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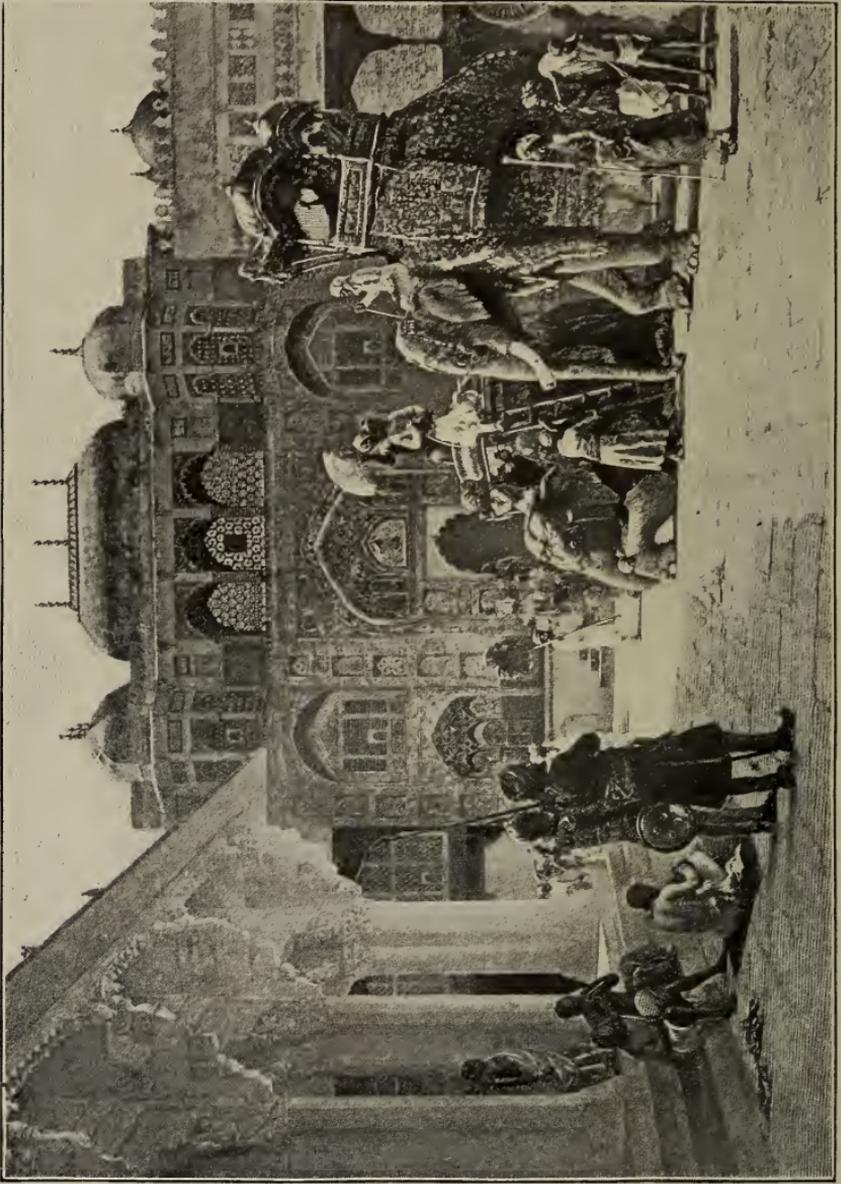
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COURT SCENE AT SHAH JEHAN'S
Frontispiece, India, vol. one.

INDIA

AND THE FRONTIER STATES OF

AFGHANISTAN, NIPAL AND BURMA

BY

J. TALBOYS WHEELER

LATE ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, FOREIGN DEPARTMENT, AND LATE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BRITISH BURMA

WITH A SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER OF RECENT EVENTS

By EDGAR SALTUS

WITH MAPS AND TABLES

VOLUME I



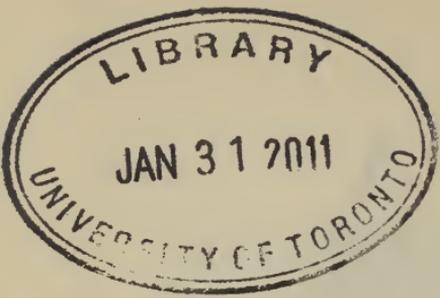
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PREFACE

IT is a common complaint that while the annals of India are of paramount importance to the people of England, there is no history which they seem less inclined to study. Greece and Rome, Egypt and Palestine, Assyria and Babylon—countries which have long ceased to play a part in the drama of humanity—are the subjects of text-books in our schools and universities; while India, which is literally a modern reflex of the ancient world, and has moreover become a part and parcel of the British empire, is to this day a sealed book to the masses. The essays of Lord Macaulay on Robert Clive and Warren Hastings are perhaps known to every English household; but they refer to mere episodes in the history, and are wanting in that familiarity with native character and forms of thought which is essential to a right appreciation of the great collision between Europe and Asia that has been going on in India for the last two centuries.

The truth is that the preparation of a history of India, political and religious, is a far more difficult and laborious task than is generally imagined. Twenty-two years ago the author began such a work at Madras under every possible advantage. There were libraries at Madras containing almost unique collections of books appertaining to India.

To these were added the government records at Madras, which were freely opened to the author by Sir Charles Trevelyan, who was at that time Governor. The author completed a History of Madras, compiled from the government records, and he taught Indian history in the Madras Presidency College; but he was unable to complete a real history of India from a consciousness of want of knowledge. After four years he proceeded to Calcutta as Assistant Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign or Political Department, and was soon astounded at his own ignorance. He had learned something of Clive and Hastings, of the Moghuls, Mahrattas, and the Marquis of Wellesley; but of the history of India and its civilization, and especially of the conflicts between opposite lines of policy laid down by different Anglo-Indian statesmen during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, he found that he knew literally nothing.

The writer has no desire to carry the reader into his workshop, or to dwell on the extent of his labors. It will suffice to say that having sounded the depths of his ignorance, he has since then lost no opportunity, official or literary, to perfect his knowledge of Indian history. Some samples have already appeared in his large "History of India from the Earliest Ages," which deals with the Hindu and Muhammadan periods, and of which four volumes have already been published. His history of British India is now given for the first time in the present volumes. It has been an entirely independent work, drawn direct from the fountain head, after a study of the records of the Government of India, official reports and parliamentary blue books, and of such current annals, memoirs, travels, or correspondence, as have been found to yield historical materials. Thus it

is only after the unremitting application of many years, during which official duties have often helped him as much as literary studies, that the author has been able to complete the history of India, from the earliest dawning of legend to the breaking out of the present Afghan war: and to reduce the whole to a compact form which, it is hoped, will render it both interesting and useful to general readers, as well as to students in the religion and politics of our Indian empire.

WITHAM, ESSEX,

Jan. 22, 1880.

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A SHORT HISTORY OF INDIA

PART I—HINDU INDIA

CHAPTER I

MAHA BHARATA—PUNJAB AND NORTHWEST

ABOUT B.C. 1500—1400

INDIA in ancient times was parcelled out, like Palestine and Greece, into a number of small kingdoms, each under the government of its own Raja. Every Raja had a council of elders, including chiefs and kinsmen, who were collectively known as the Durbar. Sometimes there was a minister or ministry. Sometimes a Raja might be under the influence of a queen or Rani, or of a queen mother or dowager Rani. Sometimes a Raja conquered other Rajas, and became known as a Maharaja, or "great Raja." At a remote period the life at Hindu courts was modified by the rise of priests or Brahmans. The working of these various elements finds full expression in Hindu legends, and constitutes what may be called Hindu history.

The earliest traditions of India are recorded in the Maha Bharata, an ancient Hindu epic, written in the Sanskrit language. It tells of a great war between Kauravas and Pandavas, just as Homer's Iliad tells of a war between Greece and Troy. The scene is laid partly in the Punjab, and partly in the northwest of Hindustan. The Kauravas and Pandavas were rival kinsmen of the royal house of Hastinapur. The city of Hastinapur was situated about sixty-five miles to the northeast of Delhi, and is still represented by a group of

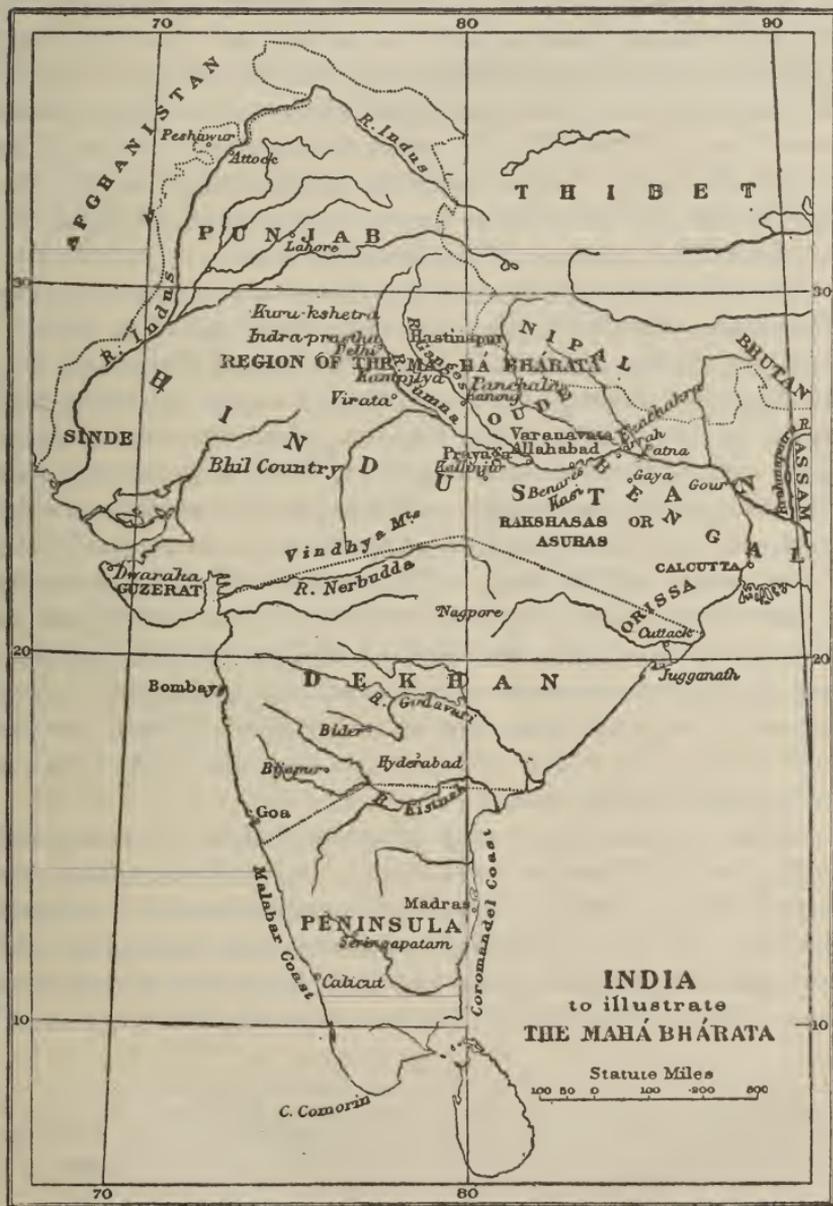
shapeless mounds on the upper course of the Ganges. The extent of the Raj is unknown; but it included a certain area round Hastinapur on the river Ganges. It probably consisted of arable and pasture lands, occupied by Rajputs, and bordering on uncleared jungle and forest, which were inhabited by aboriginal populations; but in the Sanskrit epic the Raja is always known as a Maharaja, or "great Raja."¹

Hastinapur was to all appearance an Aryan colony, having other Aryan or Rajput colonies in its neighborhood, each forming a kingdom under its own Raja. But all these colonies were struggling more or less against aboriginal or non-Aryan populations. The Aryans were immigrants from High Asia; they had established kingdoms in Central Asia, the Punjab, and the northwest quarter of Hindustan, as far as Kanouj on the Ganges, and probably in Ayodhya or Oude to the northward of the Ganges. They regarded the aborigines as demons and cannibals, and called them Rakshasas and Asuras. Some aboriginal tribes were treated rather as subject races; such as the Bhils or Bheels, who occupied the hills and jungles to the south, and the Nagas, or snake worshippers, who appear to have migrated from Kashmir toward the banks of the Ganges.

The Maharaja of Hastinapur was named Santanu. He claimed descent from the hero Bharata, who was said to have conquered all India. The name of Bharata was famous in the days of yore. All India was called the land of Bharata. Even the war of the descendants of Santanu, which forms the main tradition of the epic, has always been known as the Maha Bharata, or "great war of Bharata."

Maharaja Santanu was an old man with a grown-up son. He wanted to marry a young damsel; but her parents would not consent to the marriage unless he disinherited his present son, and reserved the Raj for any other son he

¹ General Cunningham, on the strength of certain astronomical data, fixes the date of the war of the Maha Bharata in 1426 B. C.



might have by their daughter. Moreover, to prevent any future disputes, the parents insisted that the son already living should pledge himself never to marry. The Maharaja was thus at the mercy of his son. But the son was a model of filial obedience; he resigned all claim to the Raj; and he vowed never to marry, and never to become a father. The parents then gave their daughter in marriage to the Maharaja; but the son became known by the name of Bhishma, or "dreadful," because of his dreadful vow.

The old Maharaja became the father of a second son, and then died. Bhishma kept his vow, and proved a faithful guardian of the widow and her infant son. He placed the son upon the throne, instructed him in the use of arms, and conducted the affairs of the Raj for him as minister or manager. When the prince was grown, Bhishma provided him with two wives; he fought and conquered the Raja of Benares, and carried off his two daughters to become the brides of his young half-brother.¹ This capture of daughters was in accordance with the old customs of the Kshatriyas or Rajas; but the captor was always obliged to fight and conquer the father before he could carry off a daughter, either to marry her or to give her in marriage.² The man who stole away a daughter without fighting the father was a coward and a Rakshasa.³

After a while the young Maharaja sickened and died, leaving two infants to inherit the Raj—Dhritarashtra the "blind," and Pandu the "pale-complexioned."⁴ Again Bhishma proved a faithful minister and instructor; he managed the Raj, educated the two boys, and in due time procured wives for both. Dhritarashtra the blind was mar-

¹ Attock, on the river Indus, was anciently known as Benares. It is a question whether the princesses belonged to Benares on the Indus, or to Benares on the Ganges.

² Manu, iii. 26, 32, 41. For further explanation, see History of India, vol. i. Maha Bharata.

³ Rakshasa was a name of reproach applied to the aborigines of India.

⁴ The legend has been slightly modified to suit modern tastes. The details are given in the larger History of India, vol. i.

ried to a daughter of the Raja of the Gandhara country.¹ The bride was named Gandhari; and when she knew that her husband was blind, she tied a handkerchief over her eyes, so that she might have no advantage over him. Pandu the pale-complexioned was married to two wives, Kunti and Madri.²

The council of elders at Hastinapur would not accept a blind prince as their Maharaja. Dhritarashtra was set aside notwithstanding he was the elder of the two; and Pandu the pale-complexioned was installed on the throne of Hastinapur.

The reign of Pandu is obscure, and of no moment. After a while he abdicated the throne, and went into the jungle, and spent his time in hunting. Subsequently he died in the jungle, leaving three sons by Kunti and two sons by Madri. There was a contest between his two widows as to who should burn herself with his remains. Madri pleaded that she was the youngest and most beloved, and therefore the most likely to comfort the dead Maharaja in the world of shades.³ Accordingly Madri perished on the funeral pile, and Kunti returned with the five sons of Pandu to the palace of Hastinapur. The three sons of Kunti were named Yudhishtira, Bhima, and Arjuna. The two sons of Madri were named Nakula and Sahadava.

Meanwhile Dhritarashtra the blind became Maharaja of Hastinapur. Indeed after the abdication of Pandu there was no alternative; for there was no one left but the blind prince. Bhishma, however, was still minister or manager of the Raj. Dhritarashtra had several sons, but only two of any note, namely, Duryodhana the eldest, and his brother Duhsasana. The sons of Dhritarashtra were called the Kauravas, after

¹ The name of Gandhara still lingers in that of Kandahar in Central Asia. The country, however, is said to be identical with the lower Cabul valley, including Peshawur. The Gandarians fought in the army of Xerxes, armed, like the Baktrians, with bows of cane and short spears. (Herodotus, vii. 64, 66.) Rawlinson locates them on the lower Indus, and makes them migrate to Kandahar.

² The birth of Kunti is obscured by a religious myth. Madri is said to have been bought with money.

³ This story was current among the Greeks. It is retold in the history of Didorus Siculus.

a remote ancestor called Kuru. They were thus distinguished from their cousins, the five sons of Pandu, who were known as the Pandavas.

The Kauravas and Pandavas were brought up in the old palace at Hastinapur. Bhishma, the patriarch of the family, was by this time too old to teach the rising generation. A tutor or preceptor was engaged named Drona. He was an exiled prince from Panchala, who had taken refuge at the court of Hastinapur. Panchala lay to the southeast; it was a Raj situated on the lower Doab between the Ganges and the Jumna.¹ The Raja of the Panchala was named Drupada. Drona had a feud with Drupada, and became an exile. He married a daughter of the house of Hastinapur, and had a son named Aswatthama. He became preceptor of the young princes of Hastinapur, on the condition that when they were fully versed in the use of arms they should help him to be revenged on Raja Drupada.

There was soon a jealousy between the Kauravas and the Pandavas. It was a question who should succeed to the Raj; Duryodhana, the eldest of the Kauravas, or Yudhishthira, the eldest of the Pandavas. Yudhishthira was not given to fighting, and never proved himself a warrior. But Duryodhana was jealous of the strength of Bhima, the second Pandava, who was the giant of the family. He mixed drugs in Bhima's food; and when the giant was in a deep sleep, he threw him into the Ganges. Bhima was rescued by some of the Naga people, and returned to Hastinapur; but the strife between Duryodhana and the Pandavas still remained.

Drona took great pains in teaching all the young men, but he had a special leaning toward the Pandavas. He taught Yudhishthira the use of the spear, but nothing would

¹ The frontiers of a Hindu Raj, in ancient times, are often obscure. According to the Maha Bharata the kingdom of Panchala extended from the Himalayas to the Chambal river. Manu again identifies Panchala with Kanouj. The city of Kanouj, on the Ganges, was about two hundred miles to the south of Hastinapur.

make that young man a warrior. Bhima, however, learned to use his club; while Arjuna became the most famous archer of his time. Nakula learned to tame horses, and Sahadava to calculate the stars. The Kauravas were taught the use of arms, like their cousins the Pandavas, and so was Aswatt-hama, the son of Drona; but there was no one to equal Arjuna; and Duryodhana began to hate Arjuna as much as he hated Bhima.

The fame of Drona as a teacher of archery was soon noised abroad. Sons of Rajas flocked to Hastinapur to learn the use of the bow. Among others came a son of a Bhil Raja from the southern hills; but Drona refused to instruct him. Drona declared that the Bhils were a race of highwaymen and cattle lifters, and that it would be a sin to teach them the use of the bow. The Bhil prince was much abashed by this refusal, and went away very sorrowful to his own country.

The Bhils in those days were as superstitious as they are now. The Bhil prince adored Drona as a god. He made a clay image of Drona, worshipped it, and practiced with his bow and arrows before it; and he became so skilful an archer that his fame reached to Hastinapur. Drona was angry with the Bhil prince; he was alarmed lest the Bhils should become dangerous archers. He went to the Bhil country, accompanied by all the young men at Hastinapur, and resolved to spoil the archery of his worshipper. He called the Bhil prince before him, and commanded him to cut off the forefinger of his right hand. The prince fell down and worshipped him and prepared to do his bidding. But Drona's heart was touched. He ordered the Bhil to stay his hand, but made him swear that he would never shoot the bow with his forefinger, but with his middle fingers only.¹

After the return from the Bhil country a day was appointed for an exhibition of arms at Hastinapur. An area

¹ The legend is remembered in Malwa to this day, but the modern Bhils have forgotten the oath, and use their forefingers in shooting, as they say their fathers had done before them.

was set apart without the city, and marked round with barriers. Galleries were built round about for the accommodation of chieftains and ladies, and were adorned with flags and garlands. When the day began to dawn, the people gathered round the barriers, and between the galleries, to witness the exercises of the Kauravas and Pandavas. The blind Maharaja was led to the galleries, and took his seat among his chieftains, with Bhishma sitting on his right hand. All the ladies of the court also took their seats in the galleries; and the chief among them were Gandhari, the mother of the Kauravas, and Kunti, the mother of the Pandavas.

