was a national sin, followed, and followed promptly, by national punishment. Looked at from this important point of view, the blood-stained narrative has a lesson for Britain, and for all lands. It teaches that He who rules in heaven is sternly and impartially just, and will not permit even the most powerful empire with impunity to violate his righteous law.

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CHAPTER XIX.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

The evacuation of Affghanistan.
The annexation of Scinde.
War with Gwalior.
Lord Ellenborough recalled by the Court of Directors.

LORD AUCKLAND was succeeded by the Earl of Ellenborough, formerly President of the Board of Control for the affairs of India. Before leaving for the East, the noble earl was entertained by the Court of Directors with the usual dinner given to departing Governors-general, and emphatically declared he meant to be a peace governor. His heart was doubtless set on fulfilling his laudable ambition, when, on reaching Calcutta on the 21st February 1842, he was informed of the Affghan disasters. Lord Auckland had resolved to withdraw the troops entirely from Affghanistan, his eyes now being open to the fatal mistake committed about Shah Soojah's popularity; and Lord Ellenborough prepared to carry out his predecessor's judicious resolve. General Nott, who had held Candahar triumphantly throughout the winter, was clear for advancing on Cabul, before finally retreating; and General Pollock, who was sent into Affghanistan from Peshawur to relieve the beleaguered garrisons, was of Nott's opinion. The matter was curiously arranged. Ellenborough still insisted that the generals should retreat; but, at their own request, they were allowed to retreat by the way of Cabul and Ghuznee, in place of by a quieter route. Though strangely called retreat, this looked remarkably like a new advance upon the centres of the rebellion, first and foremost of which was the Affghan capital. The march of both generals was successful in the highest degree. Jelalabad was relieved; Ghuznee would have been so too, had it not already fallen; and, finally, the British flag was made to float in triumph over the Bala Hissar, the fort commanding the city of Cabul. The great

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bazaar at that capital, in which the head of the unhappy envoy Macnaughten had been brutally exposed to the derision of the multitude, was completely destroyed by order of the generals, to mark the European displeasure with that nefarious deed. Afterwards the British forces were withdrawn from Affghanistan; the prisoners in the hands of the Affghans recovered; and, finally, by an act of magnanimity, Dost Mohammed, whom the English now felt they had wronged, was set free, with all the other Affghan prisoners like him in captivity. When the army was once again safe in India, a great review and military display took place on the great plain of Ferozepore. Among the glitter and glare of this brilliant spectacle, Lord Ellenborough's mind seemed to undergo a transformation, and the peace-loving governor acquired a taste for war.

Any student of human nature might have reasoned out that war would soon follow on the Affghan disasters. All enemies of England, of course, were encouraged by these fatal reverses; and, contrary to what might at first sight appear, the Anglo-Indian government itself would be all the more likely, on account of what had happened, to rush again into the battle-field. When, in private life, one is sensible he has done some grievous wrong, which has recoiled on his own head and wrought him mischief, he is ashamed of himself, and yet does not like openly to confess it, for fear of merciless treatment on the part of his foes. He is, therefore, given to brooding in solitude over his unhappy circumstances, and dislikes for a season to venture from his house. When at length he does again walk along the street, he fancies that every one is looking at him, pointing at him the finger of scorn, and plotting his utter ruin. Into such a frame of mind did the Anglo-Indian government fall after its retirement from Affghanistan. It brooded over its wickedness and what it had suffered in consequence, and was truly penitent for what it had done. Yet it felt that its circumstances were very far indeed from being desperate, and almost, if not altogether, wished some foe might presume on its imagined weakness, and attack it, that it might show its eager readiness for the fray, as in former days. When the British lion is in this sullen mood, and

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his ordinary sweetness of temper and magnanimity disappear, beware of trifling with the beast just then, for very slender provocation will make him spring on a real or imagined foe. It is to be feared that the provocation was, indeed, much too slender which made him rush furiously on Scinde, and make a prey of the ruling authorities of that kingdom, one and all. Scinde had for some time been governed by Mohammedan rulers of the Shiah sect, termed ameers, of whom there were five in Lower Scinde, with Hydrabad for their capital, and one leading one—the old Mir Rustum Khan—in Upper Scinde, at Khyrpore. Ruling, as the ameers did, along the banks of the Lower Indus, it was natural and right that a commercial power like Britain should negotiate for the opening of the great river free of tolls to the merchants of the world; but this was adjusted quite peacefully. The proposal to suspend the article of the treaty which forbade the passage of armies or military stores, and the demand that Scinde should render Shah Soojah and his allies some assistance, were, it is to be feared, the enforcement of the will of the strong upon independent rulers, because they were known to be weak. There were other doubtful acts, on which it would too much crowd the page to enter. We pass on at once to a period subsequent to the withdrawal from Affghanistan, when the new Governor-general found, if he did not even seek, occasion of interference with Scinde. The qualifications of a diplomatist and those of a general are so different, that they rarely meet in one individual. They had, however, done so in Colonel, afterwards Sir James Outram, who had once been the British representative in Scinde. Sir Charles Napier, who superseded him and took the supreme place there, had not the combination of qualities required. Like most of the Napier family, he was possessed of vast military genius and energy, but, though exceedingly shrewd, was yet too hasty, self-willed, and unconciliatory, to be a great diplomatist. He decided against the ameers, on a charge that some of them had shown hostility during the Affghan war—though it had been so trifling, that gratitude ought really to have been the feeling with which their conduct at that time should have been regarded. Charges of hostility

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to the Company (which seem to have been unfounded) having been brought against Mir Rustum Khan of Khyrpore by his brother Ali Morad, Sir Charles Napier believed them, and, to the disgust of the people of Scinde, summarily transferred the dominions of the accused ameer to the brother who had brought the charge against him. In atonement for the alleged hostility of the ameers, a new treaty was forced on them, which, at Colonel Outram's entreaty, they reluctantly signed, while their urgent request for the restoration of Mir Rustum was refused. Two or three days after the signing of the treaty, the Beloochee army, with or without the consent of the ameers (but in either case the responsibility was theirs), treacherously attacked Outram's residence, and were beaten off by his escort. Whatever might be said against the success of General Napier's diplomacy, nothing could be alleged against that of his military operations; for, at the head of about 3000 men, some days after the attack on Outram, he, on the field of Meance, entirely routed the Beloochee army of 22,000, capturing the whole of their artillery, ammunition, standards, and camp. Again the Beloochees gathered against him, but were defeated at Dubba as thoroughly as they had been before. The same success attended Napier's arms in the smaller contests that followed, and the war was soon brought to an end. Scinde was made a province of the Anglo-Indian empire, and the ameers, one and all, were carried off to Bengal.

Troubles soon after broke out at Gwalior. A young rajah, eight years old, had been adopted by a young queen-dowager, aged twelve. Both, of course, required a regent for their guidance. In these circumstances the affairs of the government fell into confusion. Lord Ellenborough therefore advanced towards Gwalior with Sir Hugh Gough, the commander-in-chief, and an army, to put things in order. It was not thought the Mahrattas of Gwalior really meant to fight, and the heavy guns were left behind. On approaching Gwalior from two sides, it was unexpectedly found the Mahrattas were bent on hostilities; and the British, though they had not come as foes, could no longer decline the combat. The two separate portions of their army, therefore, each inflicted on the Gwalior forces a sanguinary defeat on the same day. The locality

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of the greater battle was Maharajpore; that of the lesser, Punniah. The British, too, suffered severely. Some of them despised the foe,—a fault to which their over-courage makes them prone. One officer, for instance, deeming he was to meet a mere rabble, declared he would desire no better weapon than a stout horse-whip for the approaching contest; and, the guns in the field being too light for the work they were designed to do, the Mahratta cannon had, contrary to all rule, to be captured by the bayonet. The young ranee, who was found most hostile, was set aside; the army disbanded; and 6000 men, disciplined by British officers, substituted in its room. It is believed by some that the Governor-general already saw the gathering storm in the direction of the Punjaub, and that, in his arrangements at Gwalior, he was making sure of his rear, in anticipation of a severe contest on the northern frontier. Like the war-horse, he smelled the battle afar off, and openly avowed his regret that he had not been made by Providence a soldier. The really pacific Court of Directors were far from being gratified to see warlike ardour thus taking possession of their most distinguished servant, and dreading the ultimate result, suddenly cut short his career. On the 15th June 1844 he was recalled from his high office, and soon afterwards departed for England. The Court and the public generally deemed him a very able, but an unsafe man. He sometimes mistook half truths for truths in their entirety, while at other times he was right when most others were wrong. The taste for war developed within him by the Eastern scenes through which he had passed was dangerous in no slight degree to the real welfare of the empire. And yet it may be questioned whether the Court of Directors were shut up to the strong measure of summarily recalling a Governor-general who, though in some respects eccentric, had without doubt, in all cases, done what he deemed best for the interests of his masters, and the welfare of the great empire committed to his care.

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CHAPTER XX.

LORD HARDINGE AND THE FIRST SEIKH WAR.

Mr. Wilberforce Bird abolishes slavery in the Company's territory.
Lord Hardinge's education order.
Troubles in Kolapore and Sawuntwaree.
Danger in the direction of the Punjaub.
Historic retrospect of the rise of the Seikh faith and nation.
The first Seikh war.

OFTENER than once has it been necessary to record how measures, assailing or confirming great principles, were passed during the brief intervals that elapsed between the departure of one Governor-general and the arrival of his successor. Another case of the same kind must now be mentioned. On the departure of Lord Ellenborough, Mr. Wilberforce Bird, to whom the authority was temporarily confided, abolished the mild kind of slavery which had hitherto prevailed in part of the Company's territory. Soon afterwards Lord Hardinge arrived, and assumed the supreme power.

The blessing which Lord Ellenborough had only desired, his successor had actually received—Providence had made him a soldier. He had not only witnessed the pomp and glitter of war, but had also experienced some of its disadvantages, having on three different occasions been wounded, the last injury he had received necessitating the amputation of his left hand. He came to Calcutta with a sincere desire to cultivate the arts of peace; A.D. and within a few months issued the celebrated order **1844** that youths qualified for the government service should be admitted into it, whether their education had been received at government or at other schools. This was one of the most just and beneficent measures with which an Indian ruler could have his name associated. Some petty troubles in the fall of the same year within the little Mahratta states of Kolapore and Sawuntwaree, troubles leading to hostilities, which continued for about six months, fell to be managed by the Bombay, rather than by the Calcutta

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government; and Lord Hardinge might still have prosecuted his beneficial reforms, had not a gathering storm on the side of the Punjaub drawn his attention away to that quarter.