Drona and his son Aswatthama then entered the arena in white garments, and chanted the praises of Indra and the gods. The princes followed with their weapons in their hands, and kissed the feet of their preceptor. They began by shooting arrows at a butt, first on foot, and afterward from horses, elephants, and chariots. Next followed mock fights with swords and bucklers, and afterward they fought with clubs, to prove their strength as well as their skill.

During the club fighting, the old jealousy broke out. Duryodhana and Bhima engaged in combat at the other end of the arena, and soon fought in downright earnest. They rushed upon one another like wild elephants, while the multitude ran to and fro, and shouted some for Bhima and others for Duryodhana. The air was filled with noise and dust, and the whole plain was in an uproar. Drona sent his son Aswatthama to stop the combat, but no one heeded him. At last Drona went himself in all haste, parted the young men by sheer force, and thus put an end to the turmoil.

When quiet was restored, Drona ordered Arjuna to show his skill at archery. The young prince entered the arena clothed in golden mail, with his bow inlaid with many colors. The multitude hailed him as another Indra; and the heart of Kunti thrilled with pride and exultation as she beheld her youngest son. Arjuna set up an iron boar and

shot five arrows into its mouth. He tied a cow's horn to the top of a pole, and shot twenty-one arrows into the hollow of the horn. He mounted his chariot, and was driven swiftly along, while shooting arrows right and left with the utmost skill and dexterity. Next he played with the sword, and the blade flashed like lightning. He whirled his sharp-edged quoit or chakra wherever he would, and never missed his mark. Lastly, he armed himself with a noose, and threw it at horses and deer, and drew every one to the ground. When he had finished, he kissed the feet of his preceptor, and was embraced by Drona before all the assembly.

At this moment a young warrior entered the arena and challenged Arjuna. His name was Karna. He was a close friend of Duryodhana, for he was as skilled an archer as Arjuna; but his birth was low, for his father was a charioteer. Arjuna would have fought Karna, but a kinsman prevented the combat. Duryodhana made him a Raja on the spot, but the Pandavas treated him as an upstart. Bhima asked him what he had to do with bows and arrows, and told him to take a whip and drive a bullock-cart after his father. Karna was very angry, but said nothing; and night coming on soon dispersed the assembly.

After this Drona claimed the reward of his instructions. His pupils were skilled in arms, and he was longing to be revenged on the Raja of Panchala. Neither the Maharaja nor his council objected to the war against Drupada. Drona marched against Drupada, accompanied by the Kauravas and Pandavas, and defeated the Panchala Raja, and carried him off prisoner to Hastinapur. Drona now obliged Drupada to give him half the Raj of Panchala; and Drupada returned to his reduced dominion, and swore to be revenged on Drona.

Meanwhile the time arrived for appointing a Yuva-raja, or "little Raja." The Yuva-raja was to help the Maharaja, or "great Raja," in his old age, and to inherit the Raj after his death. A Yuva-raja was appointed while the

Maharaja was alive, in order to secure the succession, and to accustom the young prince to the duties of government.¹

In the first instance, Maharaja Dhritarashtra appointed Yudhishtira to be Yuva-rajā. Duryodhana and the Kauravas raised a great outcry. They asked the Maharaja why he promoted his nephews at the expense of his sons. The blind old sovereign became sorely troubled. The sons of Pandu had a rightful claim, but his own sons had a natural claim. The Maharaja was afraid that war and bloodshed would break out in Hastinapur. After much hesitation he ordered Yudhishtira and his brethren to go to the city of Varanavata, the modern Allahabad, there to abide until he should recall them to Hastinapur. The Pandavas obeyed the words of the Maharaja and went with their mother Kunti to the city of Varanavata. When they had departed out of Hastinapur, the Maharaja appointed Duryodhana to be Yuva-rajā.

The exile of the Pandavas carried them to the frontier of the Aryan pale. The city of Varanavata, the ancient Prayag and modern Allahabad, was situated at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna. On the north was the famous Raj of Ayodhya, or Oude. To the south and east was the country of Rakshasas and Asuras, demons and cannibals.²

The Kauravas had already sent a trusty retainer to Varanavata to compass the destruction of the Pandavas. On reaching the city, the Pandavas were met by this retainer, who led them to a college of holy men, and then conducted them to a house which he had prepared for their reception. At night time the Pandavas discovered that this house was built of combustibles, and that it was locked and barred on the outside. They escaped through a subterranean passage, which is shown to this day in the fortress

¹ The custom of appointing a Yuva-rajā, or Joobraj, still prevails in Hindu courts. A similar custom prevailed among the later kings of Judah and Israel.

² Further particulars respecting the region outside the Aryan pale will be furnished in dealing with the Ramayana. The region to the eastward of Allahabad, which is said to have been occupied by Rakshasas and Asuras, corresponds with Magadha, the modern Behar, the cradle of Buddhism.

of Allahabad. The house was burned down with all that it contained, including a Bhil woman and five of her sons, who had got drunk after the manner of their race, and fallen asleep inside the building. The discovery of their blackened remains led all men to believe that Kunti and her five sons had perished in the conflagration.

The Pandavas next disguised themselves as Brahman mendicants, and journeyed eastward through the land of Rakshasas and Asuras. The sacred garb insured them respect, while they collected enough alms for their daily needs. In this manner they journeyed to the city of Ekachakra, the modern Arrah. On the way Bhima is said to have conquered and slain a cannibal Asura, named Hidimba, and then to have married his sister Hidimbi.

At Ekachakra, the Pandavas and their mother lodged in the house of a Brahman. There Bhima had an adventure with another cannibal Asura, named Vaka. According to the story, Vaka lived in the outskirts of the city, and required the inhabitants to supply him with a stock of provisions and a human victim every day. The household of the Brahman where the Pandavas lodged were in great grief, for it was the Brahman's turn to supply a human victim. The infant son of the Brahman broke off a pointed blade of grass, and wanted to go and kill the Asura. Kunti and her sons were moved to tears. Bhima went out to meet the Asura. He tore up a tree by the roots to serve as a club; and then fought the cannibal and slew him, and dragged his body to the gate of the city.¹

¹ The stories of Hidimbi and Vaka are apparently allegorical fictions, coined by the Brahmanical compilers of the Maha Bharata, as an expression of their hatred against the Buddhists. The country, as already seen, was the hot bed of Buddhism; consequently it is peopled by Rakshasas and Asuras. In Burma and other Buddhist countries, the ladies, though perfectly modest, are more free and unreserved than in a Brahmanical country like India. This fact is exaggerated in the story of Hidimbi, who is represented as asking Bhima to take her as his wife. Vaka is nothing more than an allegorical personification of a Buddhist monastery, situated in the outskirts of a city, and receiving a daily supply of provisions from the inhabitants. The Buddhist monks had no objection to flesh meat, which was opposed to Brahmanical laws; accordingly they figure as cannibals. Bhima, the hero of the Pandavas, is described as destroying the monster or monastery.

At this crisis heralds were proclaiming in all lands that Raja Drupada of Panchala was about to celebrate the Swayamvara of his daughter Draupadi at his city of Kampilya.¹ The Swayamvara was a marriage festival. Young men of the noble race of Kshatriyas contended in feats of strength and skill for the hand of a daughter of a Raja. It was called a Swayamvara, or "self-choice," because the damsel was supposed to have some choice in the matter.² Accordingly the Pandavas laid aside their old hostility against Drupada, and went to the Swayamvara of his daughter, who was said to be the fairest maiden in all the world.

The Swayamvara of Draupadi is a Rajput romance. All the Rajas of India are said to have been present, including Duryodhana and the other Kauravas, as well as Karna, their low-born ally. A large plain was set apart with barriers and galleries, like the area of the exhibition of arms at Hastinapur. At one end of the plain a golden fish was set up on the top of a pole. Beneath, or before, the fish, a chakra or quoit was hung, and kept constantly whirling round. Near the same spot was a heavy bow of enormous size. The man who strung the bow, and shot an arrow through the chakra, which should strike the eye of the fish, was to be the winner of the daughter of the Raja.

When the Pandavas reached the city of Kampilya they found a number of Rajas encamped round about. There were soldiers and elephants, merchants and showmen, and multitudes of spectators. After many days of sports and feasting, the morning of the Swayamvara began to dawn. The city was awakened with drums and trumpets, and the plain was hung with flags and garlands. The multitude crowded round the barriers; the Rajas filled the galleries;

¹ General Cunningham identifies Kampilya with the modern Kampil, between Budaon and Farukhabad.

² At later Swayamvaras there were no preliminary games, but a princess simply chose her own bridegroom.

the Brahmans chanted the Vedic hymns in praise of Indra and the gods. The princess Draupadi appeared with a garland in her hand, and her brother Dhrishtha-dyumna stood at her side. The prince stepped forward and proclaimed that his sister would be the bride of the man who shot an arrow through the chakra and struck the eye of the golden fish. He then turned to his sister and said, "If a Kshatriya¹ performs this feat, you must throw your garland round his neck, and accept him for your lord and bridegroom."

Then the Rajas arose from their seats and entered the area. They gathered round the golden fish and looked wistfully at the bow; but every man was afraid to lift it lest he should fail to bend it, and excite laughter and scorn. Presently one tried to bend the bow and failed. Then many tried and shared his fate. At last Karna entered the lists; he bent the bow and fitted an arrow to the string. At this moment Draupadi stepped forth. She cried aloud, "I wed not with the base-born!" So Karna was abashed and walked away; but his heart was burning with rage and mortification.

Other Rajas came up, but not one could bend the bow. The Pandavas looked on, still disguised as Brahmans. Suddenly Arjuna stepped forth and strung the bow, and fitted an arrow to the string. The Brahmans looked on with wild surprise to see a Brahman contend at a Swayamvara. The Brahmans in the crowd were sore afraid lest the Rajas should be offended and withhold their alms; they implored Arjuna to withdraw. But Arjuna, nothing daunted, drew his bow with all his might; he shot the arrow through the centre of the whirling chakra into the eye of the golden fish. A roar of acclamations rose like the crash and roll of thunder. The Brahmans forgot their fears and waved their scarfs with delight. The beautiful Draupadi came forth, as her brother had commanded her, and threw the garland

¹ The Aryans included at least two castes, the Kshatriyas, or military caste, and the Brahmans, or priests and sages. The Rajputs claim to be Kshatriyas.

round the neck of Arjuna, and allowed him to lead her away as her lord and bridegroom.

The sight drove the Rajas into a fury. They cried out, "Could not a Kshatriya win the damsel?" "Are we to be humbled by a Brahman?" "The life of a Brahman is sacred, but down with the guilty race of Drupada!" They gathered round Raja Drupada with angry faces and naked swords; they threatened to burn his daughter on a pile unless she chose a Kshatriya for her husband. At this moment the Pandavas threw off their disguise. Arjuna stood forth and proclaimed his birth and lineage. The children of Bharata were the noblest Kshatriyas in the land, and none could doubt the right of Arjuna to contend at a Swayamvara. So the Rajas sheathed their swords in sullen anger, and went away to their own homes; while Arjuna led away his bride, and placed her in the charge of his mother Kunti, until the marriage rites could be performed, according to the law.¹

The marriage of Draupadi broke up the league between the Pandavas and Drona against Drupada. The Kauravas remained on the side of Drona. The Pandavas went over to Drupada and formed a close alliance with him. Both Drupada and the Pandavas prepared to make war upon Drona and the Kauravas. Drupada was anxious to recover the lost half of his Raj of Panchala; while the Pandavas were anxious to secure the Raj they had inherited from their father Pandu.

This alliance caused much alarm at Hastinapur. The younger men were clamorous for war, but the blind Maharaaja was averse to bloodshed. At last Bhishma proposed that the Raj of Hastinapur should be divided between the Kauravas and Pandavas. After many debates the Maha-

¹ The marriage of Draupadi has a dark side, which is best left in obscurity. According to a barbarous law, which prevailed in times when female infanticide was a general rule, a woman was married to the eldest brother, but became the wife of all the brothers of a family. Thus Draupadi was married to Yudhishthira, but became the wife of all five Pandavas. The subject is sufficiently discussed in the larger history. See vol. i. Maha Bharata.

raja followed the counsel of Bhishma. The Raj was divided, but it was not a fair division. The uncleared jungle of Khandava-prastha was made-over to the Pandavas; while the Maharaja and the Kauravas remained in possession of Hastinapur.¹

The jungle of Khandava-prastha was occupied by a Scythic tribe, known as Nagas, or serpent-worshippers. They were driven out by the simple process of burning the forest. The Pandavas built a fortress, and called it Indra-prastha.²

The tradition of the new Raj tells something of the social status of the ancient Kshatriyas. They were at once a soldier and a ruling caste. They were all Rajputs, or the sons of Rajas; and so long as they protected their people, so long they exercised the rights of sovereignty. They did not trade like the Vaisyas, nor cultivate the lands like the Sudras. Their duty was to fight with the bow and arrows, the sword and spear.³

The Pandavas ruled their Raj like true Kshatriyas. For a while they supported themselves by hunting in the jungles. But cultivators soon flocked to the cleared lands, and sowed the seed, and gave the Raja's share of the harvests to Yudhishthira. In return the Pandavas protected them from every enemy, and drove out all robbers and cattle-lifters.

After a while there was a misunderstanding among the Pandavas. Arjuna left the Raj, and went into exile for twelve years. His adventures during this period are so

¹ The old jungle or forest of Khandava-prastha covered the site of modern Delhi and the surrounding country.

² There are said to have been five districts corresponding to the five Pandavas. The point is of small moment, except to archæologists. Every traveller to Delhi who has visited the Kutab tower will remember the desolate heaps, the débris of thousands of years, that are scattered along the road. To this day there is a broken mound, called the "Old Fort," which tradition would identify with the fortress built by the Pandavas.

³ The Hindus are divided into four great castes, namely Brahmans or priests, Kshatriyas or soldiers, Vaisyas or merchants, and Sudras or cultivators. These again are distributed into a number of subdivisions, which are also called families, tribes, or castes.

marvellous that they may be treated as romance rather than as history. He married Ulupi, a daughter of the Raja of the Nagas; but she is described as a serpent rather than as a mortal woman. He is said to have received weapons from the gods. He went to Manipura in eastern Bengal, and married the daughter of a Raja, and had a son. He went to Dwaraka in Guzerat, and married Subhadra, the sister of Krishna. At the end of twelve years he returned to Hastinapur, accompanied by Subhadra.

By this time the Pandavas were established in their Raj. Accordingly they celebrated a great feast or sacrifice, known as the Rajasuya, or royal sacrifice. It was a royal banquet given to all the neighboring Rajas as an assertion of their independent sovereignty over their new Raj. All the Rajas were there, and among them was Duryodhana and his brethren. The Rajasuya was extolled by all the guests, but it made the Kauravas more jealous than ever, and they began to plot among themselves for the destruction of the Pandavas.

The ancient Kshatriyas were all given to gambling. Sakuni, a brother of Gandhari, the mother of the Kauravas, was a noted gambler, and had an evil reputation for using loaded dice. He was dwelling at Hastinapur, and the Kauravas asked him how they could ruin the Pandavas. Sakuni counselled his nephews to invite the Pandavas to a gambling match at Hastinapur. Duryodhana was to challenge Yudhishtira to play, but Sakuni was to throw the dice; and Yudhishtira was to be egged on until he had lost the Raj, and the whole of his possessions.

The invitation was sent and accepted. The Pandavas went to Hastinapur, accompanied by Draupadi. The gambling match was held in a pavilion set up near the palace. Duryodhana challenged Yudhishtira to a game. The play began, and Sakuni threw the dice for his nephew. Yudhishtira protested against the game. He complained that Sakuni ought not to throw the dice; but still he continued to play. He laid stake after stake, wildly, madly, and with-

out regard to consequences. He was the elder brother; the other Pandavas revered him as their father, and would not venture to interfere.

It is needless to lengthen out the story. Yudhishtira lost all the wealth and cattle of himself and his brethren. Then he gambled away the Raj of Khandava-prastha. Next he staked his brethren, one after the other, beginning with the youngest, and lost every one. Then he staked himself and lost. Finally he staked Draupadi, and lost her with all the rest to the wicked Duryodhana.¹

The scene which followed is perhaps the most sensational in Hindu history. The Pandavas and Draupadi had become the slaves of Duryodhana. The assembly was in a state of consternation; the chieftains looked from one to the other, but no man spoke a word. Duryodhana sent a messenger to bring Draupadi from the palace. The princess was filled with wrath when she was told that she had been gambled away as a slave-girl to Duryodhana. She asked whether Yudhishtira had not gambled away himself before he had staked his wife; for if he had become a slave he could not stake a free woman. She refused to go to the gambling pavilion until she received an answer. But reason and arguments were thrown away. Duhsasana went to the palace, seized Draupadi by her long black hair, and dragged her into the pavilion. He told her to take a broom and sweep the rooms. She appealed to all the chieftains in the pavilion; she called upon them, as husbands and fathers, to protect her from Duryodhana; but not a man would stir hand or foot in her defence. Yudhishtira was paralyzed with fear; he refused to interfere, and he ordered his brethren to be silent. Duryodhana then dragged Draupadi to his knee. Bhima could hold out no longer: he gnashed his teeth, and swore that the day should come when he would smash the knee of Duryodhana, and drink the blood of Duhsasana.

¹ Similar cases of such reckless gambling are to be found to this day in Burma and Nipal.

At this moment the blind Maharaja was led into the pavilion. He had been told all that had occurred, and was anxious to stop bloodshed. He decided that the Pandavas had lost their Raj; but he would not permit the Pandavas and Draupadi to become the slaves of Duryodhana. He ordered them to go into the jungles as exiles for a period of twelve years. At the end of that time they were to secrete themselves in any city they pleased for one more year. If the Kauravas failed to find them, they were to recover their Raj. If the Kauravas discovered them before the year was up, they were to lose their Raj forever.¹

The Pandavas went forth, followed by Draupadi. Bhima repeated his oath that a day would come, when he would smash the knee of Duryodhana, and drink the blood of Duhsasana. Draupadi untied her long black hair, and swore that it should never be tied again until Bhima had fulfilled his vow.

The adventures of the Pandavas, during the twelve years' exile in the jungle, are either trivial or supernatural. There is nothing that illustrates real life. The main interest centres in the thirteenth year, during which the Pandavas were to conceal themselves in some city without being discovered by the Kauravas. Even this story is so artificially constructed that it might be rejected as a palpable fiction; an episode of a game of "hide and seek," between Kauravas and Pandavas, to fill up the interval between the expulsion of the Pandavas and the beginning of the great war.

But the story of the thirteenth year, artificial as it is, presents a picture of Hindu courts in primitive simplicity. Moreover, it is a satire on the belief in ghosts or demons, as lovers of fair women. This belief in "spirit lovers" was common enough in the ancient world, and finds full expres-

¹ The story of this exile is probably a myth, which had no place in the original tradition, but was inserted at a later period in the Sanskrit poem of the Maha Bharata.

sion in the book of Tobit. Sara, the daughter of Raguel, married seven husbands in succession, but each one was murdered in turn by a demon lover named Asmodeus.¹ The same belief still lingers in all parts of India. The Hindu story of the thirteenth year is contrived to ridicule such a belief; it is a relic of an age of Hindu civilization which has died out of the world.

According to the Sanskrit epic the Pandavas proceeded to a city named Virata, just before the beginning of the thirteenth year.² They were disguised in various ways, in the hope of entering the service of the Raja, who was also named Virata. They found the Raja sitting at the entrance-hall to his palace, surrounded by his council of chiefs or elders, after ancient Hindu fashion. After a long preliminary conversation all the five Pandavas were taken into the service of the Raja. Yudhishtira was engaged to teach the Raja how to gamble. Bhima, the giant, was appointed head cook, as his strength would enable him to prevent the under cooks from wasting or stealing the victuals. Arjuna was disguised as a eunuch, and engaged to teach music and dancing to the daughter of the Raja. The two younger brothers were employed, one as master of the horse, and the other as master of the cattle.

There was some difficulty about Draupadi. She had vowed not to tie up her hair; this was evaded by twisting it into a string like the tail of a serpent. Her beauty excited the jealousy of the Rani; this was overcome by her telling the Rani that she was beloved by five ghosts, called Gandharvas, who would murder any mortal man who paid her the slightest attention. Accordingly she was engaged as lady's-maid to the Rani.

Bhima soon gained the favor of Raja Virata. A foreign wrestler, named Jimuta, had put all the warriors of the Raja

¹ Tobit, Chaps. III. to VIII.

² General Cunningham identifies this city with the modern Barat, about 105 miles to the south of Delhi.

to shame, so that none dared to encounter him. Bhima came forward, and vanquished Jimuta, and put him to death amid the acclamations of the multitude. The Raja leaped from his seat with joy, and bestowed many gifts on Bhima. From that time he took a great liking to Bhima, and made him fight with lions, tigers, or bears, in the presence of his ladies.

In those days a prince, named Kichaka, was dwelling at Virata. He was brother of the Rani, and commander-in-chief of the army of the Raj. He did what he pleased at Virata, according to the old saying, "The brother of the Rani is always to be feared by the Raja."

Kichaka became enamored of Draupadi, and asked her to become his wife. She replied that she could not marry him because of her five Gandharva lovers. Kichaka would not be refused; he told her she must marry him, and treated her with rudeness. She complained to the Raja, but he would do nothing; he was too much afraid of the Rani's brother. She next complained to Bhima, and he promised that she should be revenged. One night Kichaka went to the palace to see Draupadi, but met Bhima in her stead. A desperate battle was fought in the music-room. At last Bhima killed Kichaka and left him dead on the floor. He then went off to sleep in the kitchen, without saying a word to any one.

Next morning the dead body of Kichaka was found in the music-room. Every bone was broken; those who saw the body said that Kichaka had not been murdered by men, but by demons. The story was soon told in the streets and bazars, that the commander-in-chief had been killed by Gandharvas, because of his love for the Rani's waiting-maid. The whole city was in an uproar. The brothers of Kichaka came to the palace to bring away the dead body to the place of burning. They saw Draupadi and carried her off likewise to burn with Kichaka, and compel her to join him in the world of shades. Bhima heard her screams. He drew his hair over his face, so that no man should know him. He

tore up a tree by its roots to serve as a club. He fell upon the brothers of Kichaka and slew every one, and returned to the palace by a secret way.

The general consternation was now greater than ever. The city was seized with a panic. The Raja and the council of chieftains were in mortal fear of Draupadi and her Gandharvas. The Raja was afraid to speak to her. The Rani told her to leave the city; but the thirteenth year of concealment was nearly over, and Draupadi remained in the palace in spite of them all.

Meanwhile the death of Kichaka had been noised abroad. The Rajas round about said, "Kichaka is dead; let us invade the Raj of Virata and carry off the cattle." One Raja invaded the northern quarter, and carried off cows and buffaloes; and the herdsmen ran to the city to tell Raja Virata. The troops were called out, and Raja Virata mounted his chariot, and drove off to recover the cattle.

While Virata was gone to the northern quarter of the Raj, Duryodhana and the other Kauravas invaded the southern quarter, and carried off more cattle. The herdsmen came to the city complaining and lamenting, but there was no Raja to protect them. Arjuna called for a chariot, put on his armor, and appeared before the court, with his weapons in his hands. The princess and her damsels laughed merrily to see the dancing-master in armor; they all cried to him to bring back a rich spoil of silks and jewels. In this manner Arjuna drove off to recover the cattle from the Kauravas.

At this point the story loses its interest. Arjuna was discovered by the Kauravas, and it was a question whether the discovery was made before or after the completion of the thirteenth year. The question was never settled. Negotiations were opened which might have been begun immediately after the expulsion of the Pandavas; although, according to the Maha Bharata, they were not begun until after the completion of the thirteenth year of exile.

Raja Drupada, the father-in-law of the Pandavas, sent a Brahman, as envoy from the Pandavas to the Maharaja

of Hastinapur. The Maharaja called the council together to receive the envoy. The Brahman spoke thus to the council: "An envoy is the tongue of the party by whom he is sent: If he fails to discharge his trust, and does not faithfully repeat his master's words, he is guilty of treachery: Have I therefore your permission to repeat the message sent by the Pandavas?" The whole council exclaimed, "Speak the words of the Pandavas without extenuation and without exaggeration." Then the Brahman spoke as follows: "The Pandavas send their salutations and speak these words: 'Dhritarashtra and Pandu were brothers, as all men know; why then should the sons of Dhritarashtra inherit the whole Raj, while the sons of Pandu are shut out? It is true that the Pandavas have lost their Raj of Khandava-prastha in a game of dice; but it was by loaded dice and false play; and unless you restore their inheritance they must declare war, and the blood of the slain will be upon your heads.'"

The speech of the Brahman threw the council into a turmoil. The Kauravas wrangled like angry kinsmen. The points of the debate were very simple. Was there, or was there not, foul play at the gambling match? Were the Pandavas discovered by the Kauravas before or after the close of the thirteenth year? Bhishma praised Arjuna to the disgust of Karna. The debate was ended by the Maharaja, who sent his charioteer, Sanjaya, with a reply to the Pandavas.¹

The real object of the mission of Sanjaya was to induce the Pandavas to return to Hastinapur, without giving them any pledge that their Raj would be restored. Maharaja Dhritarashtra sent a message which was duly repeated to the Pandavas and their allies. He poured out praises upon

¹ Sanjaya is said to have been the minister and charioteer of Maharaja Dhritarashtra. He thus held an important post in the court of Hastinapur. Karna is accounted low-born, because he was the son of a charioteer. The origin of this discrepancy is discussed in the larger history. The Brahmanical compilers of the Maha Bharata were jealous of the important part played by charioteers in the original version of the tradition, and therefore represented them in the poem as a low-born race of carters and wagoners.

the Pandavas; he said that enemies and friends were equally loud in extolling them; some of the Kauravas might have used harsh language, but he would make peace between all parties, if the Pandavas would only return to Hastinapur.

The Pandavas, however, were not to be entrapped. Yudhishtira replied that neither he nor his brethren would return to Hastinapur, unless a pledge was given that their half of the Raj would be restored. Accordingly both parties prepared for war.

There is little in the war of the Maha Bharata to render it memorable in after generations, beyond the horrible tale of slaughter. In its original form it was not associated with any sentiment of patriotism or religion, such as animated the children of Israel during the conquest of the promised land. Neither was it a war in which men fought to wipe out dishonor, as the Greeks fought the Trojans during the siege of Troy. Nor was it a war between men of different blood like that between Greece and Persia. It was nothing but a battle between kinsmen for the possession of land.

The Kauravas and Pandavas assembled their respective allies on a famous plain round a lake or tank, known as Kuru-kshetra. It was situated about fifty or sixty miles from modern Delhi. The warriors were arrayed against each other, and stirred up every angry passion by abusing and railing at each other. At last when they had lashed each other into fury by taunts and gibes, they rushed against each other like ferocious beasts or madmen. Some threw stones; others fought with their fists, teeth, and nails, or kicked and wrestled till one or other was killed. Others fought with clubs, knives, swords, spears, javelins, chakras, or bows and arrows. Whenever a conqueror had overthrown his adversary he severed his head from the body and carried it off as a trophy.

The story of revenge and slaughter was one which fathers might tell their sons from generation to generation, as a ghastly moral against feuds and wars. It is not so much a description of a general battle, as of a series of single com-

bats between distinguished warriors, which would be sung in ballads for ages afterward. Bhishma, the patriarch of the royal house of Hastinapur, was slain by Arjuna. Drona engaged in mortal combat with Drupada to settle the old feud which had driven him into exile. Drupada was slain by Drona; but his son Dhrishta-dyumna revenged his death by fighting against Drona until he slew him. Bhima engaged in mortal combat with Duhsasana, the man who dragged Draupadi by her hair into the gambling pavilion. Bhima overthrew his enemy, cut off his head, and drank his blood in accordance with his vow, and then tied up the dishevelled hair of Draupadi while his fingers were dripping with the blood of the evil-doer. Lastly, there was the crowning contest between Arjuna and Karna. They fought in war-chariots with their bows and arrows in their hands. Arjuna was almost overcome by the arrows of Karna, when the wheel of Karna's chariot sank into the earth, and would not move. Karna called out to his adversary to hold his hand until he recovered the wheel; but Arjuna saw his opportunity, and shot Karna dead with an arrow.

The details of the battle are interminable, and occupy volumes. One dreadful night the warriors fought through the darkness with a weapon in one hand and a torch in the other. The battle was really over on the seventeenth day, when Bhima slew Duhsasana, and Arjuna slew Karna. On the eighteenth day Duryodhana rallied his forces for a general engagement, but all the Kauravas excepting himself were slain upon the field, and he fled away to the lake in the centre of the plain. Bhima ran after Duryodhana, and mocked and reviled him until the ghastly warrior came out and engaged in a final combat. The two men fought with clubs, until Bhima struck a foul blow, which smashed the knee of Duryodhana, and then left him to die where he lay.¹

The Pandavas had got the mastery, but the bloodshed

¹ The foul blow of Bhima consisted in his striking Duryodhana below the waist. The blow was given in accordance with the vow which Bhima had made in the gambling pavilion.

was not over. There was yet to be a slaughter of sleeping men in the camp of the Pandavas; it is known as "the revenge of Aswatthama." Drona, the father of Aswatthama, had slain Drupada, and had then been killed by Drupada's son Dhrishta-dyumna. Aswatthama lived to carry on the feud, and swore to be revenged on Dhrishta-dyumna and the Pandavas.

At evening time Aswatthama and two surviving warriors stood by the side of the wounded Duryodhana. They cheered his dying agonies by pledging themselves to avenge his death. They left him on the field, and sat under a tree to consider what to do. Suddenly Aswatthama learned a lesson from an omen. Crows were roosting in the tree; an owl approached them warily; he killed them one at a time without awakening them. "Thus," cried Aswatthama, "we will revenge ourselves on the sleeping Pandavas; we will kill them one at a time, as the owl has killed the crows."

The camp of the Pandavas was on one side of the lake, and the camp of the Kauravas on the other. The Pandavas had left Draupadi and her sons in charge of allies and servants, and had gone to the camp of the Kauravas to take possession of the spoil, and pass the night there.

At midnight Aswatthama and his two comrades approached the camp of the Pandavas. It was surrounded by a deep trench, and had but one entrance. Aswatthama posted his two comrades at the entrance, and stole off to the quarters of Dhrishta-dyumna. The son of Drupada was sleeping on the ground. Aswatthama awoke him by kicking his head. The doomed warrior saw his enemy standing over him with a drawn sword. He cried out "Treachery!" Aswatthama broke his skull with the back of the sword, and silenced him forever. He then rushed out of the tent to be revenged on the Pandavas.

The Pandavas were away at the camp of the Kauravas, but Draupadi and her sons were sleeping at their quarters. The young men were awakened by the turmoil in the quarters of Dhrishta-dyumna. They ran out one after the other,

and were cut down and killed by Aswatthama. By this time the whole camp was in disorder. Friends and kinsmen were shouting and fighting against each other. The women filled the air with shrieks and screams. Numbers were killed and wounded on all sides. Some tried to escape from the camp, but were cut down by the two men at the entrance. Aswatthama lost his way in the darkness, but set alight to a great pile of firewood. The camp was filled with a sudden glare of fire and flame. Aswatthama escaped amid the uproar, gained the entrance, and disappeared with his comrades into the outer world.

The day was just dawning as the three men walked across the plain of Kuru-kshetra. Wolves and jackals had begun to attack the corpses, but were scared away by the light of morning. The three warriors took a last farewell of the dying Duryodhana; they gladdened his last moments with the story of their revenge; and then, as he gave up the ghost, they fled away into the jungle and were heard of no more.

The final scene in the great war is told with much pathos. The agony of Draupadi and the woe of the Pandavas may be passed over in silence. The sympathies of the reader are not with the victors, but with the mourners for the dead. As the day began to dawn, the widows, daughters, and mothers of the slain came on the field of Kuru-kshetra weeping and wailing, to perform the last rites of their dead kinsmen. The funeral piles were burning, but no widow threw herself into the flames. The imagination rests upon the weeping women, without the additional horror of female sacrifices, which characterized a later period of Hindu history.¹

Next followed another painful scene. The blind old Maharaja Dhritarashtra, and his wretched wife Gandhari, were borne down with grief for the loss of their sons; yet both

¹ It is difficult to reconcile the fact that no widow performed a Sati after the war of the Maha Bharata with the statement that Madri, the younger wife of Pandu, perished on his funeral pile. There was evidently some conflict of authority as regards the rite of Sati; possibly the story of Madri is an interpolation, and the rite of Sati originated in a later age.

came out of Hastinapur, with the touching submission of Hindus, to bend to the decrees of fate, and pay their homage to the victors. This done, they went off to the jungle to take up their abode on the bank of the Ganges, and spend their last years in devotion and prayer.

Amid these scenes of mourning the conquerors were exulting in their victory. Drums were beaten, trumpets were sounded, flags were flying, while Yudhishthira and his brethren went in joyful procession to take possession of the Raj of Hastinapur. But the songs of triumph must have jarred upon ears that were filled with the cries of the mourners for the dead and dying.

The end of the story may be told in a few words. Yudhishthira and his brethren became great conquerors; they are said to have subdued every Raja throughout the length and breadth of India. When they had brought their conquests to a close, they celebrated a horse feast or sacrifice, known as an Aswamedha; it was an assertion of their sovereignty over the empire of India. All the Rajas whom they conquered were summoned to Indra-prastha to pay their homage to the conquerors, and to feast on horse-flesh after the manner of the ancient Kshatriyas. But before describing the Aswamedha, it will be as well to review the scope and subject matter of the whole poem of the Maha Bharata.

The foregoing narrative is a bare outline of the original tradition of the Maha Bharata. It records events which are referred to the fifteenth century before the Christian era; when the Israelites were delivered out of Egypt, and conducted by Moses to the promised land. After an apparent interval of unrecorded centuries, the story of the great war was retold in the Sanskrit poem as a religious parable, replete with spiritual meanings and pious teachings. The poem of the Maha Bharata is of such inordinate length that it may have been composed by a variety of bards; but the work is referred to one particular Brahman sage, who is known by the name of Vyasa, or "the arranger."

Vyasa is represented as playing an important part in the events recorded in the Maha Bharata; but everything which is told about him is improbable or supernatural. He is said to have been an illegitimate son of the damsel who afterward married Maharaja Santanu; to have been the real father of Dhritarashtra and Pandu; to have caused Gandhari to have a hundred sons at a birth. Sometimes he appears in an abrupt and supernatural manner to impart religious instruction to the Pandavas. He directed Arjuna to perform penance on the Himalayas, and ordered Yudhishthira to celebrate the Aswamedha as an atonement for sin. Sometimes he appears to explain away something that is opposed to Brahmanical ideas, such as the marriage of Draupadi to Yudhishthira and his brethren.

The religious teaching of the Maha Bharata is evidently the product of a later age than that in which the great war was fought. The Kauravas and Pandavas sacrificed to Indra, the king of gods, and appear to have worshipped the gods of fire, water, wind, and other Vedic deities. But the compilers of the Maha Bharata resolved all these gods into one Supreme Spirit, under the name of Vishnu, and taught the worship of Krishna as an incarnation of Vishnu.

Thus Krishna appears in the Maha Bharata as a mortal hero, and as the Supreme Being. Like Vyasa he plays an important part in the history of the great war, but generally in an improbable and supernatural manner. He is a mediator in times of feud, and a consoler in times of affliction. He was present at the Swayamvara of Draupadi to mediate between the Pandavas and the angry Rajas. He suddenly appeared in the gambling pavilion to prevent Duryodhana from insulting Draupadi. He was mixed up in the negotiations which preceded the great war, flying vast distances through the air in a moment of time. The Kauravas plotted to seize him at Hastinapur, but he became manifest as the Supreme Being; all the gods issued from his body, flames of fire fell from his eyes, and his form was as radiant with

golden beams as the sun at noonday. He appeared to Arjuna on the morning of the first day of the war. Arjuna was shrinking from the slaughter of friends and kinsmen; he would rather die, he said, than fight against such good men as Bhishma and Drona. Krishna consoled him with the doctrine that death was but the transmigration of the soul from one body to another. He stirred Arjuna into action by assuring him that fighting was the duty of all Kshatriyas; and that if he proved himself a coward, and failed to fight, he could never hope to enter the heaven of Indra.

The story of the great war has been reduced in the foregoing pages to a simple narrative of life and manners. But it is told in the Maha Bharata with all the exuberance and exaggeration of Oriental imaginations revelling in an ideal world. Every Raja in India is said to have been present at the Swayamvara of Draupadi and the Raja-suya of Yudhishtira. Every Raja is said to have fought in the great war of the Maha Bharata, on the side of the Kauravas, or on that of the Pandavas. The armies at Kuru-kshetra were thus reckoned by millions of millions; elephants and chariots by tens of millions. The battle is described with a grandeur greater than that of the war of Zeus against the Titans. Drums were beaten, trumpets and war-shells were sounded, and gorgeous banners were waving in the air. Gigantic Rajas, arrayed in golden mail, and armed with supernatural weapons, appeared in chariots radiant with strings of jewels and bracelets of gold and pearls. Vast masses of elephants and chariots, horse and foot, were swayed to and fro like the waves of the sea. The air was darkened by darts and arrows, or illuminated with the flashing of swords and spears. Rivers of blood issued from mountains of slain. Lastly, frantic widows, with dishevelled hair, shrieked over the slaughtered bodies of husbands and sons, not by tens or hundreds, but by millions.

The Aswamedha, or horse sacrifice of Yudhishtira, is described on an equally grand scale. The primitive idea

of an Aswamedha was to let a horse loose for a year as a challenge to all the neighboring Rajas. Whenever the horse wandered into the territory of another Raja, there was a battle for the supremacy. It was a rude sport adapted to a warlike race like the ancient Kshatriyas. If a warrior gained a succession of victories, he slaughtered the horse, and served it up at a great feast to all the conquered Rajas. In this manner Arjuna is said to have followed the horse of Yudhishtira, and conquered all the Rajas in India. He then summoned all the Rajas to attend the Aswamedha, to pay their homage to Yudhishtira, and to feast on the horse which was roasted for the occasion. Whether Arjuna did or did not conquer all the Rajas in India is a question which the reader must decide for himself. If he did, the horse must have travelled immense distances. How the horse-feast became converted in after times into an atonement for sin is a religious question which may be left to conjecture.¹

The story of the great war concludes with a grand creation of Hindu imagination. It has already been seen that the blind Maharaja of Hastinapur went away with his wife Gandhari to dwell in retirement on the bank of the Ganges. Fifteen years after the great war, the widows and mothers of those who had been slain went to the same spot to mourn for the loss of their husbands and sons. Vyasa, the Brahman sage, appeared among the women to console them. He stood on the bank of the Ganges and invoked the dead warriors by their various names. Presently the river began to foam and boil, and a great noise rose out of the waters. The ghosts of the departed heroes appeared above the surface in all the glory and magnificence which they displayed on the plain of Kuru-kshetra. Bhishma and Drona, seated in their chariots in full armor, ascended out of the waters with all their armies, arrayed as they were on the first day

¹ Some information on this point will be found in Chapter IV. on the "Religion and Literature" of the Hindus.

of the Maha Bharata. Next came Karna and Duryodhana, together with Sakuni and Duhsasana, and many other warriors and Rajas. There too were the sons of Draupadi, and her brother Dhrishta-dyumna, and all the men who had been slain in the revenge of Aswatthama. All appeared in great beauty and splendor, with horses, chariots, banners, and arms. But all enmity had departed from them, and they were all in perfect friendship with one another. Then the widows and other women were overjoyed; not a trace of grief remained among them. Widows went to their husbands, daughters to their fathers, and mothers to their sons; and all the fifteen years of sorrow were forgotten in the ecstasy of meeting. The night passed away in the fulness of joy; but when the morning dawned all the dead mounted their horses and chariots, and disappeared in the waters. Then Vyasa gave the widows leave to follow their husbands; and having paid their devotions they plunged into the Ganges and joined their husbands in the heaven of Indra.¹

¹ All Kshatriyas who perished on the field of battle were supposed to go to Swarga, the heaven of Indra; but when their merits were sufficiently rewarded they returned to the world, and entered upon a new chain of existences in successive transmigrations. (See Chap. IV.)

CHAPTER II

RAMAYANA—OUDE

ABOUT B.C. 1000

THE Ramayana is a Sanskrit epic like the Maha Bharata, but the main tradition reveals a higher stage of civilization.¹ The principal scenes are laid in Ayodhya, or Oude, a large territory on the northern bank of the Ganges; and north of the land of Rakshasas and Asuras, described in the Maha Bharata. The Raj of Ayodhya thus occupied the centre of Hindustan.² Its capital was also named Ayodhya, and was situated on the river Sarayu;³ it was hundreds of miles to the southeast of Hastinapur and Delhi. The Maharaja of Ayodhya was married to three wives or Ranis. He had eight chosen ministers; two Brahman priests as his advisers; and a great council of state for the exercise of certain constitutional powers.

Dasaratha, Maharaja of Ayodhya, had four sons by his three Ranis; namely, Rama, Lakshmana, Satrughna, and Bharata. Rama was the son of Kausalya, the first and

¹ An approximate date of the reign of Rama is fixed by the following data. General Cunningham has fixed the war of the Maha Bharata in the fifteenth century before the Christian era. Mention is made in the Maha Bharata of a certain Rituparna as Raja of Ayodhya. Rituparna reigned in the fifteenth generation before Rama, as shown in the genealogical lists. (See Tod's Rajasthan, vol. i.) Reckoning a generation at thirty years, there would be an interval of 450 years between the war of the Maha Bharata and the reign of Rama. The date of the composition of the Ramayana is a very different matter; perhaps the poem was composed more than a thousand years after the actual exile of Rama.