The Seikhs, whose movements began to occasion anxiety, had had a singular history. Their first gooroo, Nanuk, as has been already mentioned, was a Hindu reformer, who was born in A.D. 1469, and began to teach about the year 1490. His tenets were not very different from those of Vedantism, and were still liker the teaching of the weaver Kabir. Toleration of Hindu and Mohammedan alike, and the worship of one Supreme Being, were the better features of Nanuk's faith; while the retention of the Hindu mythology was its most objectionable part. Three gooroos in succession followed Nanuk, the last of whom was murdered by the Mohammedans;—an outrage which acted so powerfully on the mind and heart of his successor, Har Govind, as ultimately to work an entire change in the character of the Seikh disciples. Those who have much experience of Eastern life are sure to fall in with two descriptions of gooroo. There is the gooroo of delicate nerve, and body almost as thin and shadowy as the doctrines he teaches. Again, there is the gooroo of strong corporeal part, and with an intellect of corresponding cast. Surrounded by a circle of admiring friends, he is accustomed to give unmistakable proof of the vigour of his mind. Environed by a group of unadmiring foes, he has been known to furnish evidence as irrefragable of the strength of his arm. In times of persecution, a gooroo of the first kind will counsel flight or submission, whilst a gooroo of the second type will be almost sure to propose repelling force by force. Had the pacific Nanuk lived when the Mussulmans slew the fourth Seikh gooroo, his known sentiments lead us to believe he would have recommended peace; but, happily as it proved for the Seikhs, Har Govind, who succeeded the murdered man, was a gooroo of the second kind described, or gooroo of double function, and raised his voice for war. Under him and his immediate successors the Seikhs were prosperous beyond their most sanguine expectations, and the fifth from Har Govind, a kindred spirit, the even more warlike gooroo

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Govind, triumphantly completed what Har Govind had begun. He abolished caste among the Seikhs; made them into a political body; ordered them to wear a blue dress; always to carry with them steel in some shape; and to take the name of Singh (lion),—to which, though they were mostly of the courageous race of Jauts, they as low-caste men were not by Hindu law entitled. They became a race of fighting fanatics, propagating their religion by the sword. When the bellicose gooroo Govind fell in battle in the year 1708, the Seikhs became a turbulent republic, with its several parts much divided against each other. Then a great man arose among them,—Runjeet Singh, "the lion of the Punjaub,"—and, consolidating the factions into one, began to lay the foundations of an empire. His half-finished work fell to pieces when he died; a reign of terror commenced; the army, much of it disciplined by French officers, grew too strong for the government, and murder followed murder, as if the nation had become insane. The queen, a bold, bad, licentious woman, perceived her time was fast approaching, and, (unless she has been much calumniated,) to save her life, persuaded the turbulent army to invade the British dominions, comforting herself with the assurance that a large part of it would never return. And so, without warning given, in a season of profound peace, it began to cross the Sutlej, with the intention of overrunning and plundering the British possessions on the further side. Sir Henry Hardinge, though he had not expected an act so wicked or so bold, had quietly strengthened all the stations towards the Punjaub, in case of trouble arising, and now he drew together forces from all quarters, with a speed unusual in Indian warfare, to repel the wanton invasion. A force, made up of several of these detachments, had reached Moodkee by noon of the 18th December 1845. They had marched along roads of heavy sand, one hundred and fifty miles in six days, the last twenty-one miles that day, and then, using their shakos for goblets, had drunk and drunk, and yet again had drunk at the tank, as if they never could have enough of its muddy waters; and now they trusted they might be allowed some time to prepare for the approaching struggle. Their wish could not

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be gratified. By three the same day, before food and rest could be obtained, a portion of the Seikh army began to advance upon them; and soon the roar of battle was heard. It is forbidden to a Governor-general to expose his valuable life unnecessarily, and Sir Henry Hardinge went to the rear, while Sir Hugh Gough led on the forces. The Seikhs fought with a desperation inspired by fanaticism and the memory of former victories over Mohammedan foes; but their most determined efforts were vain. The steady bravery and fortitude of the British soldier were more than a match for the wild impulse of Seikh fanaticism, and after the struggle had continued for a time, a resistless charge from the British cavalry decided the event of the day. The Seikhs were driven with heavy loss from the field of Moodkee, leaving in the hands of the victors no fewer than seventeen guns. This was a splendid beginning to the war; but a beginning only. 35,000 Seikhs occupied an intrenched camp around the village of Ferozeshuhur, while 26,000 more, under the Seikh commander-in-chief, Tej Singh, lay before Ferozepore, threatening its capture. Here a difficulty presented itself. The victors of Moodkee required reinforcements before they could do more, and were fain to draw on Ferozepore among other places. There were but 10,500 troops there, under Sir John Littler, the British general; yet he was ordered to join the commander-in-chief with all the forces he could venture to take from the besieged cantonment. Accordingly, he marched off with upwards of half the force under his command, leaving his camp standing, to deceive Tej Singh into the belief that he and his troops were still guarding the place. Thus reinforced, the Commander-in-chief and the Governor-general, who volunteered to act as second in command, resolved to advance on the intrenched camp of Ferozeshuhur. It was found to be what mathematicians call a parallelogram,—one side about a mile, the other half a mile, in length. To Sir John Littler it was given over to attack it on the west. Brigadier Wallace was to take the west and south face; General Gilbert the rest of the south, and as much of the east as he could manage. The division under Sir Harry Smith, and the cavalry, formed the reserve. Sir John Littler's division got first into action, about half-past

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four, P.M., and, when on the eve of achieving success, was ordered by one not authorized to command, to fall back, and did so, with loss. Wallace's force gallantly carried the position in front of it, but with the fall of its leader. Gilbert's, the strongest division in the field, stormed two of the Seikh batteries. Sir Harry Smith's reserve was then brought up, when, before the victory was won, night came on with the suddenness it does in India, and the British army, in detached positions, had to pass the night in presence, not to say in the midst, of the foe. The Governor-general and the Commander-in-chief were with General Gilbert's division, which had bivouacked on the field of battle during that cold December night, uncertain what had become of the rest of the army, and ever and anon molested by the Seikh guns. With the first dawn of the morning that division rose, and gloriously completed the victory for which the previous day had done so much to prepare. Scarcely was all over, and Smith and Littler had time to rejoin the main force, when Tej Singh, whom we left besieging Ferozepore, came in sight. The British ammunition was exhausted, and the great guns remained silent and harmless; the fatigued men, after their great exertions and sleepless night, were not like their ordinary selves, when Tej Singh, after one or two feeble attacks, suddenly withdrew. Various explanations have been given of conduct so foolish for his own cause. The religious mind, when it has thought over these, will feel more satisfaction in reflecting that there is One in heaven who decides the event of every battle, and by whose appointment it is that the victors triumph and the vanquished flee. After the sanguinary battle of Ferozeshuhur, the Seikhs withdrew to their own side of the Sutlej—their grand dream of invincibility gone; and the Governor-general recorded that the invasion appeared to be over. It was appearance only. Within a month from their defeat at Ferozeshuhur, the Seikhs had recrossed the Sutlej at two different places. The sirdar, Runjur Singh, appeared at Buddowal, on the road to the important town of Loodiana, which Sir Harry Smith was sent forward to protect. Wishing to join the small Loodiana force before engaging, he attempted to keep out of the way of the Seikh general, but without success. A run-

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ning fight was forced on him, in which he sustained some loss. At last the wished-for junction was effected, and Smith sought for, instead of shunning the foe. He found the Seikhs at Aliwal; from which he drove them across the Sutlej with great slaughter, and the loss of no fewer than sixty-seven guns. There was then again necessary delay, till the siege train should arrive, before the main body of the Seikhs should be encountered. The invaders lay encamped at Sobraon, within an exceedingly formidable intrenched camp, consisting of a series of semicircular intrenchments, the outer one being two and a half miles from end to end, and half a mile in depth, the whole defended by sixty-seven heavy guns. Their base rested on the river, with the opposite side of which connection was maintained by a bridge of boats. On the 7th and 8th February the first part of the battering train arrived. On the latter day Sir Harry Smith's force came again into camp; and on the 10th was fought the battle of Sobraon. The British tried to take the Seikh intrenchments in flank, penetrating between them and the river; at the same time making false attacks in other parts, to divert attention away from the place seriously threatened. The enemy seem at once to have comprehended the manœuvre; the false attacks were in consequence abandoned, and all effort concentrated on carrying through successfully the one that was real. After a desperate struggle, the Seikh intrenchments were captured, and their defenders, who scorned to submit, driven back and back to the edge of the foaming stream. The bridge of boats gave way when they first began to cross it, and the men of the beaten phalanx fell or were hurled in dense masses into the Sutlej (which had that day risen in flood), and perished in its swollen stream. Only 300 of the British were slain, while, at the lowest calculation, 8000 Seikhs were killed or drowned at Sobraon. Sixty-seven large, with many smaller, guns were left in the conquerors' hands. All was over in four hours from the time the battle began. What the ranee would have said had she seen her handiwork, is not known; but the commander-in-chief could not forbear recording the pity he felt at seeing the terrible destruction of so many brave men. Immediately after the decisive victory of Sobraon the

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army advanced to Lahore. The Jullundar Doab, between the Sutlej and the Beas, was annexed to the British territory. Goolab Singh, the most astute of the Seikh leaders, having prudently held aloof from the war, now came forward and bid a crore of rupees for the sovereignty of Cashmere. His offer was accepted, and he in consequence became ruler of the purchased territory. The rest, or far the larger part of the Punjaub, was left with Dhuleep Singh, the young king; the British, at the urgent request of the Seikh durbar, promising to remain as friends to aid their late foes in reconstructing a government. When about to leave, according to treaty, they were implored to stay, and reluctantly consented to do so for eight years, till Dhuleep Singh should come of age. For his services in the Punjaub war Sir Henry Hardinge was made a viscount. On the restoration of peace he was much occupied with domestic and social reforms, such as the Ganges Canal, roads through the Company's territory, and the abolition of suttee, infanticide, and slavery, in the native states. Such occupations may, in the estimation of some, be of small importance compared with warlike achievements, but they will doubtless be regarded more and more highly as years roll on.

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CHAPTER XXI.

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE, AND THE SECOND SEIKH WAR.

The second Seikh war. | Annexation of the Punjaub.

LORD HARDINGE was succeeded as Governor-general by the Earl of Dalhousie, who reached Calcutta on the 12th January 1848. Unlike his predecessor (who was upwards of sixty years old when he went to India), Lord Dalhousie was in the prime of life. His predecessor is reported to have exclaimed exultingly, at the end of the first Seikh war, that there would not be a gun fired again in India for eight years. But so rarely is it given to man to prophesy correctly, that scarcely had two in place of eight years gone by, when the Seikh nation were again in arms. Strangely enough, their object was to expel from the Punjaub those whom they had urgently requested to remain, when otherwise they would assuredly have departed. The resident, who, aided by a Seikh council of regency, ruled at Lahore, had received from the dewan Moolraj, governor of Mooltan, a resignation of that fortress and town; and Khan Singh, his successor, with Mr. Agnew, a civilian, as political agent, and Lieutenant Anderson, as assistant, had gone with a small escort to Mooltan, to accept the trust resigned. All was going on quite amicably, except that Mr. Agnew wished Moolraj's accounts for six years back, in place of for one, as that chief desired, when the two Europeans were suddenly assailed and wounded while riding with Moolraj, he rendering them no aid. They succeeded in escaping to their quarters, where, however, they were openly attacked by the troops in Moolraj's pay. They defended themselves with spirit, till their Seikh artillerymen went over to the enemy, when a bloodthirsty mob burst from the city under cloud of night, and brutally murdered them both. Khan Singh was spared, but cast into prison. The resident at Lahore, Sir Frederick Curric, was for hur-

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rying up troops, Seikh and English, and at once crushing the rebellion; but the durbar coolly informed him the Seikh troops could not be trusted; and both Governor-general and Commander-in-chief, fearing the health of English soldiers would greatly suffer if sent to the scene of action before winter set in, counselled delay. The rebellion had thus some months to strengthen itself at Mooltan, and spread. And it made the best use of its time. A conspiracy was formed at Lahore, but detected and punished, and the ranee, Jundakhore, the mainspring of all plots, removed for safety to the British dominions. A Seikh gooroo, Bhai Maharaj Singh by name—a very holy man, of course—an emissary of Moolraj's—rose in arms; but, escaping from the troops sent after him, he was attacked by the Mohammedan zemindars, pushed into the Chenaub, and, with six hundred of his followers, drowned. This was not a pleasant beginning for the rebels; and something considerably worse was about to follow at the hands of a young officer, Lieutenant Edwards, assistant to the resident at Bunnoo. That enterprising youth raised troops, more or less trustworthy, wherever he could find them,—those most to be depended on being from Bhawulpore; and with these raw levies defeated Moolraj in the two encounters of Kineyri and Suddusain. Before the first of these fights, the resident had sent him a Seikh force under Shere Singh; and, when the news of the second victory reached Lahore, a British force, under General Whish, was despatched, on the resident's own responsibility, to assault Mooltan. Contrary to the apprehensions that had been entertained, it arrived with very few men sick or lost. Its commander, when he saw Mooltan, was not sure if his force was strong enough to do what it had been sent to effect; and whatever doubt he felt on the subject was very soon solved by his so-called ally, Shere Singh. Chuttur Singh, the father of this Seikh sirdar, had revolted in the Hazara district, and wrote counselling the son to imitate his unfaithfulness. The son, in cheerful obedience to the exhortation of his father, at once deserted Whish, and went over to Moolraj with 6000 troops. Finding himself, however, distrusted by the dewan, he left the rebel stronghold, and marched in the direction of Lahore,