² The Raj is known in the Ramayana as the Raj of Kosala; and the name of Ayodhya, or Oude, is only applied to the city. The name of Kosala is important in dealing with Buddhist legends.

³ The river Sarayu is now known as the Gogra. The site of the ancient city of Ayodhya is still to be traced among the mounds in the neighborhood of Fyzabad.

chief wife. Lakshmana and Satrughna were the sons of the middle wife. Bharata was the son of the last wife, the reigning favorite, the young and beautiful Kaikeyi. The plot of the Ramayana turns upon the jealousy between Kausalya and Kaikeyi, and the rival claims of Rama and Bharata.

Rama, the eldest son by Kausalya, had been fortunate and happy. The Raja of Mithila, to the eastward of Oude,¹ proclaimed the Swayamvara of his daughter Sita. There was a huge bow, and Sita was to be given in marriage to the Raja who could bend the bow. The Swayamvara was held, but not a Raja could lift the bow from the ground. At last Rama took up the bow, and bent it until it broke in twain; and in due course he became the husband of the beautiful Sita.

At last the time arrived for the appointment of a Yuva-*raja* or "little Raja." According to the story, Rama was the universal favorite. Ministers, chieftains, and the people were all loud in their praises of Rama. The Maharaja resolved on appointing Rama to the post of Yuva-*raja*. He got rid of Bharata by sending him with his half-brother Satrughna on a visit to Kaikeyi's father, the Raja of Gira-*vraja*, seven days' journey from Ayodhya.² The Maharaja summoned Rama to the palace and told him that on the morrow he would be installed as Yuva-*raja*. Meanwhile Rama was to keep a careful watch throughout the night, lest Bharata should suspect what was going on, and return to Ayodhya and upset the arrangement.³

According to the Ramayana, the whole city of Ayodhya was in a blaze of joy and exultation at the approaching

¹ The Raj of Mithila corresponded to the modern Tirhut.

² Gira-*vraja* was the old name of Rajagriha, the modern Rajgir, in Behar. In ancient times it was a centre of Buddhism, and suggests the idea of a religious element in the antagonism between Rama and Bharata. Rama was certainly a champion of the Brahmans. Bharata may have been a representative of a Buddhist faction.

³ The jealousy between the first wife and the youngest is as old as polygamy. Did not Jacob prefer Rachel to Leah, and Joseph or Benjamin to his eldest son Reuben? The reader must judge for himself whether the Maharaja did not in his heart prefer Bharata to Rama, although he made a show of favoring Rama.

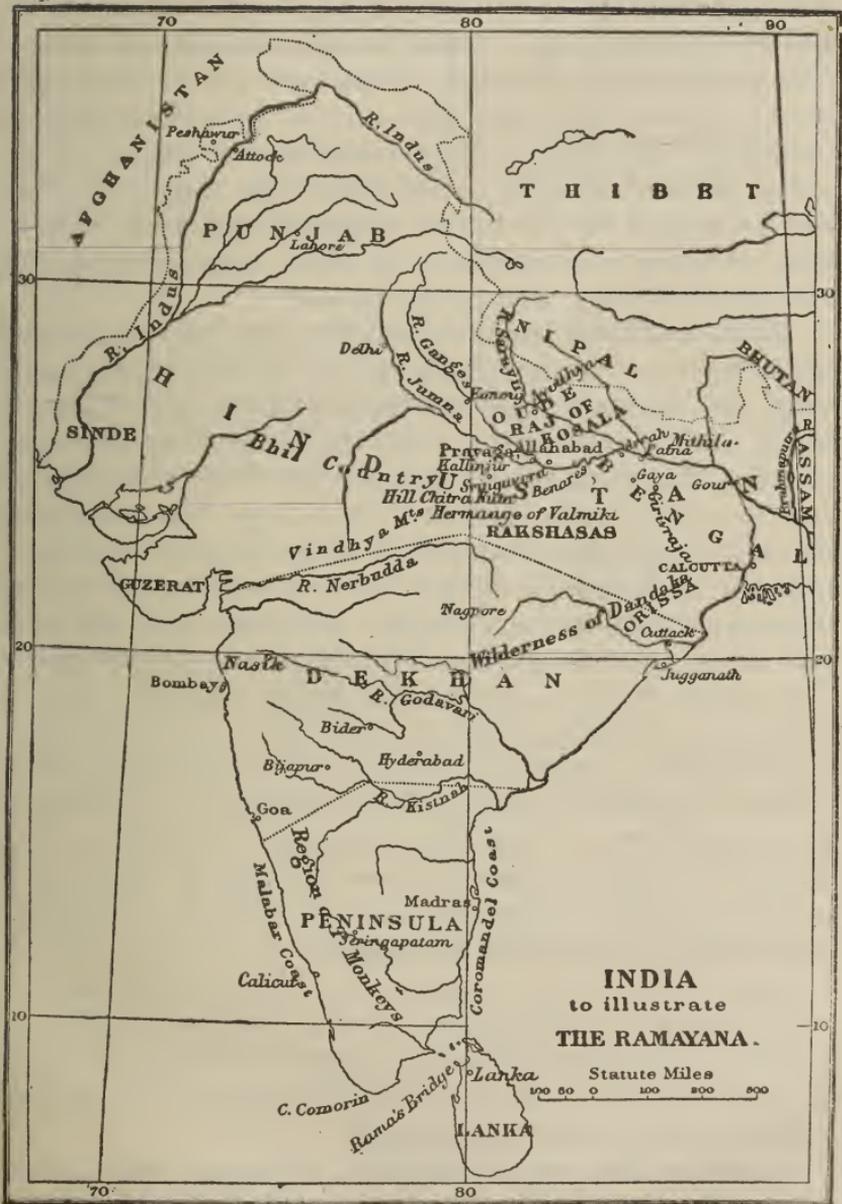
installation of Rama. The houses were illuminated throughout the night with endless clusters of lamps. At early dawn the people watered the streets, strewed the roads with flowers, and set up gay banners in all directions. The news of the installation spread far and wide. Crowds of country people flocked into Ayodhya. Singers, musicians, and dancing-girls delighted the hearts of young and old. Even the little children, who were playing in the courtyards and under the porticoes, kept on saying to one another, "This day Rama is to be anointed Yuva-rajā."

All this while a very different scene was being enacted in the palace. On the previous day Kaikeyi, the youngest wife, was unaware that Rama was to be installed. The Maharaja had promised to see her in the evening, and proposed coaxing her to agree to the appointment of Rama. But his intentions were thwarted. A slave-girl belonging to Kaikeyi, named Manthara, had gone to the roof of the palace and discovered that the whole city was illuminated for the coming installation of Rama. She ran to the apartments of her mistress, and told her that Bharata was excluded from the throne; that the Maharaja had sent Bharata to his grandfather, in order to install Rama as Yuva-rajā.

Kaikeyi saw through the whole intrigue. She threw off her jewels and scattered them over the floor of her room. She untied her hair, and dishevelled it over her shoulders. She threw herself upon the ground and covered her face with the darkness of anger.

At this crisis the Maharaja entered the apartments of Kaikeyi. It is needless to dwell upon what followed. The doting old Maharaja was in sore distress; for a long time Kaikeyi would not speak to him; then she stormed at him; finally she befooled him. She insisted that Bharata should be installed as Yuva-rajā, and that Rama should be sent into exile for fourteen years. The Maharaja was a helpless slave in the hands of Kaikeyi; he could not resist her, and at last was compelled to yield to her imperious will.

At early morning, while the city was preparing for the



installation, Rama was summoned to the palace, and ushered into the presence of his father. The Maharaja was speechless from grief.¹ Kaikeyi was exulting in her triumph over the first wife. She told Rama his fate in words of steel. Rama received the news like a model prince who had been trained by Brahmans. He showed neither anger nor sorrow; his face was an unruffled calm. He prepared to obey the commands of his father without a murmur. He was bent on going into exile with as much tranquillity as if he had been ordered to ascend the throne.

Rama left the presence of the Maharaja and Kaikeyi to carry the news to his mother Kausalya. The princess had been spending the night in offering sacrifices to Vishnu in behalf of her beloved son. She had gloried in the thought that the machinations of Kaikeyi had been defeated, and that Rama was to be appointed Yuva-rajā. In one moment the cup of happiness was dashed to the ground. Instead of reigning as Maharaja in the city of Ayodhya, her son was to go as an exile into the jungle. His place upon the throne was to be filled by the son of her detested rival. She herself, deprived of the protection of Rama, was to be exposed to the caprices and domination of Kaikeyi, as the mother of the future Maharaja. In agony of soul, Kausalya implored Rama to resist the commands of his father; to assume the government of the Raj; and, if opposed, to slay the royal dotard who had become the slave to Kaikeyi. She was his mother, and her commands, she said, were as binding upon him as those of his father Dasaratha.

Rama was not to be moved from his high resolve. He was deaf to all suggestions of disobedience, rebellion, or parricide. He told his mother that the Maharaja was her husband and her god, and that she was bound to obey him whatever might be his commands.

Kausalya next entreated Rama to take her with him into the jungle. She could not live in the palace to endure the

¹ The exaggerated accounts of the Maharaja's sorrowing over the exile of Rama give rise to the suspicion that his grief was all a sham.

insults of Kaikeyi and the contempt of the slave-girls. But Rama was inexorable. By taking his mother into the jungle he would make her a widow while her husband was alive. She would violate her duty as a wife, and he would violate his duty as a son.

Rama left his mother, to return to his own palace, and break the news to his wife Sita. The young wife was not cast down by her husband's doom; but she was angry when he proposed going alone into exile, and leaving her behind at Ayodhya. She declared that a wife must share the fortunes of her husband, and that she must accompany him into the jungle. Rama dwelt upon the dangers and privations of jungle life; but his words were thrown away. She prayed and wept until he allowed her to share his exile. He also permitted his half-brother Lakshmana to accompany them into the jungle.

The story of the exile of Rama is suggestive. The first and second exiles of the Pandavas, as told in the *Maha Bharata*, are somewhat mythical; they might be omitted altogether without interfering with the current of the tradition of the great war. The exile of Rama is historical; it forms an essential portion of the main tradition. The inference follows that the horrible slaughter of kinsmen in the war of the *Maha Bharata* left a lasting impression upon history. It taught a wholesome lesson to the ancient world that fratricidal wars were the ruin of empires. After the war of the *Maha Bharata*, a sentence of exile became the rule in cases of domestic feuds, as the only safeguard against fratricidal war.

The story of the exile of Rama is however contradictory. In modern times the sentence of exile among the princes of Rajputana has been carried out with funereal pomp. The offender was clothed in black, invested with a black sword and buckler, mounted on a black horse, and solemnly commanded to depart out of the limits of the Raj.¹ Henceforth

¹ See the larger *History of India*, vol. ii. chap. 8.

the exiled prince either entered into foreign service, like Drona, or led the life of a bandit and outlaw.¹

According to the Ramayana, Rama and Lakshmana led the life of religious devotees. They were supposed to live on roots and vegetables, and to pass their time in religious austerities, abstracted from the outer world. But traces of the funereal ceremonial are still to be found in the poem. Rama, accompanied by his wife Sita, and his brother Lakshmana, walked on bare feet through the streets of Ayodhya to the palace of the Maharaja, amid the tears and lamentations of the people. They took their leave of the Maharaja and Kaikeyi like doomed exiles. They were clothed in dresses made of the bark of trees, and despatched to the frontier in the Maharaja's own chariot. The Ramayana also tells how the exiles shot deer in the jungle, and lived on flesh meat, like other Kshatriyas. Moreover, they were soon engaged in wars against Rakshasas and demons. Such a mode of life was certainly more fitted for Rajputs than for Brahmans, for political exiles than for religious devotees.

The journey in the royal chariot from the capital at Ayodhya to the frontier town of Sringavera occupied some days.² At night the chariot halted beneath trees, and the royal exiles slept on beds of leaves. At Sringavera the charioteer left the exiles, and returned to the city of Ayodhya, carrying loving messages from Rama to his father Dasaratha.

The town of Sringavera, the modern Sungroor, was situated on the northern bank of the Ganges, about twenty miles from Allahabad. It was the frontier town of Ayodhya against the Bhils. It thus forms a landmark between the

¹ The exile of Drona differed altogether from that of Rama. It only lasted until he had procured the means of revenge. Rama was bound over not to return to Ayodhya for a period of fourteen years.

² There were at least two rivers to be crossed between the city of Ayodhya on the river Sarayu, the modern Gogra, and the town of Sringavera, on the northern bank of the Ganges. The reader may conjecture that the chariot was carried across in some primitive fashion; or he may adopt the interpretation of learned Pundits that the chariot flew through the air.

Aryan dominion of Oude and the non-Aryan aborigines. The Raja of the Bhils, named Guha, was most respectful and attentive to the royal strangers. He entertained them with much hospitality and provided them with a boat for crossing the Ganges.

During this voyage across the Ganges, Sita offered up her prayers to the goddess of the river, and vowed to present her with an offering of wine and flesh whenever Rama should return and take possession of his kingdom.

The exiles next proceeded to the city of Prayaga, the modern Allahabad, at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna.¹ The site is of much importance in Hindu history. The union of the river deities rendered it a holy spot in the eyes of Vedic worshippers. At Prayaga, Bharadwaja the Brahman had already established a hermitage. Further south, in the jungle of Dandaka, were other Brahman hermitages, which will be presently brought under review.²

At Prayaga the exiles were hospitably entertained by Bharadwaja. They crossed the Jumna on a raft, and Sita offered up the same prayers to the goddess of the Jumna as she had previously offered up to the goddess of the Ganges. After they had landed on the opposite bank, Sita paid her adorations to a sacred fig-tree, walking humbly round the tree, and propitiating the god with joined hands.

The exiles next proceeded toward the hermitage of Valmiki the sage, on the hill Chitra-kuta in the country of Bundelkund. The spot was surrounded by the hermitages of other Brahmans. Valmiki was celebrated in after years as the author of the Ramayana, just as Vyasa was celebrated as the author of the Maha Bharata. The exiles built a hut of wood and leaves near this hermitage, and sojourned there many days, subsisting on honey and game.

Meanwhile the charioteer returned to the city of Ayodhya,

¹ This locality has already been noticed in connection with the first exile of the Pandavas, under the name of Varanavata.

² The area of the forest of Dandaka is somewhat confused. The whole country seems to have been a jungle or wilderness from the Ganges at Sringeri to the remote south.

and delivered to the Maharaja the filial messages which had been sent by Rama. That same night the Maharaja died in the chamber of Kausalya; but no one knew of it outside the chamber, for the Rani had fallen into a deep swoon.

Next morning at early dawn the palace life began as though the Maharaja was still sleeping. The bards and eulogists were chanting his praises, in order that he might waken to pleasant words. The Brahmans sang their Vedic hymns. The servants began their daily business; the men brought in jars of water, and the handmaidens were ready with food and flowers. The sun began to rise in the heavens, yet nothing was seen of the Maharaja.

Suddenly the screams of women rang through the morning air. The Ranis had gone to the royal chamber; they found that the Maharaja was a corpse, and that Kausalya had fallen into a swoon. Then the cry went forth that the Maharaja was dead.

The Ministers hastened to the chamber of death. They called together a great council of Brahmans and chieftains. The Maharaja was dead, and all his sons were absent from Ayodhya. There was no son present at Ayodhya to conduct the funeral ceremony. Rama and Lakshmana were in exile; Bharata and Satrughna were gone to Giri-vraja. So the body of the Maharaja was placed in a bath of oil; and swift messengers were sent to Giri-vraja to bring back Bharata to the city of Ayodhya.

When the messengers arrived at Giri-vraja, they would not tell Bharata that his father was dead. They said that all was well, but that he must return with all speed to the city of Ayodhya. So Bharata took leave of his grandfather, and returned with the messengers, accompanied by his brother Satrughna. When he heard at Ayodhya that his father was dead he was in sore distress; and when he heard that Rama had been sent into exile, he declared that he would not reign in the room of his elder brother Rama. He said that when the days of mourning were over, he would go into the jungle and bring back his brother Rama.

Meanwhile all preparations had been made for the burning. Bharata and his brother Satrughna placed the royal body on a litter, and covered it with garlands, and strewed it round about with incense. All this while they cried about with mournful voices, "O Maharaja, whither art thou gone?"

The sad procession then moved from the royal palace to the place of burning without the city. The bards and eulogists marched in front, chanting the praises of the dead Maharaja, while musicians filled the air with doleful strains. Next the widows appeared on foot, screaming and wailing, with their long black hair dishevelled on their shoulders. Then came the litter borne up by the royal servants; Bharata and Satrughna holding on to the back of the litter. All round the ensigns of royalty were carried as though the Maharaja were still alive. The white umbrella was held over the body; the jewelled fans of white hair were moved to and fro to sweep away the flies; the sacred fire was carried constantly burning. Other royal servants followed in chariots, and scattered alms among the multitude as funeral gifts of the Maharaja.¹

In this way the procession reached the banks of the river Sarayu. The funeral pile of fragrant woods was already prepared. The body of the Maharaja was placed upon the pile. Animals were sacrificed and placed round about the dead body together with heaps of boiled rice. Oil and clarified butter were poured upon the wood together with incense and perfumes of various kinds. Then Bharata brought a lighted torch and set the pile on fire. The flames blazed up on high, and consumed the dead body and all the sacrifices. The widows shrieked louder than ever; and the multitude lamented aloud, "O Maharaja, O sovereign protector, why hast thou departed and left us helpless here?"

When the mourners had performed the rite of fire, they began to perform the rite of water. Bharata and Satrughna

¹ It is worthy of note that none of the widows of the Maharaja were burned alive on the funeral pile.

bathed in the river with all their friends; they poured water out of the palms of their hands to refresh the soul of the Maharaja. This done, the mourners returned to the city of Ayodhya.

For ten days Bharata mourned for his father, lying upon a mat of kusa grass, according to the custom which still prevails among the Hindus. On the tenth day he purified himself. On the twelfth day he performed the Sraddha, or feast of the dead, by offering funeral cakes to the soul of his deceased father.¹ On the thirteenth day, Bharata proceeded to the river Sarayu, and collected the relics of the funeral pile, and threw them into the sacred stream.

On the fourteenth day of the mourning a great council of state was held at Ayodhya. The Raj was tendered to Bharata, according to the will of the dead Maharaja. But Bharata refused to supplant his elder brother; he declared that he would journey through the jungle to the hill Chitrukuta, and offer the Raj to Rama.

The march of Bharata from Ayodhya to Chitrukuta is described at length in the Ramayana; but it can scarcely be regarded as historical.² He was accompanied by an army; and it was therefore necessary to repair the road from Ayodhya to the frontier. The hills were levelled, and chasms were filled with earth.³ Pavilions were set up at the several

¹ The Sraddha is one of the most important ceremonies among the Hindus. It is performed by the mourner within a certain period after the death, or on hearing of the death, of a near kinsman. A Sraddha is also celebrated every month in propitiation of paternal ancestors. Special Sraddhas are likewise performed on great occasions, and notably at the celebration of any marriage ceremony. The funeral cakes are eaten by cows or Brahmans, or cast into water or fire. The ceremony is accompanied by a feast to the Brahmans, which is sometimes conducted on the most extensive and costly scale. See the larger History of India, vol. ii., Brahmanic period, chap. ix.

² Great stress is laid in the Ramayana on the reluctance of Bharata to accept the throne of Ayodhya at the expense of his elder brother Rama. The reluctance is improbable; it is contrary to human nature; it may, however, have been feigned to strengthen his claim to the throne in the absence of Rama. But whether real or feigned, it has little to do with the progress of the history.

³ The preparation of a road through the jungle for the passage of an army is not infrequent in Oriental life. It finds full expression in the prophecies of Isaiah: "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway

halting-places; and Bharata and his army moved along the route which had already been traversed by Rama and his fellow-exiles.

The first station of any note was the frontier town of Sringavera. There Guha, Raja of the Bhils, appeared as before in the character of a respectful neighbor. At first Guha was under the impression that Bharata was about to make war on Rama; and he made preparations for resisting the advance of the army. When, however, he heard that Bharata was about to offer the Raj to Rama, he carried large presents of fish, honey, and flesh to the camp, and entertained the whole army. He also provided five hundred boats to carry the women and leading personages over the river Ganges.

The passage of the army of Bharata over the Ganges is exactly in accordance with the ways of Hindu soldiers and their endless followers. The men set their booths on fire on leaving the encampment. They made a great uproar during embarkation. The boats, adorned with gay streamers, crossed the river with ease amid the sing-song of the rowers; some were filled with women, some carried horses, and others were filled with carriages, cattle, and treasure. The elephants swam through the waters like winged mountains. The multitude went over on rafts or empty jars, or breasted the stream with their hands and arms.

Next followed the march to the hermitage of Bharad-waja. The holy Brahman gave a great feast to the whole army. By virtue of his many austerities, he prevailed on the gods to supply all that was necessary from the heaven of Indra. Viswakarma, the architect of the gods, levelled the ground, covered it with green turf, and built up magnificent pavilions. Tanks were filled with sacred food—milk, rice, and sugar. Metal dishes, loaded with cooked meats, were supplied in abundance. Rivers flowed with

for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain."

wine and sweet liquors; the banks were covered with sweetmeats and delicacies; the trees dropped honey. The beautiful Apsaras, nymphs from Swarga, danced on the grass; the Kinnaras filled the air with their songs; the Gandharvas played sweet music. Thousands of beautiful damsels, with garlands round their necks, served up viands and drinks to the exhilarated warriors.¹

The army of Bharata next crossed the river Jumna in the same way that it had crossed the Ganges; and in due course it marched through the jungle of Dandaka to the hill Chitra-kuta. In the first instance Bharata told Rama that his father Dasaratha was dead. Rama gave way to grief and performed the funeral rites. He bathed in the neighboring river, and filled his two joined palms with water. He then turned his face toward the south quarter, sacred to Yama, the judge of the dead, and said, "O Maharaja, may this water always quench your thirst in the region of spirits!" He afterward prepared funeral cakes, and offered them to the spirit of his departed father.

The meeting between Bharata and Rama is told at great length in the Ramayana. They discussed the question of the succession to the Raj; Bharata offering it to his elder brother, and Rama refusing to take it until he had completed his exile. In the end it was resolved that Bharata

¹ The miracle of Bharadwaja will serve as a specimen of the mode in which the original traditions of the Maha Bharata and Ramayana have been embellished when retold in the form of Sanskrit epics. The deities of fire, water, the winds, the sun and moon, the gods of wealth and war, and a host of other deities, were supposed to dwell on high in the heaven of Indra; and Indra reigned as sovereign of the gods, just as Zeus reigned as sovereign over the gods on Mount Olympus. But Brahman sages, by the force of austerities and other religious merits, could force the gods to work their will.

The dancers, singers, and musicians call for some explanation. The Apsaras were dancing-girls in the service of Indra. The Kinnaras were a people fabled to have horses' heads; and Herodotus describes a people, whom he calls Eastern Ethiopians, who fought in the army of Xerxes, and wore the scalps of horses on their heads, with the ears and mane attached. (Herodotus, vii. 70.) They were equipped like the Indians. How they came to serve as singers in the heaven of Indra is a mystery. The Gandharvas were a hill tribe dwelling on the Himalayas, and famous for the beauty of their women. They appear in the story of the adventures of the Pandavas at Virata, as ghostly lovers of women. In the Ramayana they appear as musicians in the heaven of Indra.

should return to Ayodhya, and rule over the Raj in the name of Rama; and that when the fourteen years of exile were accomplished, Rama should leave the jungle and take possession of the throne.

After the departure of Rama, the Brahman hermitages at Chitra-kuta were sorely troubled by the Rakshasas. These people are described as demons, monsters, and cannibals, like those encountered by Bhima in the Magadha country. They were especially hostile to the Brahmans and their sacrifices, and enemies to the worship of the gods. Accordingly the Brahmans abandoned their hermitages at Chitra-kuta, and went away to another country.

When Chitra-kuta was deserted by the Brahmans, Rama went away further south, accompanied by Sita and Lakshmana. The royal exiles wandered over the jungle of Dandaka toward the sources of the river Godavari in the Vindhya mountains. They visited the hermitages of many holy Brahmans, and Rama carried on war against many Rakshasas. In this manner thirteen years of the exile passed away.¹

The Rakshasas of the Ramayana are creations of Hindu imagination. They are not gigantic men like those who were slain by Bhima, but huge misshapen monsters. One cannibal, named Viradha, was tall as a mountain, with a deep voice, hollow eyes, a monstrous mouth, and a tun belly; he was smeared with fat and blood; before him, on a huge iron spit ready cooked for a meal, were three lions, four tigers, two wolves, ten deer, and the head of an elephant. Another demon, named Kabandha, was a mountain of flesh, without head or neck; his face was in his belly; he had one eye and huge teeth; he had two arms of interminable length,

¹ One famous locality visited by Rama was Nasik, near the sources of the Godavari, about ninety miles to the northeast of Bombay. The name may be familiar to English readers, as some years back a distinguished Indian official recommended the transfer of the capital of British India from Calcutta to Nasik. In the present day Nasik is a holy place, a centre of Brahmanism. But a number of Buddhist ruins are in the neighborhood, and prove that Buddhism once flourished there.

with which he swept up his prey. Of course both Viradha and Kabandha, as well as other demons, were all slain by Rama. Indeed Rama is always the victor, whether encountering a single monster, or assailed by a whole army of Rakshasas.

The remainder of the Ramayana may be described as a romance converted into a religious parable. Rama is represented as an incarnation of Vishnu, born upon earth for the destruction of the Rakshasas, who are the enemies of gods and Brahmans.

Ravana, the Raja of the Rakshasas, was reigning in the island of Lanka, the modern Ceylon. His empire extended over the greater part of southern India; his power was felt on the river Godavari and hill Chitra-kuta. He was said to have made the gods his slaves. He had delivered his subjects from the fear of Yama, judge of the dead, and had compelled Yama to cut grass for his steeds. The sun was obliged to smile gently at Lanka, and the moon to be always at the full. Agni, the god of fire, burned not in his presence. Vayu, the god of wind, blew gently at Lanka. No one dared to perform sacrifice out of fear of Ravana.¹

Ravana had heard of the beauty of Sita, the wife of Rama. He disguised himself as a Hindu devotee, and paid a visit to Sita while Rama and Lakshmana were absent in the jungle. He was smitten with her charms, and forcibly carried her off in a chariot, which flew through the air like chariots in fairy tales. Rama was much distressed when he returned to the hut and found that Sita had vanished. At last he discovered that Sita had been carried off by Ravana, the mighty Raja of Lanka. Accordingly he formed alliances for waging war against so potent an enemy. He is said to have secured the services of armies of monkeys and bears, who had been born on earth as incarnations of the gods, in order to help in the holy war against Ravana.

According to the Ramayana there was a great Raja of

¹ See larger History of India, vol. ii.: Ramayana.

monkeys reigning in the western mountains.¹ His name was Bali. He had a younger brother, named Sugriva, whom he had driven out of the Raj, and was still anxious to capture and murder. Rama visited Sugriva in his secret retreat in a hill fortress, and made a league with him. Rama fought against Bali, slew him, and placed Sugriva on the throne. In return, Sugriva joined Rama with an army of monkeys to carry on the war against Ravana.²

A famous monkey, named Hanuman, was commander-in-chief of the army of monkeys. The exploits of Hanuman have been the delight of the people of India for unrecorded centuries.³ He could swell himself to the size of a mountain, or dwarf himself to the size of a man's thumb. He was bent on discovering the retreat of Sita. He marched to the sea-shore, where a strait, sixty miles across, separates India from Ceylon. He took a gigantic spring and leaped across the strait. He climbed the vast fortifications which surrounded the city of Lanka, and entered the palace of Ravana. He found Sita in the palace garden secluded in a grove, and gave her a ring he had received from Rama. He saw that Ravana was anxious to make Sita his chief Rani, but that nothing would induce her to break her marriage vows. Sita was glad to see Hanuman and gave him a jewel as a token for Rama.

When Hanuman left Sita, he was so enraged against Ravana that he began to tear up all the trees and flowers in the palace garden. The Rakshasas fell upon him with overwhelming forces, but he withstood them all. At last

¹ The region corresponded generally to the Mysore country, but may have extended over a larger area, including the Mahratta country. The wife of the monkey Raja was named Tara, a name which is frequently given to Mahratta women.

² This strange legend illustrates the feuds which prevailed in ancient India. The confusion between monkeys and men is inexplicable. The bears played a less important part in the war, and may be ignored.

³ Hanuman is worshipped as a god in all parts of India. His image is carved in numerous pagodas. Della Valle, who travelled in India in the seventeenth century, describes a festival in which the image of Hanuman was carried in procession from a temple in the western Ghats to the eastern coast of Coromandel, the scene of Rama's later exploits.

he was entrapped by a noose which had belonged to the god Brahma. He was dragged into the palace hall, where Ravana was sitting surrounded by his council. His tail was dipped in butter and set on fire; but he whisked the tail over the city of Lanka, and set all the houses in flames.¹ He then went off to the sea-shore, and leaped over the strait as before; and told Rama that he had seen Sita and gave him the token.

The rest of the Ramayana is a string of marvels. The army of monkeys brought rocks from the Himalaya mountains, and built a bridge over the sea between India and Lanka.² The war was carried on with supernatural weapons and mystic sacrifices. It was diversified by single combats, like the war of the Maha Bharata; but they are devoid of all human interest. They are the combats of gods and demons armed with weapons that worked impossible marvels. At last Ravana was slain by Rama, and Sita was restored to her husband's arms.

Here the story might have been brought to a close; but Sita had been captured by an enemy, and was yet to pass through a terrible ordeal. A pile of wood was built up and set on fire. Sita invoked Agni, the god of fire, to testify to

¹ The burning of Hanuman's tail is a favorite scene in dramatic representations, and is always hailed by a Hindu audience with a storm of delight. The false tail of the representative of Hanuman is of course stuffed with combustibles, and flares away with a display of fireworks, until the flimsy properties which indicate the streets and houses of Lanka are destroyed by the devouring flames. See larger History of India, vol. ii. chap. xx.: Ramayana.

² The origin of the conception of Rama's bridge forms a curious subject of inquiry. The famous bridge of boats by which the army of Xerxes passed over the Hellespont is commonplace in comparison with a bridge of stone, sixty miles long, extending over a deep sea. Strangely enough, a rocky causeway runs out from the Indian side of the channel, and terminates at the island of Ramisseram; and although it is at present covered by the sea, it is said to have formerly been above the waves. A similar causeway runs out from the opposite shore of Ceylon, and terminates in the island of Manaar; while a sandy ridge, known as Adam's Bridge, connects Manaar with Ramisseram. There can, therefore, be little doubt that the Hindu bard formed the idea of a bridge from a contemplation of the physical geography of the locality; and the conception once formed was readily believed and widely disseminated. To this day the huge blocks or boulders which are to be found in various parts of India are said to have been dropped by the monkeys in attempts to carry them southward for the purpose of building the bridge.

her purity. She threw herself into the midst of the flames, relying upon the god to protect her. For a while she disappeared from mortal eyes. Presently the earth opened, and Agni rose up, and revealed himself in human form. He carried Sita on his knee as a father carries a child, and delivered her to Rama as pure as the undriven snow.

The fourteenth year of exile was now accomplished. Rama and Sita returned to Ayodhya, and reigned in great happiness and splendor. Rama became a mighty conqueror; his empire is said to have covered all India. Like Yudhishthira he performed the Aswamedha, or horse-sacrifice; and every Raja in India, if not in all the world, attended the sacrifice and paid homage to Rama.

The conclusion of the Ramayana is a painful episode. There was a famine in the land; it was said that the gods were angry with Rama for having taken back Sita. Rama was in sore distress, for Sita was about to become a mother; nevertheless he ordered his brother Lakshmana to conduct her to the wilderness of Dandaka and leave her alone in the jungle.

Lakshmana was obliged to obey the cruel commands of the Maharaja. He drove Sita to the hill Chitra-kuta; told her that Valmiki the sage had returned to the hermitage accompanied by his wife; and counselled her to seek for refuge at the hermitage. It is needless to dwell on the agony of Sita at finding herself abandoned by her husband. It will suffice to say that she found her way to the hermitage, and was kindly entertained by Valmiki and his wife, and became the mother of twin sons, Lava and Kusa.

Sixteen years passed away. Valmiki composed the poem of the Ramayana, from the birth of Rama to the triumphant return of Rama and Sita to the Raj of Ayodhya. He taught the poem to the two sons of Rama.

At this time it came to pass that Rama made an excursion into the jungle of Dandaka. He heard Lava and Kusa chanting the Ramayana at the hermitage. His heart yearned toward his two sons and their mother Sita. He entered the

hermitage, and was reconciled by Valmiki to his wife Sita. Rama and Sita then returned to the city of Ayodhya with their two sons, and lived in happiness until death.¹

The poem of the Ramayana was composed for a religious purpose similar to that which pervades the Maha Bharata. Ancient legends are retold in the form of religious parables to represent Rama as an incarnation of the Supreme Spirit—Vishnu, in the same way that the Maha Bharata represents Krishna as an incarnation of the same deity. In the original poem the character of Rama is wildly distorted, and his moral actions are exaggerated, in order to exalt him into a Brahmanical hero of a supernatural type.² It should also be remarked that in the Ramayana two separate legends appear to have been linked into one. The exile of Rama from Ayodhya is apparently the original tradition which has been referred to B.C. 1000; it is the backbone of the epic, and complete in itself, irrespective of the wars in the Dekhan. On the other hand, the conquest of the Dekhan and capture of Lanka are additions of a mythical character, belonging to a later period of perhaps many centuries. They are relics, fantastic and grotesque, of the religious wars and antagonisms which prevailed for centuries in southern India between the Brahmans, or worshippers of the gods, and the Buddhists and Jains, who denied the existence of the gods, and were denounced as atheists and Rakshasas.³

¹ The story of the reconciliation of Rama and Sita has been slightly modified to escape details which are of no moment, and which would only involve lengthy explanations. The correct version will be found in the larger History of India, vol. ii.

² Such stories please Oriental imaginations, but are repulsive to practical morality as understood by Europeans. Similar supernatural myths are told of Gotama Buddha, such as giving his own flesh to a hungry tiger. Fables of this extreme character are more calculated to excite ridicule than to enforce moral rules.

³ This question is treated at length in the larger History of India, vol. ii. Further evidence is furnished in the second part of vol. iv. chap. viii.

CHAPTER III

MEDIÆVAL RAJAS

B.C. 500 TO A.D. 1000

THE belief that there is but one God, and that the soul is immortal, has done much toward elevating the barbarian into a civilized and responsible being. But there is another belief that has extended widely over the eastern world: it is known as the dogma of the metempsychosis, or belief in the transmigrations of the soul.

Sakya Muni,¹ afterward known as Gotama Buddha, was the son of a Raja of Kapila, a country seated on the southern slopes of the Himalayas.² Sakya Muni was brought up in every luxury, married a loving wife, and was the father of a son. But he was wearied or surfeited with pleasure, and felt a loathing for life. According to the legend, he saw an old man, a diseased man, and a dead man; and his eyes were opened to the woes of humanity. In the agony of his soul he is said to have exclaimed, "Youth, health, and life itself are but transitory dreams; they lead to age and disease; they end in death and corruption." This feeling was intensified, and magnified, by the belief in the transmigrations of the soul. He saw the evils, not only of an individual life, but of an endless chain of successive existences, beginning in an unknown past and running on to eternity.

Sakya Muni next saw one of those religious mendicants who have abounded in India from the remotest antiquity.

¹ The era of Sakya Muni is still uncertain; opinions are divided as to whether he flourished in the fifth or sixth century before the Christian era. Perhaps B.C. 500 is good as an approximate date.

² The locality is somewhere on the frontier between Nipal and Sikhim, and has sometimes been a bone of contention between the two powers.

The man had no cares or sorrows, no wife or family, no earthly ties of affection or kinship. He lived on the daily alms of food which are given to such mendicants by the masses. Sakya Muni resolved to become a religious mendicant in like manner; to abandon his father's palace, his wife and son, and his expectation of a throne, and to lead a life cut off from all the ties that bind men to the world.

Sakya Muni carried out his resolve. He went from his father's palace at Kapila to the country of Magadha on the southern bank of the Ganges. He carried his alms-bowl round the city of Rajagriha.¹ He next led a life of solitude and meditation in the jungle of Gaya, where he became a Buddha, or apostle, to deliver humanity from the miseries and evils of existence. Finally, he proceeded to the deer forest near Benares, and began to preach what he termed the law.

The essence of Sakya Muni's teaching was that every one should strive to be good in thought, word, and deed; that by so doing he would be born to a better and happier life in the next birth. But he taught that those who were truly wise would also seek to attain a higher object, namely, the deliverance of the soul from the chain of transmigrations. This he maintained could only be effected by leading the life of a religious mendicant; by rooting out every affection, passion, or desire; by severing every tie that bound the soul to the universe of being. When that end was accomplished, the soul would be detached from all life and being; it would be delivered or emancipated from the endless chain of transmigrations, and would finally sink into an eternal sleep or annihilation known as Nirvana.

Sakya Muni appeared in a world of Rajas and Brahmans, not unlike that which is depicted in the Sanskrit epics. The reigning Maharaja of Magdaha was at war with the Maharaja of Kosala. Peace was made and cemented by inter-

¹ Rajagriha is the same as Giri-vraja, the capital of Magadha, the city of the father of Kaikeyi. See ante, page 43.

marriages. The Maharaja of Magadha was subsequently put to death by his own son, who succeeded to the throne and conquered Kosala. Sakya Muni was thus preaching in troubled times. His success is proved by the after history. To this day the whole region of Magadha, on the southern bank of the lower Ganges, is known by the name of Bihar or Vihara, the land of Viharas or monasteries.

In B.C. 327, a century or more after the preaching of Sakya Muni in Magadha, Alexander the Great crossed the river Indus for the invasion of the Punjab, or "land of the five rivers." The Punjab was distributed among kings or Rajas who were more or less at war with each other. After crossing the Indus there were three kingdoms to be conquered: that of Taxiles, between the Indus and the Jhelum; that of Porus the elder, between the Jhelum and the Chenab; and that of Porus the younger, between the Chenab and the Ravi. There were also other Rajas to the north and south. Porus the elder, however, seems to have been the ruling suzerain, while the others were his refractory vassals.

Alexander called upon all the Rajas to tender their submission. Many flocked to his camp and paid their homage. Possibly they were anxious to secure his help against Porus the elder. Among others came Taxiles, who placed his kingdom at the disposal of Alexander. This opened the way for the advance of the Macedonian army to the banks of the Jhelum, the frontier of the kingdom of Porus the elder.

The passage of the Jhelum or Hydaspes is famous in history. Porus was encamped on the opposite bank with a large force of horse and foot, as well as of chariots and elephants. Alexander had to cross the river, not only in the face of the enemy, but exposed to the wind and rain of the southwest monsoon. One dark and stormy night he reached a small island in the river; he and his troops then waded through the remainder of the stream breast high. The Hindu scouts saw him coming, and ran off to tell Porus. A force of horse and chariots was sent to repel the invaders. The Hindu

chariots stuck in the wet clay, and were nearly all captured by the Macedonians. Alexander lost his horse Bucephalus, but the son of Porus was among the slain.

Porus moved the greater part of his army to retrieve the disaster, and took up a position on firm ground. His front was formed by a line of elephants, supported from behind by masses of infantry. His two flanks were formed of chariots and horsemen. Alexander was strong in cavalry. He did not attack the elephants, but charged the two flanks, and drove the Indian horse upon the elephants. Porus tried in vain to bring his elephants into action; the unwieldy animals could not keep pace with the Macedonian horse. At last the elephants turned tail, and trampled down the masses of Indian infantry. Porus was wounded and compelled to fly; but afterward tendered his submission, and Alexander treated him as a friend.

The victory on the Jhelum was the salvation of the Macedonian army. Had Alexander been defeated, he must have retreated toward Kabul, and his army might have been cut to pieces in the Khaibar pass. As it was he resolved on marching to the Ganges, but he provided for a retreat by building a flotilla on the Jhelum. It was better to float down the Jhelum and Indus, and dare the danger of the Indian Ocean, than to cut a way to Persia through the hardy mountaineers of Kabul.

Alexander crossed the Chenab, and entered the territory of Porus the younger. This prince had wanted Alexander to help him against his uncle Porus the elder. When he heard that his uncle and Alexander were friends, he was seized with a panic, and fled into exile. Accordingly Alexander made over the kingdom to Porus the elder, and nothing more was heard of Porus the younger.

Alexander next crossed the Ravi, but a tribe, known as the Kathæi, revolted in his rear. He turned back and reduced the Kathæi to obedience by the capture of their capital. By this time the Macedonians had grown weary of their Punjab campaign. Their spirits were broken by the storms

of the southwest monsoon. They refused to advance to the Ganges, and clamored to be led back to Greece. Alexander tried to reassure them, but his efforts were in vain. He returned to the Jhelum, and embarked on board the fleet with a portion of his troops, while the remainder marched along the banks on either side.