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everywhere counselling the Seikhs to murder the English, and rise in arms. Scarcely was his advice needed; for the troops at Bunnoo were already on the eve of revolting, as were those at Peshawur; and that town, the one coveted by Dost Mohammed, was given over to the Affghans, though Mussulmans, and, moreover, the Seikhs' mortal foes. The siege of Mooltan had therefore to be raised, and Whish and Edwards intrenched themselves and awaited reinforcements before advancing on it again. At last the weary time of waiting was over, and on the 22d November, or about seven months after the murder of the two officers, the commander-in-chief, Lord Gough, took the field. A skirmish soon after occurred with the Seikhs at Ramnuggur, on the Chenaub, and a partial action at Soodalpore, after which Shere Singh fell back from the Chenaub to the Jhelum, where he strongly intrenched himself for a mile and a quarter, from Moong and Chillianwallah to Russool. Lord Gough advanced to the place, and it became doubtful whether it would be there or at Mooltan that the first great blow would be struck. Mooltan had the priority. Reinforcements, with heavy guns, having reached the force besieging that fortress, the bombardment began, and for five days, night and day, the rain of shot and shell crumbled to dust the defences of the devoted city, while explo-

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1849 carried by storm on the 2d January 1849, and only the fort now remained to the rebel chief. A few days more of the iron hail, and it was evident it too would soon fall. By the 21st all was ready for the assault. Moolraj saw that his time was come, and saved all further trouble by giving himself up, unconditionally, with 3,500 men. It was now Lord Gough's turn to fight a great battle; and he did so, but with injury rather than benefit to his military reputation. One great fault as a general is laid to his charge. He had but a lukewarm affection for distant firing. His weakness was for close quarters and the bayonet. Resolving to attack the Seikhs on the Jhelum, he incautiously advanced too closely to their formidable intrenchments; and it was against his nature to go back. Accordingly, late in the afternoon, notwithstanding the experience of Feroze-

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shuhur, he launched his regiments, wearied with the march of that day, on the formidable Seikh batteries, before they had been silenced by his own artillery. Prodigies of valour were, as usual, done in some quarters; in others there were confusion, heavy loss, and in one spot, under a misapprehension, even flight. The sanguinary contest was indecisive; both parties claimed the victory. Shortly after, Shere Singh's father, with new Seikh troops, and some thousand Affghans, joined his camp. Another contest was supposed to be approaching on the old battle-field, when Shere Singh slipped away from Gough's army, and was soon in full march for Lahore. This bold step proved his ruin. When crossing the Chenaub, he met the victors returning from Mooltan, who compelled him to retrace his steps. He thought next of a retreat to his strong position at Russool; but it was too late; the army of Gough were now following him, and soon effected a junction with the troops from Mooltan. He had scarcely time to throw up feeble intrenchments on the plain of Guzerat, when the contest began. The British commander in this battle avoided the errors previously laid to his charge. He began early, and gave full play to his artillery. On, hour after hour, went the pitiless storm of shot and shell, disabling the Seikh guns, and tearing the ranks of their defenders to pieces. No men could stand it long; and, after a time, the Khalsa army felt it was to be a second Sobraon, and fled from the bloody field, leaving heaps of dead and sixty cannon behind. A flying column was immediately started in pursuit, under Sir Walter Gilbert, said to be the best rider then in India. Sixteen thousand Seikhs surrendered to it, bowing, as they gave them up, to their arms, the steel the gooroo Govind had told them to worship, but which had proved vain in the contest with the rapidly rising Christian power. The Affghans were ignominiously chased across the Indus into their savage passes; and Peshawur, obtained by treachery, wrested from their hands again. One hundred and eighty-five cannon were taken in this decisive campaign. When the hostilities came to an end, it was felt that with a native government, or a government partly European, partly native, peace would never be secure. The Punjaub was accordingly annexed to the

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Anglo-Indian empire, and Dhuleep Singh, its youthful king, allowed a handsome pension to solace him in part for the sovereignty he had lost. What is more remarkable, though by natural descent the head of the Seikh race of fanatics, yet he has since sought and obtained admission into the Christian Church; moved to the step, it is said, in large measure, by the atrocious murders he had seen perpetrated by professors of the Khalsa faith. He now lives within the British Isles, is greatly esteemed, and gives every proof that he has embraced the religion of Jesus not in name merely, but in sincerity and in truth.

Thus was another territory of vast extent, and inhabited by warlike races, numbering not fewer than 11,000,000 of population, added to the British Indian empire. The victors had not willed that it should be so, but had been compelled to advance in obedience to a resistless call, which, at many previous periods of their career, had summoned them forward when they paused, and hesitated, and drew back, and said, "It is enough."

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CHAPTER XXII.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATION CONTINUED— THE POLICY OF ANNEXATION.

Successful administration in the Punjaub.
The Sikkim war.
The second Burmese war.
The annexation policy.
Annexation of Sattara, Berar, Jhansi, Nagpore, and Oude.
Internal reforms.
The Persian war.

THE Punjaub annexed, nothing could exceed the skill with which it was put in order, and the fanatic Khalsa warriors induced to settle down into quiet cultivators of the soil. Practice makes perfect; and just as a shoemaker turns out at last articles far superior to what he could have done while yet he was a raw apprentice at his trade, so now the English, having had much experience in Eastern rule, governed the Punjaub with a skill and success that markedly contrasted with the failures of their early attempts in Bengal nearly a century before. The peace which now supervened gave time for some relaxation; and the Governor-general was able to make an extensive tour, in which he sailed down the Indus, visited Bombay and other places, and even went as far as remote Singapore; thus seeing things with his own eyes, instead of trusting to the reports of others. Peace is the time for reforms, and various commissions were issued, one of which ultimately resulted in the reduction of the postage to a very moderate rate—a boon which every one, high and low, will be able to appreciate.

A little war took place in Sikkim, in 1849, occasioned by the senseless arrest of Dr. Campbell, the superintendent of Darjeeling, and Dr. Joseph Hooker, the celebrated botanist. It ended by the flight of the king from his capital without firing a shot; and, before he was allowed to return, he had to cede that part of his territory situated in the Tirai at the foot of the hills, and forfeit the payment of rent for the sanitarium of Darjeeling he had previously enjoyed.

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Three years after this petty war, one on a larger scale broke out in Burmah. The barbarous court of Ava had forgotten the lesson taught it a quarter of a century before. It had made the life of the resident—appointed, under the treaty of Yandaboo, to live at Ava—so uncomfortable, that the residency had been withdrawn first to Rangoon, and afterwards entirely from the Burmese dominions. A fitting representative of the arrogance of his court, the governor of Rangoon oppressed the foreign merchants and ship captains that had recourse to the seaport town over which he ruled; and, when Commodore Lambert was sent with three ships to demand redress, he met with such a reception from the governor that he had to send a message to Ava, demanding the recall of the delinquent. He was accordingly removed, and a governor sent in his room who was discovered to be no improvement on his predecessor: the redress of grievances was refused; and soon the British and the Burmese found themselves at war. The British speedily captured Martaban, and then prepared to assault Rangoon, which was defended by 25,000 men. Some stockades in front of it were taken, and then the main position of the Burmese at the Dragon pagoda was attacked. In the contest which ensued, the shot and shell from the ships did great execution; showing the enemy, to their great astonishment, that, while they had been stationary for the previous quarter of a century, the Anglo-Indian government had made great advance in the art of war. Under these circumstances the pagoda was, as might have been expected, speedily taken. On the 14th of April the enemy were driven from the town of Rangoon itself, they suffering heavily, while the British loss was very trifling. On the 19th May the Company's forces captured Bassein;—not, of course, the town where the celebrated treaty with the peshwa was made, but a Burmese one on a river of the same name, not far from Cape Negrais. This Burmese Bassein was defended by no fewer than 7000 troops; yet the English, 1000 in number, but powerfully aided by their ships, speedily put the large garrison to rout, with heavy loss to the defeated party. A small force soon after expelled the Burmese from Pegu, and gave it over to the Peguers, or Taliens, whose

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ancestors had once been the rulers of Burmah. The Peguers soon lost the town again, and needed it retaken for them once more. Prome was, in the same fashion, captured twice. One interesting feature in the Burmese war was, that some of the old Seikh army which had fought so desperately *against* the English by the rivers of the Punjaub, had volunteered to fight *for* them in Burmah, and actually assisted at some of the later actions of the war. On December 28th, 1852, the Governor-general proclaimed Pegu annexed to the British dominions; stating, at the same time, that he meant to cease fighting in Burmah, but if the Burmese wished to go on so would he, till their whole empire was taken. They had no desire to proceed; fighting consequently ceased. A revolution some time afterwards took place at Ava, by which the king, hostile to England, was deposed, and his brother, who was more friendly, set up in his room. This was a beneficial change, and by the end of 1854, tolerably amicable relations were again established with the Burmese court.

The annexation of the Punjaub, and of part of Burmah, were extensions of territory which could not have well been avoided, and for which at least there were reasons universally understood. Other cases, however, followed before long, in which the justice and expediency of what was called the annexation policy were open to serious question. It will be remembered that when the Company's power first became strong in India, the Marquis Wellesley wished to engage all the independent states in a system of subsidiary alliance; undertaking, if they paid the troops required for their support, to defend them against internal or external wars. In many places the system had worked ill. Some native governments, knowing that they were supported by the nearly invincible British bayonets, frightfully oppressed their subjects—disregarding all remonstrances offered them by the protecting power. Conscience was becoming more sensitive among the English; the responsibilities of government were beginning to be better understood; and Lord Dalhousie felt that, if a fair opportunity offered of taking the management of certain territories from the native potentates who misgoverned them, in place of

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lending the British troops to keep these misgoverning kings on the throne, great good would be done. When, then, any native king died without leaving direct heirs, Dalhousie resolved, in some cases, at least, to refuse permission to transfer the authority to a distant relative adopted for the purpose, and regard the kingdom as a fief that had lapsed to the paramount power. Natural ambition may have had a little to do with this bold resolution; but the chief motive was the desire to escape from a false position, if it possibly could be done. So early as 1849 the principle had been adopted in regard to Sattara. It was so also in respect to Jhansi, in 1854. The large territory of Nagpore, with an area of 70,000 square miles, and a population of four and three-quarter millions, followed in 1854. The district of Berar, greatly desired for its cotton-growing capabilities, had been obtained in 1853, not by failure of direct heirs, but to aid in liquidating the nizam's great pecuniary debt to the Company, and to relieve him of the payment of the contingent. The writer of these lines had opportunities of witnessing the effect of the two last measures. In the Nagpore country, perhaps six out of every seven people were pleased with the thought of becoming British subjects; while the remaining seventh, comprising most of the people of rank, and especially those who had been hangers-on about the palace, and found no niche into which they could fit under the new system of things, were bitterly opposed to the annexation. In Berar, which had been much misgoverned while under Mohammedan rule, his missionary colleague and himself, the year before the absorption of the territory, were continually asked, "When are your people coming to take the country?" and the most eager desires were expressed that the wished-for consummation might not long be delayed. After the annexation, which the people had looked on as the remedy for every woe, they were disappointed that all grievances were not at once redressed, but were still thankful for the change which had taken place.

A still greater addition was yet to be made to the empire, being no less than Oude, with an area of nearly 24,000 square miles, and a population of at least 5,000,000. It was annexed on account of the dreadful misgovernment

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that prevailed. The rulers of Oude, first under the name of nabob viziers, and afterwards as kings, had long been friendly to the Company; and cases had not been wanting in which they had lent money, at times when money was much required. If, then, there had been no third party in the case, but only the ruler of Oude on the one hand, and the Anglo-Indian government on the other, the annexation of the kingdom would not have had the shadow of justification. But the very friendship of the English government had given the sovereigns of Oude greater power of oppression than in other circumstances they would have possessed,—power of which some of them had availed themselves to the fullest extent. At length a crisis came in Oude, which the English government could no more look at unmoved, than one could without apprehension contemplate his neighbour's house taking fire. A fierce fanatical spirit had for some time been springing up among the Mussulmans of India, and, to some extent, of the world; and at last, in 1855, a Mohammedan mob resolved to attack and demolish the revered Hindu shrine of Hunooman Ghurree, on the site of the old Ayodhya,—the most ancient temple of the monkey god existing in India. The Hindu devotees swarmed out from the neighbouring convents, and inflicted heavy and not undeserved slaughter on the Moslems, who, in the middle of peace, had gone forth to robbery and murder. A moulvie of Amathee, by name Ameer Ali, led a host of Mussulmans to revenge the deaths of the "martyrs" of Hunooman Ghurree. Colonel Barlow, an officer in the service of the King of Oude, was put at the head of some troops, and, aided by the Hindu peasantry, slew the moulvie, dispersed his followers, and put an end to the incipient religious war. The connivance of the king with the outbreak of his co-religionists was held to be established; troops were in consequence marched on Lucknow. When they arrived, the palace was occupied, without a shot being fired; the king requested to abdicate; and when he declined to comply, he was formally deposed, and Oude annexed to the British Indian dominions. The absorption of this great territory took place on the 7th February 1856.

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While these events were in progress in the East, the Sultan of Turkey, aided by England and France, was holding his own successfully against the gigantic Russian despotism, which sought his overthrow. This great war largely stirred up Mohammedan fanaticism throughout the world, and may have tended to produce the Mohammedan outbreak in Oude. It certainly acted with bad effect at Teheran, and hurried Persia into the folly of a war with Britain. Rightly or wrongly (as has been explained in a former chapter), the British government deemed it of importance that the Persians should not take Herat, on the Affghan frontier. While the Crimean war was in progress, Russia gained some two or three successes in Asia, though suffering terribly in Europe. Persia understood the Asiatic part of the struggle, but not the much more important European one, and fell into the great error of supposing Russia was gaining; on which account the Teheran court thought it safe to break with England and seize Herat. Seeing what was coming, the shrewd old Dost Mohammed of Cabul had asked for the renewal of friendly relations; and his request had been granted, and aid furnished him against the Persians. More decided measures were, however, adopted. An expedition was sent up the Persian Gulf, which speedily took Bushire and Karrak, and inflicted a heavy loss on the Persians at the battle of Khooshab. The British arms were still making way, when Persia thought it prudent to solicit peace. As Lord Dalhousie's reign had commenced with a great war—that in the Punjaub—so it terminated with a war of some magnitude—that in Persia. None of his predecessors—not Clive or Warren Hastings, not the Marquis Wellesley or the Marquis of Hastings—had added so much territory and so large a population to the empire; and yet scarce any—not Lord William Bentinck himself—had initiated so many reforms. Some of these have already been adverted to, but others must still be mentioned. In 1853 infanticide was abolished in the Punjaub, not by a peremptory order from the European administrators of the province, but by a vote of the influential natives themselves. In the same year the first railway was opened in India,—that from Bombay to

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Tanna. The electric telegraph had preceded it nearly a couple of years, having been in operation as early as the last month of 1851. Lord William Bentinck's righteous regulation, by which no one was to be deprived of his ancestral property, if, in exercise of the right of conscience, he abandoned the religion of his fathers, originally confined to Bengal, was now extended to the whole British territory in India. The re-marriage of widows was made legal, in place of their being left to a life of degradation and sin. Many improvements in the administration of particular districts were carried out; among which may be mentioned the establishment of the Santhal pergunnahs, with the view of doing justice to that wild race,—a rebellion they made in 1855 revealing that they had had to endure great oppression at the hands of Bengalee money-lenders, who at times charged them 500 per cent. on any money they might borrow.

The renewal of the charter in 1853 made some changes tending in the same direction as on previous occasions; that is, to depress the Company and strengthen the Board of Control—in other words, the British Government. A change of importance, which ought yet to produce beneficial consequences on a large scale, was the resolution to open the civil service to all, Europeans or natives, who could gain their way to it by success in a public competition in England.

In anticipation of the renewal of the charter, an inquiry was conducted by the Rev. Mr. Mullens into the statistics of Christian missions in India. It was found that, in 1852, 443 ordained missionaries—48 of them natives—were labouring in India and Ceylon. They had under their charge a native Christian community of 112,191 souls. 47,504 boys were being educated in vernacular day-schools; 2,414 in boarding-schools; and 14,562 boys or young men in superior English schools,—many of them in those admirably conducted "Institutions" of which the first was established in Calcutta by the distinguished missionary, Dr. Duff, in the year 1830. Of girls, 11,519 were receiving instruction in day-schools, and 2,779 in boarding-schools. The entire Bible had been translated into ten languages, the New Testament into five others, and separate Gospels into yet other four.

Lord Dalhousie went home in 1856, with his glory at its

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height. As he was still comparatively young, his friends anticipated for him new triumphs in his native country—an admirer of his saying that it might be but an episode in his life that he had been Governor-general of India. But alas for the vanity of human hopes! it proved to be by far the most important part of that life itself. He never recovered the shock his constitution had received from continuous and hard labour in India, but died before he could even take office at home. But speedy as was his demise, his glory, which had seemed firmly fixed for all time, died before he himself passed away; for the dreadful mutiny and rebellion breaking out the very year after he quitted India, his countrymen, generally ignorant of Eastern affairs, supposed he had done it all, and could see no merit in any part of an administration which appeared to have left to the succeeding one such a legacy of blood. There was much of injustice in this, which will yet pass away; and though the policy of Dalhousie has been formally abandoned, the greatness of Dalhousie will be more and more frankly acknowledged with the lapse of years.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CANNING—THE MUTINY AND REBELLION.

Constitution of the native armies.
That of Bengal becomes disaffected.
The mutiny at Meerut.
Delhi falls into the hands of the mutineers.
The proclamation of a Mogul emperor.
Spread of the mutiny and rebellion.

THE Marquis of Dalhousie was succeeded by Lord Canning, who was sworn in as Governor-general at Calcutta on the 29th of February 1856. The occurrence which will make his administration an epoch for all succeeding time in India, was the horribly-eventful mutiny.

The armies of the three presidencies had all along been totally distinct from each other, and had been under different commanders-in-chief. That of Bengal had to garrison not merely the lower part of the valley of the Ganges, but also the whole north-western provinces to far-remote Peshawur. Its numbers were consequently very great—the sepoys alone amounting to no fewer than between 80,000 and 90,000. A European soldier will, as a general rule, fight about three sepoys, armed and disciplined like himself; but the proportion of soldiers to sepoys had been reduced much below this amount. In May 1857, in the Bengal infantry there was but 1 European to 24⅔ sepoys,—or, to speak more intelligibly, 3 to 74; this fearful inequality being allowed to arise because few suspected the Bengal native army would ever prove unfaithful to the colours in following which all its glory had been gained. Partly from gratitude to the sepoys for past services, partly from knowledge of the power they had acquired, their wishes were deferred to on all occasions; it was felt dangerous to impart to them any enlightenment; and when at times they mutinied, the old stern punishment of death, which used to be inflicted for that most deep-dyed of all military crimes, was generally commuted into a lighter penalty. A considerable change had gradually come over the

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composition of the Bengal army. The sepoys who had fought under Clive and Coote had many of them belonged to the aboriginal tribes, independent or subdued. This valuable element had, however, in process of time, wholly disappeared from the army of Bengal, and means had been taken to prevent its return. With the exception of one regiment—the 66th, which Sir Charles Napier had filled with aboriginal Ghoorkas, as a lesson to the mutinous high castes—nearly all the regiments of the Bengal army were crowded with sepoys of the two high-born races, the Brahmans and Rajpoots, who, unless they had lost faith in their own caste system, must have looked on their English officers, and the Governor-general himself, as incalculably their inferiors in the grade of merit, if not in the social scale. The Madras and Bombay armies had not undergone a similarly disastrous change. The difference between the composition of the armies of Bombay and Bengal will clearly appear from the following extracts from their respective regulations for enlistment:—

"BOMBAY REGULATIONS.	"BENGAL REGULATIONS.
"We receive all but those addicted to theft, drunkenness, and other destructive vices."	"Especial care must be taken to reject all men of the inferior castes, such as petty shopkeepers, writers, barbers, oilmen, shepherds, thatchers, pawn-sellers, grain-parchers, porters, palkee-bearers, sweetmeat-makers, gardeners and vegetable dealers, and any others habitually employed in menial occupations."

Only second to the Brahmans and Rajpoots of the Bengal army, in point of numbers, were the Mussulmans; and throughout India at large, every eighth man was a Mohammedan. This portion of the population had suffered far more than the Hindus had done through the establishment of the Christian empire. The governments overthrown by the English in India had been mainly Mohammedan governments, the fall of which gave increased political importance to the Hindus. Besides this, the Hindus, flocking to the schools which imparted the knowledge of the West, there qualified themselves for office, and sought and obtained posi-

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tions of influence under the new empire. The Mohammedans, on the contrary, with a few honourable exceptions, held aloof from the schools, and, not becoming fitted for office, began slowly to sink in society to the base of the social system, of which they had once been the crowning part. In consequence, they perpetually brooded over their hard lot,—many of them sighing for the day when they might obtain an opportunity of revenging themselves for all their sorrows, by imbruing their hands in Christian blood. Need it be said, this was a most fatal policy to adopt, for it was sure to recoil, sooner or later, upon their own heads, and do them far more injury than they were likely to have the opportunity of inflicting on the Christians whom they fancied to be their foes?

In the year 1856 terminated the war waged by the head of the Mohammedan faith against Russia, and in which France, England, and Sardinia had combined, for the defence of the sultan. All the nations engaged in that terrible struggle felt they had learned much during the war. One lesson taught them had been how superior to the old musket was a new description of rifle, which, if made on the French pattern, was called the *Minie*, and if on the British one, the *Enfield*. When at Inkerman eight thousand British had been left for some hours to stand unaided against the attack of nearly eight times as many Russians (or Muscovites, as they sometimes were called), a spectator of the battle, describing the effect of the new weapon, then for the first time tried in British hands, used words like the following: "Whilst the musket with its thin fire could do nothing against the dense masses of Muscovite infantry, the Minie smote them like the hand of the destroying angel." This most efficient weapon the Anglo-Indian government sought, with the most generous confidence, to put into the hands of the sepoy army. New cartridges were of course needed, to fit the bore of the new rifle, and in greasing them sufficient care seems not to have been taken to exclude all fat prohibited by caste rules. In other words, at the outset, there was a little carelessness, but nothing worse. The men selected for the Dumdum rifle school discovered the grease was not what it should have been; they fancied it was that of

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the cow; and foolishly took up the notion that it was put on the cartridge with the view of breaking their castes, as the first step to forcing them to become Christians. The ordinary view is that all this was mere hypocrisy; and we at once admit that the *Mohammedans* of the Bengal army were deceivers, rather than deceived; but a number of the *Hindu* sepoys appear to have been sincere in their fearful error, and really to have felt the distrust in regard to the designs of the government they so constantly expressed. With the view of manifesting their displeasure, they secretly set fire to bungalows and cut the electric telegraph wires, while, in their night meetings, they hatched the most murderous plots. Government gave the plainest proof how innocent its intentions really were, by issuing a notification that the sepoys might break the new cartridges with their hands; some time after which it withdrew them altogether. For a little, consequently, a lull took place in the storm. But, by-and-by, some frightened fool, or some atrocious traitor, called attention to the fact that the old cartridges were made up with smoother paper than usual; and fearing, or pretending to fear, that the paper might have been prepared with the fat of the cow, he gave the alarm. Not long afterwards, on the 26th February 1857, the sepoys at Barrackpore refused to bite even the old cartridges, and next day seized their arms. They were in consequence disbanded, as the most lenient punishment it was possible to adopt for an act of open mutiny. This mercy failed to produce the beneficial effect it was expected to have. When the sentence of disbandment was known, though not yet carried out, a fanatic, belonging to the 34th Bengal Native Infantry, rushing from the ranks, attacked the adjutant of the regiment on parade; and it was soon found that not merely the guard on duty, but the regiment generally, sympathized with the would-be assassin. Proof was also obtained that the 34th had instigated the 19th to revolt; and it was treated less harshly than it deserved in being simply made to share the punishment of the victims it had seduced. The 34th Regiment was disbanded on the 6th of May, but with no satisfactory result; for conspiracy was evidently at work through the whole Bengal army, and even be-

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yond it, among the disaffected members of the general population.