During the retreat down the Jhelum and the Indus, the Macedonian army was harassed by tribes who were encouraged by the Brahmans. Alexander wreaked his vengeance by slaughtering every Brahman that came in his way. At last he reached the ocean, and beheld, for the first time, the phenomena of the tides. He landed his army near Karachi, and marched through Beluchistan to Susa, while Nearchos conducted the fleet to the Persian Gulf.

The Greeks, who accompanied Alexander, described the Punjab as a flourishing country. There were numerous towns and villages, abundant harvests, a variety of fruits and vegetables, cotton growing on shrubs, sugar canes, banyan trees, alligators, elephants, monkeys, serpents, scorpions, lizards, and ants.

The marriage customs were various. In some tribes damsels were offered as marriage prizes in boxing, wrestling, running, and archery. In other tribes a wife might be bought with a pair of kine. At Taxila the poor people sold their daughters in the bazar.

The Brahmans were called wise men and philosophers. Some attended the Raja as counsellors. Others practiced religious austerities by standing in one position for days, or exposing themselves to the burning sun. Others imparted instruction to their disciples. Others prognosticated respecting rain, drought, and diseases. But all were held in honor, and went where they pleased, and took what they pleased from the shops. They wore no clothing, and affected to be indifferent to pleasure or pain. They were known to the Greeks as *Gymnosophists*, or "naked philosophers."

The Kathæi chose the handsomest man to be their king. They reared no children that were not handsome. Every

child was publicly examined when it was two months old and the magistrate decided whether it was to live or die. Marriages were made by the mutual choice of the bride and bridegroom. The widows burned themselves alive with their dead husbands.

When Alexander left the Punjab, he appointed a lieutenant at Taxila, named Philip, with a garrison of Hindu mercenaries and a bodyguard of Macedonians. Philip was murdered by the mercenaries, who in their turn were nearly all murdered by the Macedonian bodyguard. Alexander heard of the murder in Beluchistan, and appointed Eudemos in the room of Philip, to carry on the government in conjunction with Taxiles. Three years afterward news reached India that Alexander was dead. Eudemos murdered Porus, possibly in the hope of founding an empire in the Punjab; but he was subsequently driven out of the country by a prince, who was known to the Greeks as Sandrokottos and to the Hindus as Chandra-gupta.

Sandrokottos was a type of the Hindu princes of ancient times. He was at Taxila when Alexander was there. He was at that time an exile; an offshoot of the royal house of Magadha. He wanted Alexander to conquer Magadha, which he said was eleven days' journey from the Punjab; but he offended the Macedonian by some impertinence, and was obliged to fly for his life. Subsequently he procured the help of banditti, and captured the city of Pali-bothra, the modern Patna. He then ascended the throne of Magadha, and drove the Greeks out of India. He thus established an empire which extended over the Punjab and Hindustan.

Sandrokottos is an important personage in ancient Hindu history. He formed an alliance with Seleukos, the Greek sovereign of Persia and Baktria. He married a daughter of Seleukos, and received a Greek ambassador at his court named Megasthenes. The marriage of a Hindu Maharaja with a Greek princess is one of the most remarkable events of the time. The description which Megasthenes wrote of

Patna and its people comprises nearly all that is known of ancient Hindustan.¹

Megasthenes says that the ancient city of Pali-bothra extended ten miles along the bank of the river, and two miles inland.² It was surrounded by wooden walls, pierced with holes through which the archers shot their arrows. Megasthenes describes the streets and bazars; the elephants, chariots, and horsemen, followed by large retinues; the soldiers armed with bows and arrows, swords, bucklers, and javelins. Sometimes there were festival processions of elephants and chariots. Men in rich apparel carried vases and drinking-bowls of gold and silver; while others led strange animals in the procession, such as humpbacked oxen, panthers, lions, and various kinds of birds.

The people of India were divided into castes, and hereditary trades and professions. The cultivators were servants of the Maharaja. The produce was stored up every year in the royal granaries; some was sold to the traders and artisans, while the remainder was devoted to the maintenance of the soldiers and officials. The cultivators were a most mild and gentle people. They never resorted to the cities or joined in tumults; and they were all exempted from military service. Thus when an army was fighting an enemy, the husbandmen were plowing and sowing close by in the utmost security.

The magistrates in the city of Pali-bothra exercised a strict supervision. Some overlooked the working of arts and manufactures, to prevent negligence; others overlooked all sales and exchanges, to prevent cheating. Some collected a tax for the Maharaja of one-tenth on the price of everything sold. Others registered all births and deaths

¹ See Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, translated into English by Professor McCrindle, Principal of the Government College at Patna. London: Trübner & Co.

² The Sanskrit name is Patali-putra. Some excavations made at Patna during the cold season of 1876 revealed a low brick wall of remote antiquity, supporting a stout wooden palisading.

in order to tax the people. Others were appointed to entertain all strangers and foreigners, and reported all they said and did to the Maharaja.

The palace of Sandrokottos was stately and secluded. No one dwelt within the walls but the Maharaja and his queens; even the bodyguard was posted at the gate. Sometimes the Maharaja left the palace to take command of his army, which numbered four hundred thousand men. Sometimes he took his seat in the court of justice, or offered sacrifices to the gods. Sometimes he went into the jungle on a hunting expedition, accompanied by his queens; the ladies rode in chariots, or on horses and elephants, surrounded by spearmen to keep off intruders.

Some years after the mission of Megasthenes, another Maharaja was reigning over Magadha, named Asoka.¹ The adventures of Asoka were very like those of Sandrokottos. He quarrelled with his father, and went away to Rajputana and the Punjab. He returned to the capital at the moment of his father's death, and massacred all his brethren, and obtained the throne. He then became a great conqueror, and established an empire over Hindustan, the Punjab, and Afghanistan.

Asoka was a man of blood. Apart from his wars and massacres, he sacrificed thousands of animals and birds to the gods of the Brahmans. Afterward he changed his religion and became a follower of Buddha. He promulgated a religion of moral duty; and his edicts, sculptured on rocks and pillars, remain to this day in all parts of his empire.

The edicts of Asoka taught the merits of goodness, virtue, loving-kindness, and religion, as summed up in the one word, Dharma. They taught that all people should render dutiful service to father and mother; kindness and help to kinsfolk, neighbors, and acquaintance; filial veneration to spiritual pastors; reverence and almsgiving to Brahman priests and Buddhist monks; respect and obedience to masters; frugality

¹ The capital of Asoka was also at Pali-bothra, Patali-putra, or Patna.

and temperance; abstinence from evil-speaking and slandering; kindness toward servants and dependents; and kindness toward all living creatures.

Asoka abolished the slaughter of animals throughout his dominions, whether for food or sacrifice. He established public hospitals for sick people, and also for sick animals. He appointed public teachers to instruct the people in moral conduct. The memory of Asoka has died out of India, but his teachings bear fruit to this day; for the Hindus are more tender to living creatures than any other nation, and are ever kind to kinsfolk and neighbors.

About the time when Asoka was reigning in India, the independent Græko-Baktrian kingdom in Central Asia became an empire. Subsequently, under successive kings, the Græko-Baktrians extended their supremacy over the Punjab and the upper course of the Ganges. About a hundred years before Christ, they were driven out of Central Asia by the Indo-Scythians; but they left their mark in art and religion which remains to this day. Greek sculptures are found amid the ruins of Buddhist temples. Greek gods and Greek inscriptions are stamped on the coins of old Hindu Rajas.

The history of the Indo-Scythian kings is unknown. They were doubtless of the class which ancient writers placed under the Greek name of Scythian. They came from the eastward to the banks of the Oxus. Later on they were pressed toward the east and south by other hordes of the same character. They swept in successive waves through Afghanistan and the Punjab. One branch appears to have gone southward down the valley of the Indus; another went eastward down the valley of the Ganges. From this time they are no longer spectres floating in an age of darkness, but appear upon the stage of history in substantive forms. Their features are revealed upon their coins. Their faces show that they were men of bright intelligence and high resolve. Their annals have yet to be discovered, but the process has begun. Their names and dates are either deciphered, or being deciphered. Already it is possible to tell something of the part

played by the Indo-Scythian kings in the bygone history of India.

The latest dynasty of the Indo-Scythian kings stands out more prominently than all the others. It seems to have been founded by a sovereign whose name was Kanishka; but this name appears on his coins in the Greek form of Kanerke. He probably ascended the throne of the Indo-Scythians about B.C. 56 or 57; or about the time that Julius Cæsar first landed on the shores of Albion.

From the banks of the Oxus, Kanishka brought the Persian worship of Mithra or the sun, which his tribe had added to their ancestral worship of fire, water, and the firmament. Even Syrian and Egyptian gods are found in the Pantheon of the Indo-Scythians. Their latest conquests brought them into contact with the mythology of Greece and India; also with the religion of Gotama Buddha. Kanishka seems to have been a liberal patron of the Buddhists. His dynasty lasted about a century, and the latest king bore a Hindu name.

Meanwhile, a mysterious people, known as the Guptas, were making a name and home in India. The Hindus called them Mlechhas, or barbarians. According to tradition they were strangers in the land. Possibly, they were children of the Greeks; immigrants from the old Græko-Baktrian empire, who had half-forgotten their Hellenic instincts and become Hinduized. They succeeded to the dynasty of Kanishka. From what follows, they appear to have made common cause with Hindu Rajas against the Indo-Scythian invaders.

It has been said that one branch of the Indo-Scythians moved down the valley of the Indus; thence they passed through the desert of Scinde, Guzerat, and Marwar, toward Ujain or Oojein. The kingdom of Ujain was seated on the tableland of Malwa in southern Rajputana. In ancient times the city of Ujain was a centre of Rajput sovereignty and Brahmanical literature; and to this day it is haunted by memories of Rajput bards and Sanskrit dramatists.

History sheds but faint gleams of light on this distracted

period. The western Indo-Scythians from the Indus seem to have been men of nerve and resolution, who pushed on toward Central India to restore the failing fortunes of their race. They were met by a general league of Hindu princes. The Guptas shared in the league; possibly they led it. A great battle was fought at Kahrur, near the eastern confines of the great desert of Marwar. It was one of the decisive battles of the world; a mortal struggle between Indo-Scythian invaders and long-established Rajput sovereignties. The Rajputs and Guptas gained the victory. The Indo-Scythians were utterly defeated; they lost their place in history. Future discoveries may bring to light some further details respecting the children of the Indo-Scythian kings, but at present nothing further of them is known.

The battle of Kahrur was fought probably about A.D. 78. It is said that the year 78 has become known as the Saka or Salivahana era in consequence of this battle.¹

The further history of the Guptas is nearly as obscure. They were supplanted by the Vallabhi Rajas about A.D. 319. The supposed children of the Greek invaders passed away, after exercising dominion, in some shape or other, in Baktria or in India, for nearly six hundred years.

The historians and geographers of Greece and Rome tell but little of ancient India. From the overthrow of the Græko-Baktrian kingdom by the Indo-Scythians to the downfall of the Gupta dynasty, India was nearly cut off from the outer world. Greek and Roman writers discoursed about India; they likened it to Egypt, and sometimes even confounded it with Egypt, mixing up the alligators in the Indus with the crocodiles in the Nile. Roman merchants brought back stories of the Malabar pirates on the western coast, but they had nothing to say about Bengal or Coro-

¹ There is an earlier era known as that of Vikramaditya. It corresponds to B.C. 55 or 56. The legends of Vikramaditya and Salivahana are so mixed up with fable as to be unreliable and unmeaning. It is said that Vikramaditya reigned over the whole world for a thousand years—a statement which sets history and chronology at defiance.

mandel. Indeed, there was little in the current of events in India to interest men accustomed to the political life of Greece and Italy. India was still divided into a number of little kingdoms, as it had been in the war of the Maha Bharata. Sometimes congeries of kingdoms were formed into empires under sovereigns like the kings of Magadha and Kosala, of Andhra and Pandya.¹ The story of their wars told of battles between armies with lines of elephants, but it taught nothing about the people. The religious controversies between Brahmans and Buddhists were unheeded or unknown to the philosophers of Greece and Rome.

History never stands still. Ideas spread and seethe beneath the surface of humanity, and their outbreak takes the world by surprise. In the third century before the Christian era, Asoka had sent forth Buddhist missionaries to preach the law of Sakya Muni in Upper Asia. Orders of Buddhist monks were established in China. Six or seven centuries passed away, and then Chinese monks began to appear in India. They made pilgrimages to the sacred spots that were associated with the life of the Buddhist apostle: Kapila, his birthplace; Rajagriha, where he first carried his alms-bowl; the jungle of Gaya, where he became Buddha; and the deer forest near Benares, where he first preached the law.

About A.D. 400 a Chinese monk, named Fah Hian, travelled through the Punjab into Hindustan. He was pious and humble, but zealous for the law. He saw many Brahmans and idol temples, but rejoiced also to see that Buddhism was flourishing. Buddhist monks were maintained at the public expense, and foreign monks were hospitably entertained in the monasteries.

Fah Hian visited all the sacred spots, but the main object

¹ The empire of Andhra had a long existence; it is supposed to correspond with the Telinga, or Telugu country. The Andhras are mentioned by name in the edicts of Asoka. Pandya has been identified with Madura, or the Tamil country in the remote south. The king of Pandya, or Pandion, sent an embassy to Augustus Caesar.

of his pilgrimage was to carry back revised copies of the Buddhist scriptures for the benefit of his brethren in China. Accordingly, he dwelt for three years at Patali-putra, the centre of Buddhism; he learned the Pali language in which the Buddhist scriptures are written; and he secured copies of all the sacred books. He describes a few features of Buddhist life; the ruins of the once famous palace of Asoka; the religious processions of images of Sakya Muni and other Buddhist saints; and the public hospitals where the destitute, the crippled, and the diseased were attended by physicians, and supplied with food and medicines until they were sufficiently relieved.

Two centuries afterward, about A.D. 629-645, another Chinese monk travelled in India, named Hiouen-Thsang. He was a zealous Buddhist like Fah Hian, but he was more observant and more highly cultured. He describes the people of India as easy and gentle, volatile in their manners, honest in their dealings, and restrained by fear of punishment after death. The administration in Buddhist India was very mild. There were no capital punishments. Most offences were punished by fines; but injustice, lying, or disobedience to parents were punished by mutilation or exile.

Hiouen-Thsang did not go to the city of Indra-prastha, but he knew something of the Maha Bharata. He was told that the bones of the warriors that fell in the great war were still lying on the field of Kuru-kshetra, and that they were as big as the bones of giants. He went to the city of Kanouj on the river Ganges, which at this time was the metropolis of an empire that covered Hindustan and the Punjab.

The empire of Kanouj included a number of tributary Rajas stretching from Kashmir to Assam, and from the Himalayas to the Nerbudda river. The reigning emperor or Maharaja was named Siladitya, and was known as a Maharaja Adhiraj, or "lord paramount." He tried to conquer the Dekhan, but failed. He was a patron of Buddhism, but he also favored the Brahmans, and was tolerant of all

religions. Probably he sought to keep the religious orders in peace by showing a friendly countenance to all.

Siladitya held a great festival at Prayaga, the modern Allahabad, which reveals the connection between the Maharaja and the religious orders. This locality had been regarded as sacred from a very remote period, because of the union of the Ganges and Jumna. Under the vast systems of almsgiving advocated by Brahmanism and Buddhism, Prayaga had continued to be regarded as holy ground. It was called "the field of happiness"; and the merit of almsgiving was enhanced a thousand-fold by the alms being bestowed at Prayaga.

Every five years Maharaja Siladitya distributed all the treasures of his empire as alms. Hiouen-Thsang was present at one of these extraordinary gatherings, and describes it at length. All the Rajas of the empire were there, together with half a million of people, and all were feasted by the Maharaja for seventy-five days. Meanwhile the alms were distributed without distinction of person or religion. The whole of the accumulated treasures of the empire were given away to Buddhist monks, Brahman priests, heretical teachers, and mendicants of every grade and degree. The poor, the lame, and the orphan, received alms in like manner. The Maharaja was supposed to expiate all his sins by this unlimited almsgiving. At the close of the festival Siladitya stripped himself of all the robes and jewels he had worn during the seventy-five days, and distributed them among the multitude. He appeared in tattered garments like a beggar. "All my wealth," he cried, "has been spent in the field of happiness, and I have gained an everlasting reward: I trust that in all future existences I may continue to amass riches and bestow them in alms, until I have attained every divine faculty that a creature can desire." ¹

¹ By profuse almsgiving the Maharaja hoped to acquire genius and wisdom; but he could not expect to obtain final deliverance or emancipation of his soul from the endless chain of transmigrations; that could only be acquired by leading a life of abstraction from all affections and desires. See the next chapter.

Hiouen-Thsang dwelt for a long time in a huge monastery at Nalanda, near Rajagriha, where the ruins are still to be seen. The monastery was a vast university, where ten thousand Buddhist monks and novices were lodged and supplied with every necessary. Towers, domes, and pavilions stood amid a paradise of trees, gardens, and fountains. There were six large ranges of buildings, four stories high, as well as a hundred lecture-rooms. All the inmates were lodged, boarded, taught, and supplied with vestments without charge. They were thus enabled to devote their whole lives to the acquisition of learning. They studied the sacred books of all religions. In like manner they studied all the sciences, especially arithmetic and medicine.

India before the Muhammadan conquest must thus have resembled Europe during the Dark Ages. The Hindu people were in the background; ignorant and superstitious, but wanting no poor-laws, and maintaining their sick and aged as part of their religious duties. Rajas and chieftains were at frequent war. Principalities and powers sprung into ephemeral existence and then perished. Porus and Alexander, Asoka and Siladitya, and all the armies of Baktrians, Scythians, and Guptas, have passed away like the ghosts of the warriors of the Maha Bharata beneath the waters of the Ganges, without leaving a ripple on the surface of humanity.

All this while a religious life was illuminating colleges, monasteries, and pagodas. Brahmans were rehabilitating ancient superstitions in metaphysical forms. Buddhists were ignoring the existence of the gods, and denying the efficacy of priests, sacrifices, and prayers. Religious books were composed in secluded universities and revolutionized the Indian world. Cities and courts were drawn into theological controversies. Hence arose quarrels between the old religion and the new; between Brahmans and Buddhists; between the men who worshipped the gods of the Hindu Pantheon, and the men who worshipped no gods whatever, beyond the goodness incarnate in Gotama Buddha and his disciples.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGION AND LITERATURE

THE Hindu people of historical times are divided into four great castes: namely, Brahmans or priests; Kshatriyas or soldiers; Vaisyas or merchants;¹ and Sudras or cultivators. But there is a remarkable distinction between the three first castes and the Sudras, which is recognized throughout the whole of India. The Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas are known as the "twice-born," because they are invested at an early age with a mysterious thread, which marks their entrance into civil life. The Sudras have no such thread, and consequently are separated from the "twice-born" as an inferior race. It may therefore be inferred that the three first castes, or "wearers of the thread," are descendants of the Aryan invaders of India, who conquered the Punjab and Hindustan in a remote antiquity. The Sudras, on the other hand, who are not "wearers of the thread," may be descendants of the non-Aryan, or so-called Turanian race, who were the dominant people in India at the time of the Aryan invasion, and were subsequently treated as a conquered and servile population.

Besides the four castes, there is a large population known as Pariahs or outcasts. They are altogether inferior to the Sudras, and were probably the Helots of India when the Sudras were masters. They include menial servants of various grades and artisans of all descriptions; and are

¹ The Vaisyas correspond to the Banians, so often mentioned by old English travellers in Western India. The Bunniahs of Bengal are of the same caste, but from some unknown cause they have ceased to wear the thread of the "twice-born."

divided in their turn into numerous other so-called castes, according to their hereditary trades or occupations. These Pariahs call themselves Hindus, and make up the lower strata of the Hindu social system.

In all parts of India, however, there are certain barbarous tribes, who are altogether outside the pale of Hindu civilization. They are primitive communities, the so-called aborigines of India, who were driven by the conquerors out of the culturable plains into the hills and jungles, and have never as yet been Brahmanized into castes or otherwise absorbed into the Hindu social system. The Bhils and Nagas mentioned in the *Maha Bharata* are existing types of the so-called aboriginal races. To these may be added the Mhairs and Minas of Rajputana; the Kols, Ghonds, and Khonds of the Dekhan; the Kalars of the Peninsula, and a host of other tribes under a variety of names.

The bulk of these hill and jungle tribes are probably Turanians, without any political organization, excepting of the patriarchal type. Others, however, are distinctly Aryan, with a rude town-hall in the centre of a village, and crude remains of a feudal system. These last are probably relics of the Aryan invaders, who had either penetrated into remote regions beyond the van of Aryan civilization; or had lagged behind in the hills and jungles as worn-out invalids or cripples who had dropped off from the rear of the conquering army.