The first appearance of excitement among the sepoys on the cartridge question had manifested itself as early as the month of January; and, towards the end of February, cakes were transmitted from Cawnpore in all directions, through means of the police. Even at the time it was understood they might possibly indicate a conspiracy. Did these come from Oude, or was Cawnpore and its vicinity the centre from which they issued? If from the former, then the natural indication would be that the adherents of the deposed king of Oude were plotting at Lucknow; if from the latter, the inference would be unavoidable that Nana Saheb, the adopted son of the ex-peshwa Bajee Rao, was already meditating sanguinary deeds. For the grievance of the deposed king of Oude we have considerable respect; but the complaint of the blood-thirsty Mahratta was one that had not in it a shadow of justice. It may be remembered that when the peshwa Bajee Rao was reduced to the last extremity, he surrendered to Sir John Malcolm on promise of a pension. Sir John incurred the displeasure of the Governor-general for fixing it at the enormous figure of eight lakhs of rupees, or £80,000 annually; but yet the extravagant grant was confirmed, that the good faith of government might not be impeached. Bajee Rao lived to draw as pension two crores and eighty lakhs of rupees; that is, £2,800,000 sterling. The pension was given expressly for himself, not for any successor; and, when he died, it was refused to Nana Saheb, who had no title to it, and could not have had it good-naturedly given him and his successors for ever, without derangement of the finances of the empire at large.

But to turn from Cawnpore and the cakes to another part of India: three days after the disbandment of the 34th Regiment, or on Saturday the 9th of May, the brigadier of Meerut, with no proper thought of the responsibility he was incurring, assembled the native force under his command, with the resolution of forcing it to bite the cartridge. He began with one hundred men of the 3rd Bengal Cavalry, who nearly all refused obedience to the ill-timed order. Eighty-five of the recusants were immediately put in irons and sent to

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prison. Next day—the ever-memorable 10th of May—was the Christians' day of rest, and was spent by the more pious of the Europeans at Meerut in the worship of God, while the 3rd Bengal Native Cavalry, with the 11th and 20th Native Infantry Regiments brigaded with it, were talking seditiously and working their courage up to the pitch of mutiny and murder. In the evening, the cavalry rushed at the slightly-guarded prison and released their comrades, while the other regiments precipitated themselves on the cantonment, fired the bungalows, and murdered nearly every European man, woman, and child, on whom they could lay their hands. More than two thousand European troops were cantoned quite at hand, but they were long in being summoned together and brought up to the scene of action; and, when they did arrive and drove the sepoys from the cantonment, by a fatal mistake they pursued the murderous mutineers only a little way. The sepoys, in consequence, leisurely continued their march to Delhi, and some time after entering it, murdered such of the European inhabitants as they could find; were joined by the sepoy regiments to whom, we are surprised to learn, had been intrusted the defence of that great capital; and, proclaiming the Mogul pensioned sovereign emperor of India, converted the mutiny into a political revolt. Delhi contained the largest arsenal in India, which would have been invaluable to the rebels, had not Lieutenant Willoughby, when he could no longer defend it, blown it up, hurling with it into the air hundreds of the murderers and their friends. A boy who was employed in the telegraph office at Delhi, sent to Sir John Lawrence at Lahore telegram after telegram intimating the progress of the mutineers; the last telegram transmitted intimating their approach to the part of the city where the office was, and concluding with the words, "And now I'm off." It was a splendid example of duty done by a young person in dangerous circumstances, and we trust what is stated is correct, that the boy escaped with other fugitives from the doomed city.

The importance of that telegraphic intelligence can scarcely be over-estimated. On the 13th of May, or a day after the fall of Delhi, and before the events there

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and at Meerut had become known at Mean Meer, the cantonment of Lahore, Sir John Lawrence disarmed the sepoy regiments at that important post. The authorities at Peshawur did so likewise to some regiments of the large force constituting that frontier garrison, the sepoys giving up their weapons "with a growl of baffled rage." Disarmament was satisfactorily carried out also at Mooltan. The Punjaub had a great advantage over the rest of Upper India in this respect, that having been regarded as the province most exposed to danger of any in the empire, it had obtained a disproportionate share of the European troops, by the judicious handling of which it was possible in most cases peaceably to disarm the sepoys. Through the whole north-western provinces, on the contrary, the Europeans were, as a rule, too few to deprive the sepoys of their weapons; and consequently mutiny after mutiny took place, accompanied with deep-dyed treachery, and a cruelty by which neither age nor sex was spared. As the red inundation rolled over the land, sweeping away every barrier erected to stem its progress, it added to the anxiety to reflect that there was not a prophet or any one who could tell for how long a period of time it would please the ALL-WISE that the fearful judgment should last. There was not any one who could indicate the spot, on approaching which, the destroying flood would be arrested by the mandate given forth from Heaven, "Hitherto shalt thou come, and no further; and here shall thy proud waves be stayed."

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CHAPTER XXIV.

THE DEATH-STRUGGLE.

Inquiry with which side our sympathies should go in the death-struggle.
Commencement of operations before Delhi.
The Europeans besieged at Lucknow.
First massacres at Cawnpore.
Victories of Neill and Havelock.
The crowning massacre at Cawnpore.

BEFORE detailing the leading incidents of the death-struggle, we ought formally to settle on which side our sympathies should go in the contest. To decide this question impartially it is necessary to fall back upon general principles. Scarcely anywhere in the pages of history do we find a military mutiny with bloodshed of which one can approve. An army cannot rise against the government which trained it to the use of arms, without the violation of one of the most solemn vows of fidelity it is possible for men to take. The mere fact, then, that when the Bengal army mutinied, and began its career of blood, it was trampling under foot its solemn oath, completely deprives it of our sympathy. A much stronger plea may be made out for those of the rebels, whether Hindus or Mohammedans, who did not belong to the army; and the further question arises—Ought we to sympathize with them, or with the Christian government against which they rose? To us it appears that a general principle is applicable to all such cases. We hold that, by the law of God, those who aspire to rule others must show their fitness for that responsible trust by first governing themselves. Suppose they are victorious on the battle-field, they must have self-control enough not to injure any armed man who has surrendered, or any unarmed man, or any woman or child. If victors imbrue their hands in the blood of any of the unoffending classes just named,—especially if they do harm to women or to children,—they show they have not that self-government which is necessary to all who would command in this world. When, then, the rebels not in the army joined the sepoys in

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indiscriminate massacre, they showed that they had been created to be ruled over, and not to rule. Our sympathies go wholly against them in the struggle; and the event has showed that God in heaven was not with them, but with the avengers of the innocent blood they had so wantonly shed.

It is now needful to sketch, however imperfectly, the leading incidents of the death-struggle itself. During the early part of the contest, the regiments that rose in arms did not, as a rule, stay long in the cantonments in which they had mutinied, or do there all the mischief that was within their power. Without very much delay, they generally took the way to Delhi, feeling that on its successful defence the main hope of the rebellion rested. On the other hand, the government were fully assured that mutiny and rebellion, with their accompanying atrocities, would go on unchecked up to the moment it could be reported that Delhi was again in Christian hands. No sooner, then, was the news flashed along the telegraphic wires that Delhi had fallen into the hands of the mutineers, than preparations began to be made for its recapture. The first step necessary to its reduction was to obtain a basis of operations, from which a constant supply of men, guns, ammunition, and food might be sent up to the army in the field. One would have expected that this basis would be found in the lower provinces, which the Anglo-Indian government had so long called their own. It was not, however, there, but, strangely enough, in the newly annexed province of the Punjaub, that the basis of operations for the siege of Delhi was sought and found. Had the Punjaub risen, the siege of Delhi would, apparently, have failed for want of a basis of operations, and India slipped for a time from the British grasp. It was, consequently, a political event of the highest importance, that, in the providence of God, the Seikhs and other native inhabitants of the Punjaub remained faithful during the whole period of the war, —such mutinies and bloodshed as took place within the province being the work of Bengal sepoys, not sympathized with by the population generally. Many causes seem to have combined to make the Punjaub faithful. The country had been so admirably governed since it fell into Christian

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hands, that the old Khalsa troops, who had fought so fiercely by the Sutlej, the Chenaub, and the Jhelum, had come to look on their conquerors as friends, in place of foes. They were, therefore, by no means inclined to cast off the mild and tolerant Christian rule, and help to reanimate the fanaticism of the Delhi Mohammedans, from which their ancestors had suffered so much. Lastly, they had as a ruler the very able Sir John Lawrence, who understood them well, and knew how to sway their minds, in a way that perhaps no man but himself could have done. A basis of operations being obtained, it was next requisite to push on to the revolted capital forces as large as could be obtained; but such was the want of men at that period, that when, on the 4th of June, the British army took post on the ridge north of Delhi, it consisted of only 2200 infantry, 600 cavalry, and 22 field-guns. Happily most of the army were Europeans; and it need scarcely be added that they were stirred up to superhuman exertions by knowing that they fought for their wives and for their children, for their country also, for India, and for man. And feeling this, they did not care though writers on siege operations were unanimous in declaring it against all rule that a fortified place, defended by masses of disciplined troops and by heavy artillery, should be captured by a much less numerous besieging force. They had cast ordinary rules away; had blotted the word impossible out of their vocabulary; and were now resolved, God helping them, to do and to dare—to conquer or to die.

Leaving them to prosecute their most arduous enterprise, we turn our eyes next on the struggle in other parts of India. At first, as has been mentioned, all the regiments, as they mutinied, took the way to Delhi; but, after a time, first one, and then another, new focus of revolt was established. The first was at Lucknow, the capital of the newly annexed province of Oude. The chief commissioner there was Sir Henry Lawrence, brother of Sir John Lawrence of the Punjaub; but, unlike his relative at Lahore, placed where no effort on his part could long prevent mutiny and rebellion. The former broke out, in the usual sanguinary fashion, on the 31st of May. Before it was known how far it would go, Sir Henry Lawrence marched out against the mutineers, and

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encountered them at Chinhut, eight miles from Lucknow. In the midst of the battle, the native artillery in his little army, with shameful treachery, suddenly turned their guns on the Europeans by their side, who were in consequence obliged to fall back, and take refuge in the residency. It, with a small adjacent building, afterwards abandoned, had been fortified for the occasion. Both were immediately invested by the rebel force, and the celebrated siege began.

Cawnpore was lost on the 5th of June,—such of the Europeans as could be found being, as usual, massacred. The rest escaped to a flimsy intrenchment hastily thrown up a few days before by Sir Hugh Wheeler. About a fortnight afterwards, the Christian residents at Futteyghur, becoming unduly alarmed, fled in boats from their station, towards what they deemed the more secure cantonment of Cawnpore; but they fell into the hands of the inhuman monster Nana Saheb, and were all barbarously murdered. An evil adviser of his, a Mohammedan, by name Azimoolah, had much influence over the Nana at this critical time. Azimoolah, who spoke English fluently, had visited London, and met with the very warmest reception, especially from the relatives of the officers stationed in or near Cawnpore. He returned to India by the way of the Crimea, in the hope of seeing the English there meet with some reverse in battle. Reaching Cawnpore, he is believed to have advised Nana Saheb to the worst of his excesses, including the murder in cold blood of those from whose friends he had received such kindness in London. Just before the Futteyghur massacre, Nana Saheb had persuaded the regiments about to leave Cawnpore for Delhi to stay and attack the feeble intrenchment in which the British had taken refuge. They did so; and, on the 27th June, the officer then in command surrendered with his force, on the solemn stipulation that he and they should be sent on to Allahabad. With that shameless treachery, of which Christian countries furnish so few instances, and Mohammedan and idolatrous ones so many, the treaty was violated, and he and his men either massacred in the boats that were to have conveyed them down the Ganges, or taken to the parade-ground and shot. About 108 women and children were for the present preserved. Nana Saheb then set

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himself up as peshwa; and, making Cawnpore his temporary capital, established a third great focus of revolt.