The religious ideas of Turanians and Aryans have been so closely interwoven in the course of ages that it is perhaps impossible to treat them as race distinctions. It may, however, be broadly stated that the religion and literature of the Turanians were derived from the mysteries of death and birth, of which Siva or Mahadeva, and his wife Kali or Durga, were originally personifications. The Turanians of India also worshipped certain wrathful or avenging deities, such as the goddesses of cholera and smallpox, and the angry ghosts of men or women who had died violent deaths. The religious ceremonial was made up of bloody sacrifices, orgi-

astic dances, and deafening music. Other strange rites were enjoined in a mystic literature known as the Tantras; but these have died out together with human sacrifices, self-immolation, and other abominations. A few revolting forms of worship and propitiation may still linger in secluded localities; but the sacrifice of goats to the goddess Kali is, perhaps, one of the last relics of the old Turanian religion which is still practiced by the civilized caste people of India.

The religion and literature of the Aryans were associated with the worship of genii or spirits, which were supposed to dwell in all material forms as well as in the outward manifestations of nature. The Aryan people worshipped the genii of swords and plowshares; of trees, hills, fountains, and rivers; of the sun, the firmament, the rain and the winds. They also worshipped the manes of departed heroes and ancestors; and the titular deity or guardian spirit of a township, village, tribe, family, or household. These spiritual existences were often personified as gods and goddesses, and shapened into idols. Civilized Hindus propitiate these deities with offerings of boiled rice, milk, sugar, and butter; and sometimes with meat and wine. Hill tribes offer up delicacies of their own, such as fowls and pigs, and a strong fermented liquor resembling beer. In return both classes of worshippers hope to be rewarded with brimming harvests, prolific cattle, health, wealth, long life, and other temporal blessings.

The earliest religious utterances which have been preserved in Aryan literature are known as the Vaidik hymns. They are songs or invocations addressed to different Aryan deities in the language of praise and prayer. These hymns are not the outcome of a single generation, but the growth of centuries. The earlier hymns were the ejaculations of a childlike people. The worshippers praised each god in turn as if he had been a great sovereign; and then implored him for material blessings, in the simple language in which children might be expected to entreat a patriarch or father. The later hymns were of higher and more thoughtful im-

port. The ideas of children or savages were expressed in the language of sages and divines. The original invocations were interlarded with poetical feelings and imagery which belonged to a more advanced civilization, and with spiritual and moral sentiments which were the outcome of later Brahmanical teaching.

Fire was personified as Agni, the god who cooked the food, warmed the dwelling, and frightened away beasts of prey. Agni thus became the divinity of the homestead, whose presence was as dear as that of a wife or mother. Agni was also the sacrificial flame, the divine messenger, who licked up the sacrifice and carried it to the gods. Water was personified as Varuna, the god of the sea; and Varuna was gradually invested with divine attributes as a deity powerful to destroy, but mighty to save; who engulfed the wicked man in the drowning depths, or mercifully bore the repentant sinner over the surging billows in safety to the shore. The wind and breezes were personified as Vayu and the Maruts. Vayu roared among the trees; while the Maruts blew up the clouds for showers. The firmament was personified as Indra, and the Maruts were his followers. He was king of the Vaidik gods; he struck the sky with his thunderbolt, pierced the black clouds with his spear and brought down the earth-refreshing showers. He went forth to battle riding on his elephant, attended by the Maruts bearing their lances on their shoulders in the forms of youthful warriors. He was the national deity of the Aryan invaders; who slew his enemies by thousands and destroyed their cities by hundreds; who brought back the spoil and recovered the cows that were carried away. He was the sovereign of the gods, enthroned in his heaven of Swarga on the Himalayas, like Zeus among the deities of Olympus.¹

Surya, or the sun god, the Persian Mithra, was originally the deity who journeyed through the sky and measured the

¹ Professor Max Müller's editions of the text to the Rik Vaidha, and his eloquent translations of the Vaidik hymns into English, have opened up new fields of religious thought and philosophical research to English readers.

days and nights, but he was eventually invested with attributes still more divine than those of Indra. Indeed the worship of the supreme all-seeing orb of day was always more spiritual than that of Indra, and at a later period superseded it. He was personified as the ideal of manly beauty; the deity of light, the Hindu Apollo. He was also represented in myth and legend, as the remote ancestor of the solar race of Rajputs, who to this day are known as the children of the sun. In later Vaidik literature he was elevated to the god-head as the creator of the universe, and the divine soul that illuminated the universe. Eventually the worship of the sun developed into that of Vishnu, the Supreme Spirit, whose incarnations as Krishna and Rama were glorified in the Maha Bharata and Ramayana.

The Vaidik hymns contain no distinct reference to a future state of rewards and punishments; but there are numerous allusions to a judge of the dead, who is personified as the god Yama, and who consequently may be regarded as presiding over the entrance to a world of departed souls.

The Vaidik Aryan was thus constantly surrounded by the unseen gods of a visible universe; and his daily life and conduct were more or less influenced by the presence of such deities. In one Sanskrit drama a wicked prince endeavors to persuade a parasite to commit murder, by assuring him that there was no one to witness the act. The parasite replies in indignant language:

“All nature would behold the crime,
The genii of the grove, the sun, the moon,
The winds, the vault of heaven, the firm-set earth,
Yama, the mighty judge of all who die,
Aye, and the inner conscience of the soul.”¹

In addition to the Vaidik gods above mentioned, there are a host of minor personifications in the Vaidik Pantheon,

¹ The Toy-cart, by Raja Sudraka, translated by H. H. Wilson in the Theatre of the Hindus. The passage has been slightly modified, and is remarkable as showing how the law of merits and demerits blended with the old nature-worship of the Vaidik hymns.

such as earth, day, night, the four seasons, the gods of the air, the gods of the brooks and streams, and many others, all of whom are clothed in forms at once human and divine. Thus Ushas, the dawn, the Eos of the Greeks, is imaged as a white-robed maiden, awakening a sleeping world as a mother awakens her children, to kindle the morning sacrifice, and invoke the gods with praise and prayer.

In Vaidik literature all the more prominent gods are extolled in turn as the Supreme Being; but in the modern belief of the Hindus three different deities stand out as representatives of the One God, under the names of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. Each of these gods is worshipped in different localities as the creator and ruler of the universe, the Divine Spirit who is above all and in all. One important sect of Hindus worships Brahma as the creator, Vishnu as the preserver, and Siva as the destroyer of the universe; but more frequently all these attributes of creation, preservation, and dissolution are assigned to one Supreme Being, who permeates the universe and is the universe; and all the endless emblems, incarnations, and idols are revered as so many vehicles through which the Supreme Spirit receives the adorations and offerings of his worshippers.

There are other and popular deities among the Hindus, which cannot be referred distinctly to an Aryan or a Turanian origin. Their worship has been rooted in the hearts of the people of India from a remote antiquity; and has become associated with that of Aryan and Turanian gods by numberless supernatural myths and fables. Foremost among these is Ganesh, the god of good luck; Lakshmi, the goddess of prosperity; Saraswati, the goddess of learning; Kuvera, the god of wealth; Kama, the god of love; and Kartakeia, the god of war.

The propitiation of the more important of these deities is so much a matter of everyday life with the Hindus as to appear like a national instinct. No Hindu will undertake a journey, nor engage in any business or transaction, without a visit to the temple of Ganesh. No Hindu will begin a

literary composition without an invocation to Ganesh. The idol meets the eye all over India, with the head of an elephant and the prominent stomach of a Chinese deity; but while he is represented in Brahmanical myths as a son of Siva and Durga, the real origin of his worship continues to be a mystery. Lakshmi, the goddess of pro perity, is propitiated in like manner on every possible occasion. She is represented in Brahmanical myths as the goddess of beauty, who rose out of the foam of the ocean, like a Hindu Aphrodite, to become the bride of Vishnu. Saraswati, the goddess of learning, was originally the divinity or spirit of the river Indus;¹ but was converted into the mythical wife of Brahma, and as such appears as the goddess of literature and science of every kind. Kuvera, Kama, and Kartakeia, are apparently the outcome of astrological ideas, and may possibly be the personification and deification of supposed planetary influences.

Besides the foregoing, the serpent, the bull, and the cow are worshipped all over India. They are apparently the incarnations of mysterious deities associated with ideas of sex. The serpent is propitiated with bread and milk as the guardian of the household. The bull is a masculine deity associated with the worship of Siva or Mahadeva. The cow is a feminine divinity, and is worshipped and revered by all Hindus, as the universal mother, the personification of earth, the incarnation of the goddess Lakshmi.

The rise of the Brahmans is as obscure as that of the Druids. They appeared among the people of India—Aryans and Turanians, barbarous and civilized—as priests, divines, and holy men. They ingratiated themselves with Rajas and warriors by worshipping the old gods, but after new and mystic forms; interpreting the present and the future by the bubbling of the boiling milk and rice in the daily sacrifices, the marks on sacrificial victims, or the manifestations of the sacrificial smoke and flame. They pronounced the lower

¹ The river Indus is often invoked as the goddess Saraswati in the Vaidik hymns.

gods of the aboriginal races to be incarnations or avatars of the great gods of the conquerors; and they associated the higher gods of the aboriginal races with new and more spiritual teachings, and raised them to the highest rank of deity. Thus even Siva or Mahadeva, the god of death, was resolved into a Supreme Being; and Kali, the black goddess, who revelled in intoxication and slaughter, was worshipped as a divine mother, under the names of Parvati and Durga.

The growth of the Brahmans in power and influence is one of the most important elements in Indian history. Every Raja or great man had his own Brahman priest, preceptor, or purohita. So had every family, or group of families, or village community. But priests and laymen were subject to inquisitorial forms of Brahmanical government, of which traces are still to be found in all directions. Religious teachers of a superior order, known as Gurus, undertook regular ecclesiastical tours, confirming neophytes, and excommunicating heretics and caste offenders. Above all there were Brahmans of still higher sanctity, who were worshipped as gods under the name of Naths and Swamis, and exercised a vast spiritual authority over courts and Rajas, while extending secret ramifications to remote quarters of India. Meanwhile religious centres were established at convenient spots in the shape of temples, colleges, and places of pilgrimage; and Brahmanical hermitages were set up in the countries inhabited by aboriginal races outside the Aryan pale. Thus in the course of ages, the Brahmans have spread abroad a religious faith and worship, which, notwithstanding the number and variety of divinities, are essentially the same throughout the length and breadth of India.

A further development of the religious teaching of the Hindus is to be found in the Brahmanical code, known as the laws of Manu. The life of Manu is unknown; he has no personality whatever; he is a mythical being, a reputed son of Brahma, and lord of all living creatures. But the sacred character of the code of Manu is acknowledged and revered throughout India.

Manu taught the belief in the endless transmigrations of the soul; that the soul of every individual being, whether of man or of animal, passed at every successive death into a newly born body; rising or falling in the scale of being at every successive birth according to the sum of its merits or demerits in all past lives. Thus the belief in a future state of rewards and punishments was associated by Manu with a chain of existences without beginning or ending; running up and down the scale of animal being from the meanest vermin to the highest order of intellectual man.¹

The code of Manu itself was the source of all merits and demerits. It demanded the observance of caste laws, the worship of the gods, and the offerings of cakes and water to departed ancestors. Obedience to its enactments constituted the only merits which were rewarded in future lives; and disobedience constituted the only demerits which were punished by future pains and miseries. Rajasuyas and Aswamedhas were treated as arch merits, and converted into sacrifices for the atonement of sin.

The religion of the Brahmans also recognized the existence of different heavens and hells. Thus the souls of warriors who died in battle went to the heaven of Indra; while the spirits of departed ancestors went to a world of shades where they could only be consoled by the cakes and water offered in the Sraddhas. But this spirit life in heaven or hell only lasted for a limited period, until merits had been sufficiently rewarded and demerits sufficiently punished. At the expiration of the appointed term the soul returned to earth and re-entered on a fresh course of successive existences in the endless chain of transmigrations.

While the code of Manu enforced the worship of the gods, it further developed those conceptions of the Supreme Spirit which find expression in the Vaidik hymns. "All gods," says Manu, "are in the divine spirit, all worlds are in the divine spirit; and the divine spirit produces the connected

¹ It is a question whether vegetable life was not also included in the transmigrations of the soul.

series of acts which are performed by embodied souls. Him some adore as present in the element of fire; others as present in Manu lord of creatures; some as present in Indra; others as present in pure ether; and others as present in the most high Eternal Spirit. It is He who, pervading all beings in five elementary forms, causes them by the gradations of birth, growth, and dissolution to revolve in this world like the wheels of a car."

But Manu pointed out that there was a way of deliverance or emancipation of the soul from the endless chain of transmigrations, whether on earth or in heaven or hell. He taught that a term of austerities would quench the fires of affection, passion, and desire, and break every tie which bound the soul to the universe of being. The soul would then enter upon a term of pure contemplation, during which it would behold the Supreme Soul present in all things, and would finally be absorbed in the Divine Spirit.¹

Manu thus fashioned out a universe of being, driven by an artificial law of merits and demerits along a chain of endless transmigrations. He also showed how the individual soul might be delivered or emancipated from this chain of existences, and become absorbed in the Divine Essence. He next mapped out the life of man into the four terms of student, householder, hermit, and devotee, with the view of enabling each individual to work out his own deliverance or emancipation. As a student each individual of the twice-born castes would learn the divine law; as a householder he would marry a wife and collect merits as a husband and a father; as a hermit he would perform religious austerities; and as a devotee he would contemplate the Supreme Soul until his own soul was absorbed in the Divine Spirit. The duties which each individual must fulfil within the four terms are duly set forth in the code of Manu, and still make up the ideal of the Hindu.

¹ "The man who perceives in his own soul the Supreme Soul present in all creatures, and regards them all with equal benevolence, will be absorbed at last in the highest Essence, even of that of the Almighty Himself."—Manu, xii. 126.

Buddhism was practically a revolt against the Brahmanical system of Manu. It ignored the existence of deity; denied the efficacy of prayers and sacrifices; broke up the bondage of caste; and declared that goodness and loving-kindness were the only merits by which the soul could rise in successive transmigrations. It laid down five great commandments against the five deadly sins of murder, theft, adultery, drunkenness, and falsehood; and it taught that the slightest infringement of any one of these commandments, in thought, word, or deed, constituted a demerit which would detract from the happiness of the soul in a future state of being.

But as regards the deliverance or emancipation of the soul, the teaching of Gotama Buddha coincided, with one important exception, to that of Manu. Gotama Buddha taught that a life of goodness and divine contemplation would quench the fires of affection, passion, and desire, which bound the soul to the universe of being. But he denied the existence of a Divine Spirit, and was thus driven to accept the dogma of annihilation. Consequently he taught that when the soul was delivered from the chain of existences, it sank into the eternal sleep or annihilation known as Nirvana.

Modern Brahmanism, as expounded in the Maha Bharata and Ramayana, introduced a new element in religious teaching, a shorter way of effecting the emancipation of the soul. Without ignoring the efficacy of good works, it taught that by faith alone, in Krishna or in Rama, as an incarnation of Vishnu, the soul might be delivered from the vortex of successive existences, and would either be raised to an everlasting heaven of the highest beatitude or be absorbed in the Supreme Spirit—Vishnu.

HINDU LITERATURE comprises numerous works on metaphysics, logic, rhetoric, poetry, arithmetic, musical science, and other like compositions, which were all more or less treated in connection with religion. But nothing has been

discovered that merits the name of history, or warrants the hope that authentic annals exist in any of the Indian languages.¹ Relics of traditions are, however, to be found in poetry and the drama, which may serve to illustrate Hindu life and manners before Muhammadans or Europeans appeared upon the scene. But Hindu poets devoted so much time to the arbitrary conceits of composition, fanciful descriptions of scenery and the four seasons, and endless myths and marvels, that vast accumulations of poetical overgrowth have to be cleared away before it is possible to arrive at the kernel of matter-of-fact history.²

The drama of "Sakuntala" was written by a poet named Kalidasa, and was probably composed at a late period in the history of the mediæval Rajas; but the plot refers to the oldest period in Hindu legend, namely, the birth of Bharata, the conqueror of India. It opens with a Brahmanical hermitage; one of those secluded groves where Brahmans dwelt with their wives and families, and were supposed to spend their lives in sacred studies, religious worship, and divine contemplations.

A Raja named Dushyanta was hunting in the jungle, and chased an antelope which took refuge in the hermitage.

¹ Grant Duff, in his *History of the Mahrattas*, speaks with favor of native annals; but later researches have proved that such annals are nearly worthless for purposes of history. The author wasted much time and labor before he was driven to this conclusion, which has since been confirmed by Professor Bühler of Bombay. See larger *History of India*, vol. iv. chap. ii. and Appendix. Also Bühler's *Introduction to the Vikramankakavya*, Bombay, 1875.

² The court life of Hindu authors was unfavorable to historical accuracy. They depended for their existence on the bounty of reigning Rajas, and the first object of their compositions was to please their royal patrons. Every principal, small and great, had its own hereditary bards and Pundits, who were supported by allowances from the palace. Young students, fresh from their preceptors, betook themselves to a wandering life, and visited one court after another, holding disputations, showing off their learning, and composing poetry for the delectation of princes, who cared only to be amused. Such wandering bards and Pundits are still to be encountered all over India; but the greater number appear to be travelling from the Punjab and Oude through Rajputana toward Baroda and Bombay. The tour often lasts five or six years, and includes places of pilgrimage as well as courts of princes. Professor Bühler, in the *Introduction* already quoted, dwells on the jealousies displayed by the hereditary bards and Pundits toward these foreign wanderers.

He was drawing his bow to shoot the animal, when the Brahmans rushed out and implored him not to pollute their sanctuary by shedding blood. The Raja piously refrained, but at this moment he saw the daughter of a Brahman, the beautiful Sakuntala, walking in the garden of the hermitage with other girl companions. The Raja soon fell in love with her, and induced her to marry him by one of those irregular ceremonies which were discountenanced by Manu. Subsequently Sakuntala gave birth to the infant Bharata, but the Raja refused to recognize his marriage, and even denied all knowledge of Sakuntala, until by some supernatural incident his eyes were opened, and he accepted her as his wife and Bharata as his son. Bharata grew up to be the conqueror of India, and was the ancestor of the Pandavas and Kauravas who fought in the great war.

The drama of "Sakuntala" is based upon incidents which are foreign to European works of imagination. The Raja had given a ring to Sakuntala as the pledge of his troth; and she had lost the ring while bathing in a pool; and so long as the ring was missing the Raja could not recognize his wife. Subsequently the ring was found in the body of a fish and recovered by the Raja. From that day he remembered his lost Sakuntala; and going out into the jungle he saw a young lad playing with lions, who proved to be his own son Bharata.

The beauty of the play of "Sakuntala" lies not in the strong individuality of the leading characters, but in the general appreciation of external nature, the love of flowers, the girl-like talk of the damsels, and the variety of emotions which stir the heart of Sakuntala. Indeed the language is so sweet and touching that to this day no Sanskrit drama is more admired by the people of India than "Sakuntala; or, the lost ring."¹

The poem of "Nala and Damayanti" is more romantic. Nala, Raja of Malwa, was a famous archer, but especially

¹ The drama of "Sakuntala" is best known to European readers through the elegant translation of Professor Monier Williams.

renowned as a charioteer. The tramp of his horses was heard from afar, like the roll of distant thunder; and the noise of his chariot wheels was like the rushing of many waters.

Damayanti was a princess of Vidarbha.¹ She was the pearl of maidens as Nala was the tiger among Rajas. She had given her heart to Nala, and vowed that no one but Nala should be her lord and husband.

The poem opens with the Swayamvara of Damayanti. The fame of her beauty had reached the skies; and Indra and the other gods came down from the heaven of Swarga to be candidates for her hand. They appeared in the assembly hall in the forms of Rajas, but Damayanti knew that they were gods, for there was no winking of their eyes, no perspiration on their brows, no dust on their garments, and no faded leaf in their wreaths of flowers. But she was reckless in her love; she cared not for the anger of the gods; she threw the garland round the neck of Nala, and chose him for her husband in the presence of them all.²

Nala and Damayanti were married at Vidarbha, and the Raja returned with his loving wife to his city in Malwa.³ Beautiful children were born to them, and they were rich in every blessing.

But Nala was a gambler, and the dice-box was his ruin. In an evil hour he sat down to play, and lost stake after stake, like Yudhishtira in the gambling booth at Hastinapur. The chieftains of the Raj assembled at the palace and implored him to stay his hand; but he was deaf to all their prayers, and hotly continued the game. At last he lost all his treasures, his kingdom, and his home; and then went out in the jungle to live on fruits and roots.