Even before the atrocities now mentioned had been perpetrated, an effort had been made to throw troops on the new centre of revolt at Cawnpore, with the view both of relieving it and ultimately of succouring the garrison of Lucknow. The lower provinces were made the basis for this fresh system of operations, which Colonel Neill of the Madras Fusiliers, at the head of a very small European force, was sent forward to conduct. As early as the month of May he prepared to leave Calcutta on his hazardous mission. Time and tide, it has been said, wait for no man; and so it is, and ought to be, at ordinary periods with railway trains. But such crises as those of 1857 set aside all rules, and Neill was annoyed beyond measure to find the train on the point of starting, before his little band had all arrived. His remonstrances were unheeded; on which, without more ado, he laid hold of the railway officials, and locked them up, at the same time informing the driver it was at his peril if he attempted to start with the train. In a little all the men were safely stowed away in the carriages; the officials were released; and the driver informed he might now move on. This somewhat lawless proceeding showed a man had been got who understood the exceeding magnitude of the danger, and was not afraid to face responsibility in doing what he thought necessary for the success of his great enterprise. We find him next at Benares, with his little band in line with Seikhs and Mohammedan cavalry, nominally his allies, facing the sepoy infantry regiments which were ordered to lay down their arms. A sharp volley of musketry was the only reply, to which the Europeans immediately responded with the deep voice of artillery. The Mohammedan cavalry now treacherously fired on the Europeans at their side. The Seikhs, for some unexplained reason, followed the bad example. Things now looked somewhat dark for Neill and his party, in number but 200, while there were nearly 2000 of the enemy. The Europeans, however, for an hour and a half sternly fought the numerous foes confronting them, and at last drove them all—sepoy infantry, Seikhs, and Mohammedan cavalry—pell mell off the field.

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It seems to have been when the news of this struggle reached Allahabad, that an exceedingly treacherous and bloody mutiny took place there. The very important fort just named, which commands both the Jumna and the Ganges, was for a time in great danger. But Neill appearing, restored order within the fort; and even the town was described by a newspaper correspondent as again "serene." The successful general was preparing for an advance towards Cawnpore, when, without due reason, Colonel Havelock was despatched to supersede him in the command. But the distinguished exploits of Havelock soon removed the regret that he had been sent forward. Havelock had been, when young, a shy and retiring, but strong-willed boy. As a man, he thought for himself, and was consequently looked on by some of his official superiors with suspicion. But it was not the approval of men he sought: it was the approval of God. He was of the sternly Puritan type of character,—one who prayed at home and in public, and preached to his men, and exhorted them to believe in Jesus Christ the Redeemer, and trust for pardon of sin to the efficacy of that Redeemer's blood. Though his heart was in heaven, none discharged earthly duty with more conscientious fidelity. He had taken part in the Burmese and Affghan campaigns, and had fought in three out of four of the great battles on the Sutlej. He had quite recently distinguished himself in the Persian war, and was returning from it when he first heard of the mutiny. He went round to Calcutta, and was sent up, as has been already told, to supersede Colonel Neill in the command. He reached Allahabad on the 30th June, three days after the surrender of the British force at Cawnpore. Not many days after, having finished his preparations, he took the road up country, Major Renaud with a small detachment being in advance. Near Futtehpore, on the 12th of July, the rebels rushed to overwhelm Renaud, never taking time to form, but coming on with horse, foot, and artillery, all confusedly mingled. They did not know that Havelock with his small army was just behind, till they learned it practically by being beaten with some loss, and driven from the field, leaving behind their guns, ammunition, and plunder. Three days later, there was a smaller fight at

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Aoung, and then one on a larger scale, to prevent the destruction of the bridge across the Pandoo Nuddee. In both Havelock was successful. Next morning, or on the 16th of July, he gained the greatest victory of all,—that in front of Cawnpore. The English commander had with him but 1300 men, to oppose to the ruffianly Nana Saheb with 3000; yet the Nana was compelled to flee ignominiously from the field, with his army around him a disorganized rabble. When the conquerors entered Cawnpore, such a sight as human eyes rarely look upon met their view; for the followers of the Nana had, by his order, glutted their ire on the 108 helpless women and children within their power, every one of whom they had inhumanly butchered. When all was over, they had then cast the dying and the dead together into a well, around which were afterwards found shreds of female attire, and the head-dresses of little girls, and locks of hair, and torn and blood-stained Bibles and Prayer-books,—the last named discoveries showing that application had been made to heaven for that pity which men, inhuman as fiends, had withheld on earth. The blessing of God never rested, and never will rest, on a cause stained by such crimes as these. The well has been since built over; and, to give the natives a practical exemplification of the nature of the gospel, a Christian church now marks the too memorable spot where the diabolical deed was done,—a church, in which salvation through the merits of Jesus Christ will be offered to all, with the prayer that the Spirit of God may enable them to believe and accept of the boon. Need it be added, that when, under every provocation, Christians seek to act forgivingly, they do so, not because they were created differently from others, but because they have been enabled to imitate the spirit of their Lord and Saviour, who, when put to a death the most painful and ignominious, prayed for his murderers in the ever-memorable words, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

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CHAPTER XXV.

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE MUTINY AND REBELLION.

Gleams of light.
Partial relief of Lucknow.
Recapture of Delhi.
Complete and final relief of Lucknow.
The victories of Sir Hugh Rose.
Suppression of the mutiny and rebellion.
Extinction of the East India Company as a political power.
Queen Victoria herself assumes the empire of India.

MANY minds eagerly watched the victories of Neill and Havelock, and hoped that they might prove like those first streaks of light in the eastern horizon that presage the departure of a night of gloom, and the return of cheerful day. But hope was held in check by anxiety; for it was just as possible they might rather resemble those dancing meteors that in northern lands oft light up the sky of winter, and then vanishing, leave the darkness to brood undisturbed as before. If Havelock had entered Cawnpore as a conqueror, it was to do the last offices for those he had hoped to meet alive and release. If Delhi was besieged, the narrative of the operations before it described sorties from the garrison, and combats on the broken ground between the armies, while the smallness of the beleaguering force left little hope that, unless largely reinforced, it would speedily triumph over the vastly more numerous foe. If Lucknow still held out, it was surrounded by almost fabulous numbers of sepoys and rebels, who poured shot and shell and volleys of musketry into the residency night and day, and hoped the time was not far distant when the Oudean capital might see Cawnpore repeated, with its shreds of clothing, and its ringlets of hair, and (best of all) its well. But the experience of Cawnpore was not lost within the Lucknow residency, and though its glorious chief, Sir Henry Lawrence, had died of a mortal wound on the 4th of July, yet his successor, Brigadier Inglis, resolved in no circumstances to fall into the mistake of surrendering to a treacherous and blood-thirsty

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foe. To relieve this garrison became the one object of Havelock's life, after he had recovered Cawnpore. He therefore crossed the Ganges on the 25th of July at the head of but 1500 men, with ten guns, and no tents, to invade a revolted province, inhabited by 5,000,000 of warlike people. He had attempted a task beyond the power of man, and, though twice victorious over great odds, yet he had soon to recross the Ganges to wait for reinforcements. These were diverted to some other point of danger, on hearing which he again crossed the Ganges and fought two other successful battles, subsequently returning to Cawnpore. Soon afterwards he dislodged the ruffian Nana from Bithoor, where he had again appeared in force. Reinforcements at length came, and with them Sir James Outram to supersede Havelock, as the reward of all his victories! But Outram, who was a man of the most unselfish generosity, resolved to allow Havelock to continue in the command till Lucknow was reached, himself taking the humble position of a volunteer. Havelock and Outram then crossed the Ganges at the head of 2000 men, drove the enemy before them, captured the Alumbagh from 10,000 defenders, and then forced their way through narrow streets under a murderous fire, till, on the 23d September, they reached the residency. Among others who had fallen in the protracted combat in the streets of Lucknow was the gallant Neill, who had been mortally wounded by a ball from a loopholed building, as he had stopped, while passing beneath a gateway, to give water to a dying soldier. So numerous was the rebel army in the Oudean capital, that it was manifest the small relieving force never could bring off the beleaguered garrison, especially embarrassed as it was by the presence of many ladies and children. To make the attempt would have been madness: all Havelock and Outram could do was to cast in their lot with the defenders of the residency, which accordingly they did, and were themselves besieged. The efforts now detailed, for the relief of Lucknow, will seem the more wonderful when it is added that the way by which Neill and Havelock had advanced from Calcutta was for a time closed by the revolt of the large native force at Dinapore; which, until defeated by Major Vincent Eyre in the

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brilliant action of Jugdeespore, put the whole province of Behar in peril. Nay, more, while everything depended on keeping Cawnpore as the basis of operations against Lucknow, the Gwalior contingent, long restrained by young Scindia, whose loyalty and friendship will make him ever be remembered with gratitude, broke loose and put Cawnpore in imminent danger.

A few days previously to Havelock's entry into Lucknow, a success of a yet more gratifying kind had been granted at the first focus of the rebellion. So many mutineers and rebels had crowded together into Delhi, that by the first week of September they were estimated at 30,000. But while the force within the guilty city had been steadily increasing, that in front of it had been increasing too. During the month of May it had been so small, that it had almost confined itself to repelling sorties from the garrison; and it was evident that, if aught effective were to be done, reinforcements must be sent. But where were they to be got? Had Sir John Lawrence been an ordinary man he would have replied—Not from the Punjaub. And it is a proof of his extraordinary fitness for high office that he once and again managed to despatch Europeans, Punjaubee Mohammedans, Seikhs, nay, even semi-savage mountaineers, to the great scene of strife. A siege-train from Ferozepore next followed, as a parting gift. The sepoys naturally deemed this last arrival ominous of evil to their cause, and attempted to intercept it; but were defeated by the dashing young leader, General Nicholson, and lost thirteen out of the eighteen guns they had taken with them to the field. By the 7th September breaching batteries were beginning to be formed against Delhi. On the 11th they opened fire, and for two days and nights poured shot and shell on the fortifications of the beleaguered city. On the 14th the assault commenced; but, owing to the smallness of the attacking force, which did not then exceed 5000 effective men, the whole city was not in the hands of the British till the 20th. The emperor and the most of his sons were taken. Large numbers of mutineers and rebels had fallen in the siege or in the assault. The rest escaped and took the way to Lucknow, to increase the danger already sufficient there. Pursuing columns were organized, and in-

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flicted loss on them as they fled. One of these columns also achieved a signal victory near Agra, against a new army of revolted regiments, including some of Holkar's. These last had gone off against the will of their young chief, who wrote an English letter, in large text, intimating his fidelity and expressing regret for what had occurred.

All the indications now pointed to Lucknow residency as the place around which the great final struggle would probably take place. The rebels there had still continued to keep up a heavy fire night and day; besides which they had for some time been attempting to mine under the residency, with the view of blowing it into the air. So vigilant, however, had the garrison been, and so skilful had been their countermining, that these efforts had hitherto come to nought. The only appliance of warfare to which the sepoys had not recently had recourse was a combat at close quarters with the cold steel; the reception they had met with at the commencement of the siege, when they had tried this kind of warfare, being so little to their mind, that they shrank from having recourse to it any more. But a great effort to relieve the heroic garrison was now about to be made. Though, when the mutiny first began, there had been but few European troops in India, yet for some time they had been crowding into the country from various quarters. Not merely had some regiments been drawn together from the British colonies nearest India, and a force destined for China been intercepted, and sent where it was more urgently required, but, better than all, the mind of Britain had been aroused, and a little of that tremendous power which it can exert when it is in earnest, had come to be put forth. The saying is attributed to the great Hyder Ali, "It is not of the English I see that I am afraid, but of those I do not see;" and the sepoys and their allies might have adopted the same language when they saw the few thousand Europeans, who had already proved more than a match for them, reinforced within a brief period by 50,000 new soldiers from Europe. After this the final result could not long be delayed. General, afterwards Sir Archdale Wilson, had commanded when Delhi was taken. The army designed for the final relief of Lucknow was led by the very distinguished general, Sir Colin Campbell, subse-

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quently created Lord Clyde. This tried warrior was with an army at Cawnpore by the 5th of November, and, not long after, advanced on Lucknow. He took a different route from that pursued by Havelock; and being so much stronger in men, attacked and carried by storm the defences he found in the way. The loss inflicted on the enemy was very severe, no less than 2000 bodies of slain rebels being taken out of the Secunderbagh alone. On the 17th he entered the residency, and on the night of the 22d, without the loss of a man, secretly withdrew the garrison, with its women and children. He was not a moment too soon in reaching Cawnpore, for when he approached that cantonment, he found it had been almost taken by the Gwalior mutineers. Nevertheless he did not interfere with those foes for the present, but let them have their own way, till he had conveyed the women and children beyond the reach of danger. After this he hastened back and drove the Gwalior forces with heavy loss from the field. Then returning to Lucknow, he tried to enclose the rebels there within a circle of avenging armies; but by the negligence of one, who left a part of the circle broken, many thousands escaped, and required to be pursued for a long time, up and down, before they were finally subdued.

While events were thus going forward satisfactorily in the east, a series of splendid victories was taking place in another part of India. Sir Hugh Rose had been sent from Bombay to march overland to Bengal. And gloriously did he carry out his instructions. He not merely routed the enemy wherever he met them, but subsequently followed each victory up with a vigour peculiarly his own. Among other successes he recaptured Jhansi, whose queen had treacherously got the Europeans into her hands, and then violating the treaty, murdered them all. While Sir Hugh Rose was retaking the place, he also had to encounter what was proudly called the army of the peshwa,—the treacherous and bloody Nana Saheb, of course, being the peshwa, to whom it was thought all honour was due. A yet more glorious success on the part of Sir Hugh Rose, like that which the great Oliver Cromwell termed the "crowning mercy" of his career, was the recapture of Gwalior, from which the faithful Scindia had been

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driven out. But space would fail were we to attempt to present in detail the incidents that marked the decline of the rebellion. Suffice it to say it was at length trampled out, and India seemed to have returned to its former state.

But no! after such a crisis, neither nation nor individual could simply revert to the same state as before. Every one who had taken part in the dread struggle had lived many years in that brief period. Many of the rebels and of the European soldiers who had passed unscathed through the struggle succumbed immediately after it to sickness, having exhausted all their energies through the herculean exertions demanded by the all-responsible time.

Lord Canning lived a few years and then broke down and died, as Lord Dalhousie, his predecessor, had done. The time has scarcely arrived for estimating the character of the Earl Canning. In such a crisis as that of 1857, with telegraphs cut, and each provincial ruler acting pretty much on his own responsibility, the character of the supreme civil ruler is really of less importance than that of his nominal inferiors, civil and military, wielding power in the immediate vicinity of the insurrection. During 1857, the real head of the European empire in the East was oftener at Lahore, at Delhi, or at Lucknow, than among the comparative quietude of Calcutta. During the early part of the mutiny, the European community of the presidency seat just named, being frantically excited, and Canning, fresh from Europe, and, under-estimating the magnitude of the crisis, provokingly calm, a feud sprung up between them, from which both parties suffered not a little. When the power of government was re-established, and Lord Canning was again in fact as well as in name the supreme ruler, his impassive temperament came to be of incalculable value to the British good name, by keeping him firm to his wise and conscientious resolve to allow mercy, as much as possible, its full course. After the restoration of peace, his extensive measures of reform entitled him to the gratitude of all classes of the community; and we doubt not that those who most complained of him during the period of excitement were as ready as others to drop a tear over his grave.

It was thought that one reason of the mutiny and rebel-

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lion was a so-called prophecy, spoken by some Hindu or Mohammedan seer, that the rule of the Company would continue just one hundred years. Plassey, it will be remembered, was fought in 1757; one hundred years from it would conduct us to 1857, the mutiny year. The coincidence is remarkable, but it must be remembered that such prophecies acting on an excitable population tend to work out their own fulfilment. And so it proved in this case. The people of England had never understood the Company, and had never loved it with any heartfelt love. They had turned a deaf ear to any who spoke of its virtues, and been all attention to those who volunteered information regarding its shortcomings. They were determined to have a victim on which they might vent their displeasure, on account of the horrible events of 1857. And so, without much ado in the way of inquiry, they let the unloved Company know that its hour had come. Thus fell the gallant Company, that had won for itself undying renown, and, with some undeniable faults, had had virtues of no ordinary kind. Still, government by a Company was an anomalous sort of rule; admirable, nay, even indispensable, while the British empire in the East was in its infancy, but not adapted for that empire in its full maturity. It was fitting that the responsibility of directing the administration of such a vast territory as India from a distant island like Britain, should be confided to none but the Sovereign. And so, on the 1st of November 1858, there assembled a vast crowd before the Government House in Calcutta, and a proclamation was made, declaring that Queen Victoria, who had hitherto ruled India by her deputy, the Company, would in future herself be responsible for the right government of her vast Eastern territories. Need it be added that the world-wide reputation of that right royal lady is a guarantee that she will do her best, with the help of God, to discharge her solemn trust, and, if the Most High permit, inaugurate a new and better epoch for India than it ever hitherto has known?

A.D. **1858**

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CHAPTER XXVI.

CONCLUDING CHAPTER.

General principles.
The fall of the Anglo-Indian empire in 1857 would have been a curse to India.
Social and political reform, not revolt, the want of India.
Above all, religious reform its pressing necessity.

THE progress of a boy from youth to maturity, and the advance of a nation from barbarism to civilization and liberty, follow the same law. A certain amount of restraint in boyhood, for the education of the intellect, the heart, and the conscience, generally leads to a manhood more glorious than would otherwise have been attained. And when a nation, very partially enlightened, and with little moral power, is conquered by one more advanced, the seeming calamity is often a blessing in disguise. By the law of God, it is well-nigh impossible for a nation permanently to subdue another one, equal to itself in intelligence and moral energy; and we can see the reason why the All-wise and Infinitely-good God has ordered that it should be so,—it is that the one power has little or nothing to impart to the other, and therefore the subjugation of the one by the other would be almost an unmitigated curse.

That so small a number of British were able to possess themselves of so vast an empire as India, and that they were driven against their will, by an irresistible impulse, to do it, to our mind shows that such a conquest was necessary to the welfare of India, and would be overruled to effect good. And much more are we confirmed in this view, when we think of the assistance rendered by the people themselves in the subjugation of their own land. Nor can we regard those who did so as unpatriotic, in rendering assistance to the invaders. They had experience that, with some faults, especially that of pride, the strangers were, as a rule, truthful in their word and just in their dealings, and held it a sin and a crime to propagate their religion by force. They thought

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India would flourish under Christian rule; and it has flourished. If the British empire in the East had been overthrown in 1857, it would not have been the English that would have been the greatest sufferers—it would have been the natives of India themselves. In place of the peace now prevailing, we doubt not dreadful internal war would by this time have been threatening, if not already begun. The Mohammedan project was, to set up a new Delhi empire, and try to make it embrace the whole of India. The Mahratta intention was, to revive the empire of the old peshwas, the rival and deadly foe of the Delhi dominion. The Seikhs showed in 1857 that they retained the memory of their old feud with the Mohammedans, and would soon have met them in battle with almost European energy. It is doubtful whether the warlike Hindus of Oude would long have submitted to the comparatively small number of Mohammedans ruling there. New expeditions from hardy Affghanistan would have been possible, and indeed, after a time, probable; new Timurs and Nadir Shahs would again have sacked Delhi, and fresh Ahmed Abdallah Dooranees appeared, by whom new Paniputs would have been fought. As one party after another gained the mastery, each would have recruited its finances from rich and defenceless Bengal, and those who in the hour of their brief triumph pulled up mile-stones, to show their hatred to civilization, would have trampled down intellectual young Bengal like the mire of the streets. Finally, not one, but many of the powers of Europe, would have insisted on making new settlements on the shores of India, as now on those of China; and the Hindus and Mohammedans would soon have had to measure their strength, not with one European power, but with several of those powers combined. It was well for the best interests of India that the rebellion of 1857 did not succeed.

There is, however, another aspect of the matter, which it would be a great error to omit presenting to the reader's notice. It is, that all the natives of Britain should lay to heart the solemn lessons taught by the fearfully savage outbreak. Too often has it been the practice to boast of the splendid position acquired by our countrymen in the East, and to look upon it as if it could not be overthrown. The

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blow struck at our supremacy in 1857 was fitted to rebuke this spirit of sinful self-glorying. Let India in future be regarded less as an acquisition to be proud of, than as a most responsible trust, to be answered for at the bar of God. That our Government may vindicate its title to rule at all in the East, it is requisite that it shall do its very best to act at all times, as in the sight of God, with strict justice and the most enlightened and sincere regard for the welfare of the countless millions intrusted to its care. Nor is it on the Government of India merely that the responsibility for the right administration of the vast Indian empire rests. It is incumbent on every one whose voice, blending with myriads of other voices—singly unimportant, but in mass nearly irresistible—tends to make up public opinion, so to acquaint himself with Eastern matters as to aid rather than impede the solution of the very difficult Indian political problem.

The Churches of Britain have an all-important duty to discharge towards India. The events of 1857 cast a lurid light upon the intellectual, the moral, and the religious state of that degraded country. For the deep necessities of our Hindu and Mohammedan fellow-subjects in the East, it is the bounden duty of the several Churches in this country to provide. May success attend the efforts that have already been put forth, and others that may yet be made, with this great end in view! May the blessing of God from heaven continually accompany them, till, in his gracious providence, the time arrive when the night of gloom which has so long hung over India and other Oriental lands shall give place to a glorious and happy day!

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Glossary.

The signification of many words, belonging to some one or other of the numerous Indian languages, is explained in the body of the work. Such of these, however, as require further elucidation are allowed a place with others in the following Glossary.

Acharya. A spiritual preceptor.
Ameer, or *meer.* A nobleman.

Baee, or *bai.* Madam, or lady.
Bagh. A garden; as, Secunderbagh.
Bali. A very good king, defrauded of his sovereignty and life by the god (!) Vishnu, who had become incarnate as a dwarf.
Begum. A Mohammedan word, signifying lady, princess, or woman of high rank.
Berar. Often used for the Nagpore country. This is, however, a mistake. It is properly the cotton-growing province west of Nagpore, and has for its capital Ellichpore.
Bhagavad-geeta. An episode of the Mahabharat; properly signifies a song in honour of God. Krishna is the god meant.
Bhao. Properly a brother; but sometimes used also for cousins, or even nephews.
Bhowanee. A common name for Parwati, the daughter of the Himalaya Mountains, and the consort of Siva.
Bhutt. A clerical Brahman. There are two divisions of the Brahman caste,—one clerical, the other lay.
Brahaspati. One of the Vedic gods; also the planet Jupiter.
Brahma. The first of the Hindu triad of supreme gods. His special function is creation.
Brahman. The first and highest of the four Hindu castes; that to which priestly functions are assigned.
Brinjarries. Grain merchants.
Bungalow. The kind of house in which European gentlemen live in India. Bungalows are like large square thatched or tiled cottages.

Caliphs. The Mohammedan sovereigns who succeeded the so-called "prophet."
Caste. A class or coterie of people maintaining a certain separation from all others. There are four leading castes among the Hindus:—1st. The Brahmans, fabled to have come out of the mouth of the god Brahma, to teach the people, 2d. The Kshetriyas (or warriors), fabled to have come out of his arms, to defend the people; 3d. The Vaisyas (or merchants), fabled to have come out of his stomach, to feed the people; and 4th. The Sudras (or labourers), fabled to have come out of his legs and thighs, to serve the people. Beneath the Sudras, and quite out of the pale of respectable society, are the various out-caste tribes.

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Coss. A measure of distance, not everywhere the same, but averaging about two English miles.
Crore. Ten millions. A crore of rupees is a million of pounds.

Dacoity. Gang-robbery.
Dewan. The principal minister of revenue; in some respects resembling the Chancellor of the Exchequer among ourselves.
Diwalee. A Hindu festival, celebrated by feasting, gambling, and illuminations.
Durbar. The court of a sovereign; the hall of audience; a levee.
Doorga. Siva's consort, Parwati, in the character of avenger.

Geeta. A song; a lay.
Ghauts. Generally supposed to mean a range of mountains; as, the "Western Ghauts." This is, however, a mistake. A ghaut is properly a mountain-pass; sometimes also the flight of steps down to a river.
Ghur (as the termination of a word). A house. There is little doubt that, in many of the words ending *ghur*, the spelling should really be *gurh*, from *gurh*, a small fort.
Gooroo. A spiritual guide.

Hindi. The general language of various provinces of India, north of the Nerbudda, to which the Hindus, after the example of the Mussulmans, confine the term Hindustan.
Hooly. A Hindu feast, of a disreputable character, like the Roman Saturnalia.

Jee (as the termination of a word). Sir or Mr.
Jungle. A forest, or an uncultivated part of the country, overrun with brushwood.

Kartika Mahatmya. A subdivision of one of the Puranas, whose special theme is to celebrate the holiness of the month Kartika, corresponding with the latter half of October and the first half of November.
Khalsa. Pure, unmixed. The term is applied to themselves and to their faith by the Seikhs.
Khandoba, or *Khunde Rao.* An old Mahratta king, now worshipped as an incarnation of Siva.
Khootba. A sermon delivered every Friday—that being the Mohammedan Sunday—in the chief mosque. Along with the sermon the worshippers praise God, bless Mohammed, and pray for the reigning monarch. In former times, the Khootba was read or delivered by the caliph, or by the heir-apparent.
Kshetriya. The second, or warrior caste among the Hindus.

Lakh. A hundred thousand. A lakh of rupees is ten thousand pounds.
Linga. A rude idol worshipped by the Hindus of the Sivaite sect.
Lingayats. A subdivision of the Sivaite sect of worshippers.

Maha (as the prefix to a word). Great.
Mahadeo, or *Mahadeva.* Properly the great god—a name generally applied to Siva.
Meer. A nobleman.
Mohurrum festival. The greatest of the Mohammedan feasts.
Monsoon. The periodical rainy season in India.
Moulvie. A learned and pious Mohammedan,—what may be called a Mohammedan Doctor of Divinity.

Nabob, properly *Nawab.* A deputy, generally applied to the governor of a province under the Mogul emperor.

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Nizam. Order, arrangement; an arranger.

Omrah. A lord, a grandee, under the Mogul government.

Pagoda. A Hindu temple; also a gold coin in the south of India, valued at 8s.
Palkee. A palanquin; an Indian litter or sedan-chair, carried on the shoulders of men.
Pandoo. A proper name, explained in the chapter on the "Great War," from *pandhura*, white.
Papuas of New Guinea. Held by some to be one of the primary races of mankind. Dr. Pritchard, however, brings forward evidence to show that they are really a mixed race.
Pathan. An Affghan.
Patel. The head man of a village; a mayor or provost.
Pawnsellers. Sellers of pawn or betel-leaf.
Peshwa. Properly guide, leader. As explained in the body of the work, first the prime minister, then the chief ruler, of the Mahratta empire.
Pettah. The suburbs of a fortified town
Pore, or *poor* (as the termination of a word). A town or city.
Puranas, or *Poorans.* Properly signifying ancient. The most modern series of the Hindu sacred books. The Puranas are generally held to be eighteen in number.

Rajah. The ordinary Hindu word for king.
Rajas. Properly passion; used of the Kshetriya, or warrior caste.
Rajpoots. The upper classes of Rajpootana. The word properly means sons of kings.
Rakshas. A fiend; a Titan; an evil spirit in some monstrous form.
Rana. A petty king.
Ranee. A queen.
Rao. A title of honour, especially among the Mahrattas, from *rajah.*
Rishi. A holy personage, who has by his devotion acquired supernatural powers.
Roy. (Used chiefly in Bengal.) The same as the Mahratta *rao.*
Rupee. The most common silver coin in India. Its value is about 2s.
Ryot. A peasant cultivator, or tenant of land.
Ryotwar. A revenue settlement directly with the cultivators.

Saheb. A gentleman, sir; almost, though not entirely, confined to Europeans.
Sepoy. A native soldier.
Serai. A caravanserai; an inn furnishing accommodation, but not provisions, to travellers.
Shah. A Mohammedan word for king.
Shako. A word in use among soldiers. A military cap.
Shalimar Gardens. Fine gardens north-west of Delhi,—a relic of the Mogul civilization, now unhappily left to go to ruin.
Sirdar. A chief, a captain, a head man.
Siva. The third of the Hindu triad of supreme gods. His function is destruction.
Sivaite, or *Sivavite.* Belonging to Siva.
Soobah. A province.
Soobahdar. The governor of a province; also a particular rank of native officer in a regiment.
Sudra. The fourth, or labourer caste among the Hindus.
Suttee. The inhuman custom, by which the widow of a Brahman was expected to burn herself with the corpse of her deceased husband. From a word signifying true, virtuous.

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Tuboot. A bier. Many representations of these are carried in procession at the great Mohammedan festival of the Mohurrum, in honour of Hussun and Hosein.
Tank. An artificial reservoir of water for supplying a city, or for irrigation.
Tirai. A belt of deadly jungle running along the foot of the Himalaya Mountains.
Tumbril. A military word, signifying a carriage for gun-ammunition.

Vaishnava. Belonging to Vishnu.
Vaisya. The third of the Hindu castes, consisting of merchants and shop-keepers.
Vaman. A dwarf; the fifth incarnation of Vishnu.
Vishnu. The second of the Hindu triad of supreme gods. His function is preservation.
Vizier. A Mohammedan word. A prime minister.

Zemindar (*Zemin-dar*). Literally land-keeper. Zemindars were farmers of revenue under the Mohammedan government; they are landed gentry under ours.
Zend. Believed by some British orientalists to be a fictitious language, though generally held to have been at least one of the languages of ancient Persia. It is closely allied to the Sanscrit.

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ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF EASTERN WORDS.

One reason of the difficulty experienced in pronouncing Indian words is, that they are not spelled on any uniform system; but two methods of spelling—the popular and the scientific—at present contend for pre-eminence.

In neither of these has **a** in Indian words the name sound of the English letter; hence it should never be pronounced *eh*, but, if long, *ah*, and, if short, *ŭh* or *ŭh*.

On the scientific method, **e** is pronounced *eh*.

...	...	**i** long is pronounced		*ee* long.
...	...	**i** short	...	*ee* short.
...	...	**o**	...	*oh*.
...	...	**u** long	...	*oo* long.
...	...	**u** short	...	*oo* short.

ai is pronounced like the English word *eye*.

ou is pronounced like *ow* in the English word *loud*.

When **ee** or **oo** occurs in an Indian word, it may be held to be spelled on the popular method, and may be pronounced very much as if it were an English word.

ch is generally pronounced like *ch* in *church*.

g before a vowel should be pronounced hard; as, Bengies, pronounced like *Benghies*, not *Benjies*.

v is sometimes pronounced like *w*; thus *deva* is generally pronourced *dewa*.

LIST OF WORDS MORE OR LESS LIABLE TO BE MISPRONOUNCED.

Abhiras, 'Abhéeras.
Afkun, Afkoon.
Agni, Ugnee.
Ahirs, 'Ahéers.
Aranyaka, Arunyaka.
Asuras, Asóorăs.
Bali, Balee.
Balin, Baleen.
Baramahal, Bárámahál.
Beloochistan, Belóochistan, pronounced with the *ch* as in the English word *church*.
Bhao, Bhaw.
Bhil, or *Bheel*; Bheel.
Buludeva, Bŭlóodévă.
Buluram, Buloorám.
Bundelcund, Boondelcund.
Cabul, Cabóol.
Canara, Canará.
Chandragupta, Chundragoopta.
Dacoity, Dakolty.
Dakshan, Dukshun.
Dasaratha, Dussuruthă, or Dussuruth.
Dharmashastra, Dhurmushastru.
Dhundu, Dhoondă.
Diwalee, Deewallee.
Doulutabad, Dawlntabád.
Duhitri, Duhéetree.
Dumar Lena, Doomar Lena.
Durga, or *Doorga*; Dóorga.
Gawal, Gáwal.
Gunga, Gunga.
Gupta, Goopta.
Guzerat, Goozerat.
Hindi, Hindee.

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Hindu, Hindoo.
Hunooman, Hunôoman.
Jangam, Jüngŭm.
Jehan, Jehán.
Jina, Jéena.
Kabir, Kubbeer.
Kartika, Kartikā.
Khandoba, Khundoba.
Krishna, Krishna, or oftener Krushna.
Lakshman, Lukshmun.
Lanka, Lunka.
Magadhi, Mugudhee.
Mahadeva, Mahadewa.
Mahar, Mahár.
Mahmud, Mahmood.
Mantra, Muntru.
Mathura, Mutthŭra.
Mhasoba, Mhussōba.
Minar, Meenár.
Mir, Meer.
Muni, Moonee.
Nana, Náhnah; not Nenah, as it is sometimes pronounced.
Nawab, Nawáb.
Nizam, Nizám.
Panthis, Punthees.
Prakriti, Prukruttee.
Pullus, Pullus.
Pur, poor, pore; poor, or pore.
Puranas, Poorans; Pooránăs, or Pooranas.
Rama, Ráma.
Ramáyan, Ramáyan.
Ramusis, Ramóosces.
Rao, sounded so as to rhyme with the English word *cow*
Rig, Righ, or Rugh.
Rudra, Roodru.
Rustum, Roostum.
Sama, Sáma.
Sanhita, Sunheeta.
Siva, Seeva, or Seewa.
Sutra, Sootru.
Telugu, Teloogoo.
Timur, Timoor.
Tirhus, Tirhoos.
Tirhut, Tirhoot.
Tirthankaras, Teerthunkars.
Vyasa, Vyasa.
Yamuna, Yámúnă.

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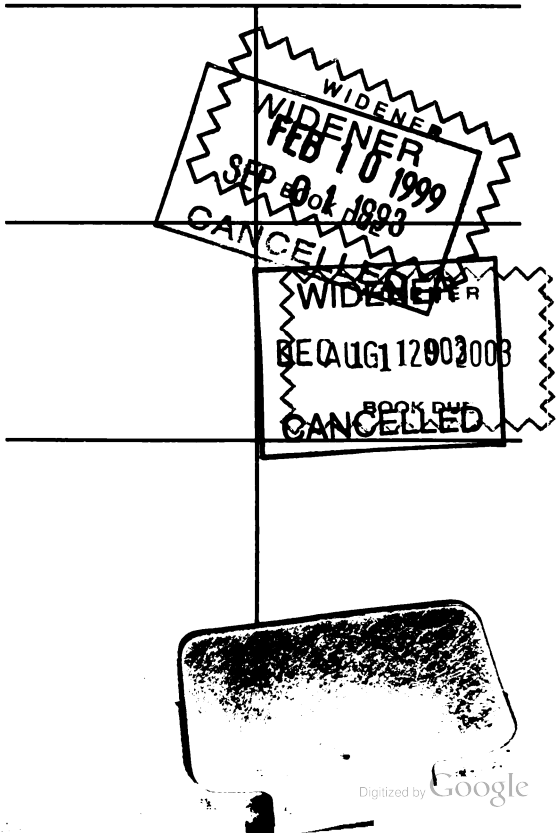

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