Meanwhile Damayanti never deserted her husband. She

¹ The old city of Vidarbha in the Dekhan corresponds to the city of Bider. The magnificent remains of the fortress and palace are still to be seen at Bider.

² The appearance of the Vaidik gods at the Swayamvara of Damayanti is a poetical episode. It had nothing to do with the after story.

³ The region known as Malwa lies in Hindustan, between the Nerbuddha and Chandal rivers. It is impossible to identify the site of Nala's capital.

sent her children to the palace of her father at Vidarbha, and went with Nala into the jungle. But Nala was driven wild by the sufferings of his wife, and fell into a melancholy madness. At last he left her sleeping in the jungle, and fled to the city of Ayodhya, and entered the service of the Raja of Kosala as his charioteer.

The poem next dwells on the anguish of Damayanti at discovering that her husband has deserted her. She wandered on in a distracted state, calling in vain for Nala. She was threatened with death in a variety of ways; by a jungle fire, a stampede of elephants, and the coils of a deadly serpent. At length she found refuge in the city of Chedipur, and eventually returned to the palace of her father. But her heart still yearned after her husband Nala, and she sent Brahmans in all directions to find out whither he had gone.

At this crisis the Raja of Kosala had occasion to go to the city of Vidarbha, and was driven by Nala as his charioteer. Damayanti was aroused from her despair by the well-remembered sounds of her husband's driving. The peacocks in the palace gardens clamored at the tramp of the horses and rolling of the chariot wheels, while the royal elephants roared tumultuously. The wife was thus restored to her husband, and Nala recovered possession of his children and his Raj.

The story of "Nala and Damayanti," like the drama of "Sakuntala," owes its chief charm to the play upon the emotions and affections. It does not carry the reader back to the wild tumults of a barbarous age, like Shakespeare's tragedies of "Macbeth" and "King Lear"; but it points to an age of Arcadian simplicity, when the chieftains of a Raj endeavor to induce the Raja to put a stop to his gambling match. In other respects the story was calculated to excite warm sympathies in a palace or zenana, but tells nothing of the old world of the Hindus which has passed away.

A Sanskrit drama, known as the "Toy-cart," deals with a wider range of characters. The scene is laid in Ujain or Oojein, one of the oldest cities in Rajputana. A vicious

prince, the brother of the Raja of Ujain, falls in love with a lady of the city; she resists his advances, and he leaves her for dead in a public garden. He tries to throw the guilt of the murder on an innocent Brahman. The case is investigated by a Hindu court of justice; and the judges, while anxious to shield the Brahman, are compelled by the force of the circumstantial evidence to find him guilty. The sentence is referred to the Raja of Ujain, who orders the Brahman to be executed.

The unfortunate man is led away to the scaffold. At this crisis, the lady who is supposed to have been murdered suddenly makes her appearance. The multitude exult in the escape of the Brahman, and rush off to tell the Raja of his innocence; but at that moment a revolution breaks out in another quarter of the city, the Raja is deposed and slain, his wicked brother escapes into exile, and a cow-keeper sprung from the dregs of the people is raised to the throne of Ujain.

Out of this simple plot the Sanskrit bard has constructed a drama which may have been drawn from actual life, but the incidents are artificial, the sentiments are devoid of all romance, and the characters are exaggerated in themselves and move about like automata.

The innocent Brahman, the hero of the story, is named Charudatta, and is said to have spent his patrimony in giving entertainments to his friends, acquaintances, and dependents; and in building temples and monasteries, laying out gardens and digging fountains of water. He continues, however, to reside in the ruined mansion, and maintains his family by the sale of his wife's jewels, and by such gifts as the people of India are accustomed to give to Brahmans out of respect for their sacred character. The heroine of the drama is not the wife of Charudatta, but a courtesan, who is in love with him; and this is the lady who is supposed to have been murdered by the brother of the Raja.

The foregoing incidents will suffice to show that the story is out of the pale of European sympathies, which would

have been given to the wife alone. But the Sanskrit dramatist goes further and introduces an incident which is an outrage on all morality and good manners. He winds up the plot by giving the courtesan as a second wife to Charudatta, and by representing the first wife as slavishly submitting to the arrangement, and addressing her rival as her sister. Such an ending could only have been constructed for the amusement of Hindu Rajas; it could never have satisfied the moral sense of the Hindu people, or have been regarded as a contribution to the national drama.

It is difficult out of the disjointed and inconsistent materials collected in the foregoing chapters to realize the actual condition of India under the ancient Hindu Rajas. It is, however, evident that the whole Indian continent was a chaos of conflicting elements, evolving large ideas of God and the universe, but utterly wanting in political life and cohesion. The after history will show the results of Muhammadan and British rule, and how much remains to be effected before the people of India can expect to take their place among the independent empires of the world.

PART II — MUHAMMADAN INDIA

CHAPTER I

TURKS AND AFGHANS

A.D. 1000 TO 1525

MUHAMMAD, the prophet of Arabia, commonly called Mahomet, was born, A.D. 570, and died in 632. He was still living when Hiouen-Thsang began his pilgrimage to India. He taught that there was but one God, and that he himself was the prophet of God. All who believed in God and his prophet were to be rewarded with eternal bliss in heaven; all who refused to believe were to be punished with eternal torment in hell. Moreover, all believers were regarded as equals in the eyes of God, without distinction of caste or tribe; they were all bound together in the brotherhood of Islam. Every man who accepted Islam was also allowed to marry more than one wife; he might be content with one, but if he chose he might marry others, not exceeding four.

After the death of Muhammad, four Khalifs reigned in succession at Medina from A.D. 633 to 660; their names were Abubakr, Omar, Othman, and Ali.¹ They were followed by a line of Khalifs who reigned at Damascus from A.D. 660 to 750; and these again by a line of Khalifs who reigned at Bagdad from A.D. 750 to 1258. These Khalifs were not prophets or founders of a new religion like Mu-

¹ The importance of these names will be seen in the sequel.

hammad, but sovereign pontiffs who were supposed to be supreme in all spiritual and temporal affairs.

The death of Muhammad was followed by the Arab conquest of all Asia as far as the Indus and Oxus; but there the tide of invasion began to turn. Persians, Turks, and Afghans accepted the religion of the Koran, but rebelled against the domination of the Arabs. The Turks especially founded independent kingdoms in Central Asia. They acknowledged the reigning Khalif as their spiritual head, but refused to obey him as a temporal sovereign.

The Arabs began to invade India when the Khalifs were reigning at Damascus. They ravaged Sinde on the lower course of the Indus, destroying temples, slaughtering Brahmans, and carrying off the people into slavery. But the Hindus would not become Muhammadans. At last they agreed to pay tribute, and were permitted to rebuild their temples and worship their gods after their own fashion.

The first conqueror of India of any renown was a Turk named Mahmud. In 997 Mahmud succeeded to the throne of Ghazni, a small territory in Kabul. Before he died he conquered all Persia on one side, and a great part of India on the other; but he never removed his court from Ghazni, and consequently he is only known to history as Mahmud of Ghazni.

In 1001 Mahmud marched an army of Turkish horsemen from Ghazni to Peshawar. Jaipal, Raja of the Punjab, came out to meet him with a host of elephants and foot soldiers, but was beaten by the Turkish horsemen, and taken prisoner. Jaipal promised to pay tribute, and was set at liberty, but he would not survive his disgrace. He returned to Lahore, gave his kingdom to his son Anandpal, and burned himself alive on a funeral pile.

For some years Raja Anandpal paid the tribute regularly. He then began to grow refractory, and prevailed on the Rajas of Western Hindustan to come to his help. Vast armies of elephants and Hindu foot soldiers moved up from Delhi and Kanouj, Ajmir, and Ujain, and marched through

the Punjab to Peshawar. The Hindu women joined in the enthusiasm against the Turks, and sold their jewels, or spun cotton, to keep the armies in the field.

Mahmud marched an army of horsemen and archers to the plain of Peshawar. He placed his archers in front and his horsemen behind. The archers began the battle; but some wild hill tribes, known as the Gakkars, crept through the archers, and began to cut down the horsemen with sharp knives. Meanwhile the elephants of the Hindus were blinded by arrows and maddened by fire-balls, and turned round and trampled down the Hindu infantry. At that moment the Turkish horsemen raised their swords and maces, and galloped furiously upon the Hindus with loud cries of "Allah Akbar!" The army of the Rajput league wavered and fled. The Turkish horsemen pursued the fugitives for two days, and plundered temples and destroyed idols. At last Anandpal sued for peace, and sent tribute and war elephants. The peace lasted till the death of Anandpal, when Mahmud annexed the Punjab, and made it a province of his empire of Ghazni.

Subsequently Mahmud began to invade Hindustan. He is said to have made twelve expeditions into that country, plundering temples, breaking down idols, and carrying off vast treasures to Ghazni, as well as multitudes of slaves, male and female.

When Mahmud was growing old he resolved on destroying the great temple of Somnath in Guzerat. Somnath was a thousand miles from Ghazni, but was reputed to contain immense treasures. There was an idol pillar in the temple, the symbol of the Supreme Spirit, known as Siva, or Mahadeva. A thousand Brahmans dwelt at Somnath to offer the daily sacrifices, and five hundred damsels were engaged in the temple to dance before the idol.

The route to Somnath lay through the desert of Sinde. Mahmud marched thirty thousand horsemen through western Rajputana to escape the burning sands. The Rajputs made no attempt to oppose him, but abandoned their cities

at his approach. When, however, Mahmud reached Somnath the Rajputs were assembled in great strength to defend their god. The temple was built on a peninsula out at sea; it was approached by a narrow isthmus, which was strongly fortified with walls and battlements, manned with Rajputs. For two days there was desperate fighting and great slaughter. The Turkish archers sought to drive the Rajputs from the battlements, while the Turkish swordsmen planted their ladders and climbed the walls. At last the Rajputs saw that all was lost, and fled to their boats, and put out to sea.

When the battle was over Mahmud entered the temple. It was a large gloomy building supported by fifty-six columns. The idol pillar was in an inner chamber. The Brahmans implored Mahmud to spare the idol pillar, and offered to pay an enormous ransom. But Mahmud said, "I come to destroy idols, not to sell them." He struck the pillar with his mace and broke it to pieces, while piles of diamonds and rubies, which had been hidden in the pillar, fell scattered upon the floor.

Mahmud returned from Guzerat to Ghazni, but lost nearly all his army on the way. The Rajputs of Ajmir came out in such force that he was compelled to march through the desert. His guides led him astray through sandy wastes in order to avenge the destruction of Somnath. Many of his soldiers died of thirst, while others went mad from the burning sun. Water was found at last; the guides were put to death; but only a remnant of the army reached Ghazni.

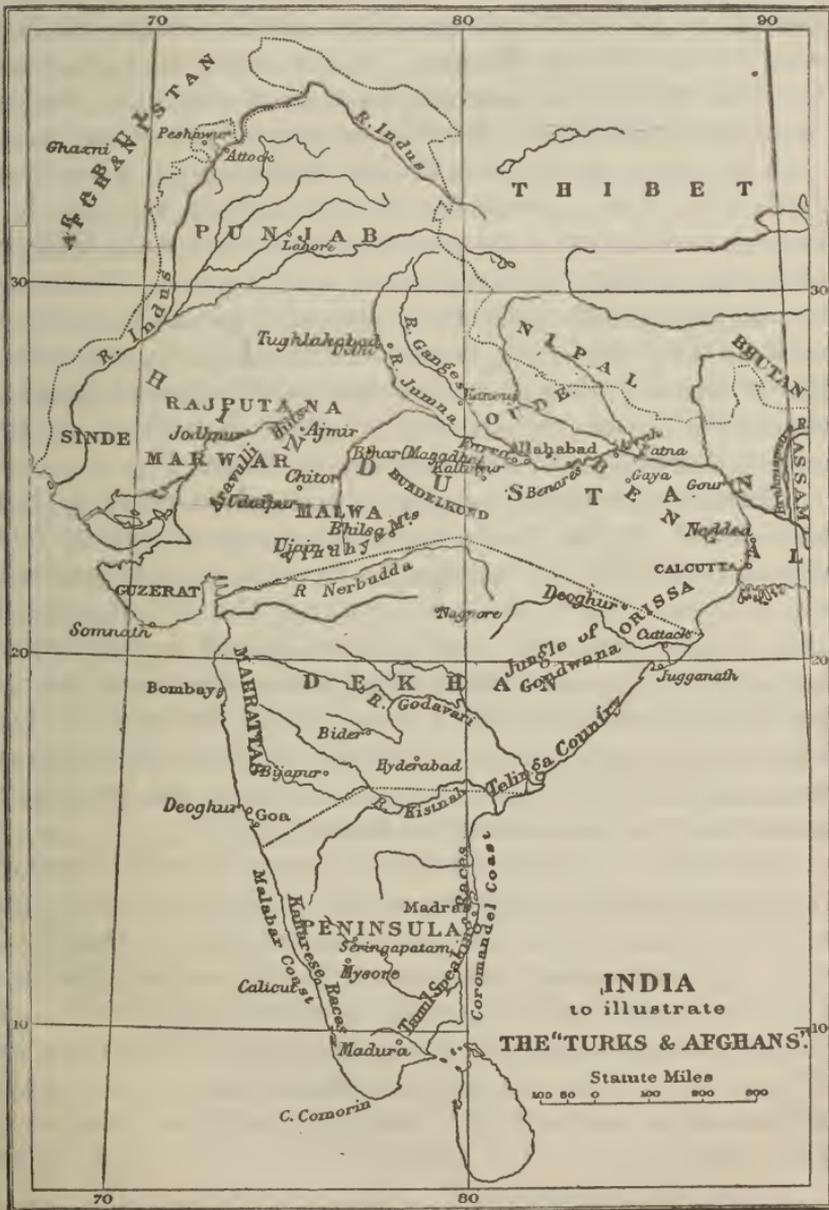
Mahmud died in 1030, aged sixty-three. The annals of the century and a half which followed tell of wars and revolutions in Central Asia, but say nothing of India. The Afghans supplanted the Turks. They became masters of a mountain fortress named Ghor, between Ghazni and Herat; they next drove the dynasty of Mahmud out of Ghazni, and became lords of Kabul and the Punjab. The next conqueror after Mahmud, who made a name in India, was Muhammad Ghori, the Afghan.

Muhammad Ghori resolved on the conquest of Hindustan. In 1191 he marched an army against the Raja of Delhi. He tried to throw the Rajas into confusion by repeated charges with cavalry, but found himself surrounded by the enemy, and had a narrow escape with his life. But the Rajput dominion was weakened by feuds. There was a feud between Delhi and Kanouj, which soon opened a way for the Afghans into Hindustan.

The Maharaja of Kanouj on the Ganges claimed to be a lord paramount among the Rajputs. He gave a great feast and summoned all the Rajas of Hindustan to appear as his vassals, and play their parts as servants in his household. At the same time he celebrated the Swayamvara of his daughter.

The Raja of Delhi loved the daughter of the Maharaja of Kanouj, but he scorned to serve as doorkeeper at the feast, and he refused to come. The Maharaja was wroth at the affront, and ordered an image to be made of the Delhi Raja and placed it at the door of the hall. The feast was held and the Swayamvara began. The princess entered the hall with the marriage garland in her hand. She threw one look on the assembly, and then turned to the door and cast the garland round the neck of the image. The whole assembly was in commotion. Before a man could speak, the Raja of Delhi appeared in the hall and led away the princess. In another moment the bridegroom galloped off with his bride along the road to Delhi.

The Maharaja of Kanouj brought the Afghans down upon his son-in-law. He invited Muhammad Ghori to march another army to Delhi, and the Afghan horsemen were soon on their way to the famous city. The Raja of Delhi heard that his enemy had again taken the field; he took no heed, for he cared only for his bride. At last the Muhammadans were thundering at the gates of Delhi. The Raja put on his mail and went out against the invaders; but it was too late. He perished sword in hand, and his widow burned herself upon his funeral pile.



The Maharaja of Kanouj soon had bitter cause to rue his treachery; he shared the fate of his son-in-law. In 1094 he was defeated by Muhammad Ghori, and he and his army were driven into the Ganges. His remains were known by his false teeth, which were fastened by golden wire; the relic of an age of Rajput civilization which has passed away.

The defeat and death of the Maharaja of Kanouj advanced the dominion of the Muhammadans from Delhi to Benares. Temples were plundered and idols were destroyed along the valleys of the Jumna and Ganges. Meanwhile the Rajput princes left their ancestral homes to carve out new empires with their swords in the jungles and hills of the south; and they preserved their old laws and usages in the region which to this day is called Rajputana or Rajasthan, "the land of the Rajputs or Rajas."¹

Muhammad Ghori conquered a larger territory in India than Mahmud; but he too kept his court at Ghazni. When absent from India he appointed a favorite named Kutub-uddin to be his Viceroy over the Punjab and Hindustan. In 1206, while returning from India to Ghazni, he was assassinated by some men of the Gakkar tribes—the same race who had slaughtered Mahmud's horsemen at Peshawar. They had vowed revenge for the slaughter of some kinsmen, and they stabbed Muhammad Ghori to death as he lay sleeping in his tent on the banks of the Indus.

The death of Muhammad Ghori was followed by the dismemberment of the Afghan empire. Kutub-uddin ceased to be a Viceroy, and was proclaimed Sultan of Delhi. He was originally a slave, who rose to power under Muhammad Ghori as Joseph had risen in the court of the Pharaohs. He was the first of a dynasty which is known in history as that of the slave kings. His reign was a career of conquest. His tower of triumph still stands among the ruins of old Delhi, and is one of the tallest in the world. It is known

¹ The region extends on the south and west of the Jumna, between the river Indus and the river Chambal.

as the Kutub Minar. It proclaims the victory of Islam over the idol-worshippers of Hindustan.

Under Kutub-ud-din the dominion of the Muhammadans was extended to the Brahma-putra river. The intervening country of Bihar and Bengal was conquered with the utmost ease. A Muhammadan adventurer named Bakhtiyar was famous for the length of his arms. He was a man of valor and audacity, but so ill-favored that he could not obtain military service at Delhi, and went away to the eastern frontier near Benares. Here he became the leader of a band of horsemen, and began to make plundering raids into Bihar, the holy land of Magadha. He captured the city of Bihar and plundered it. He destroyed a college of Brahmans with shaven heads, and put them all to the sword. He advanced eastward to Nuddea, the old capital of Bengal,¹ and entered the city with only eighteen troopers disguised as horse-dealers. Nobody stopped him, and he and his men reached the palace, cutting down and murdering all who stood in their way.

The Raja of Nuddea was eating his dinner, when he heard an outbreak in the courtyard; Bakhtiyar and his horsemen had broken into the palace. The Raja was so frightened that he ran out at the back of the palace, reached the bank of a river, and took a boat and sailed away to Jagganath, leaving his family and treasures at the mercy of the Muhammadans. He never returned to Nuddea, but passed the remainder of his days at Jagganath as a religious devotee.

Bihar and Bengal were then formed into a province of the Delhi empire, and Bakhtiyar was the first Viceroy. The capital was fixed at Gour, at the elbow of the Ganges, where the river turns toward the south. It thus commanded the whole water communication of the country. Since then the river has changed its course, and Gour has become a heap of ruins.

Kutub-ud-din died in 1210. The history of his immediate

¹ Nuddea is about sixty miles due north of the modern city of Calcutta.

successors is of no interest or moment. The Sultans of Delhi had nothing to fear from Hindus. Their chief enemies were Tartar hordes known as Moghuls—the men who overran Asia and part of Europe under Chenghiz Khan in the thirteenth century. They entered the Punjab and Hindustan under different leaders, and were a terror wherever they went. They are described as ugly nomads with yellow complexions, high cheek-bones, flat noses, small eyes, and large mouths. They were covered with vermin, and their smell was detestable. They plundered towns and villages, and carried off women and children to serve as slaves.

In 1290 the last Sultan of the Afghan slave dynasty was assassinated, and a Sultan ascended the throne at Delhi under the name of Jelal-ud-din. He was an old man of seventy, and made no mark in history; but he had a nephew, named Ala-ud-din, who became a man of renown.

Ala-ud-din was appointed governor of the fortress of Karra, near Allahabad. His first exploit was the plunder of the Buddhist temples at Bhilsa. This involved an expedition more than three hundred miles to the south through the jungles of Bundelkund; for Bhilsa is seated on the slopes of the Vindhya range of mountains, which separate Hindustan from the Dekhan. The Sultan was so pleased with this adventure, and especially with the treasure brought away from Bhilsa, that he appointed Ala-ud-din to be Viceroy of Oude.

Ala-ud-din next planned another expedition, still more venturesome. At Bhilsa he had heard of a Mahratta kingdom extending southward of the Nerbudda river over the Western Dekhan. The capital was Deoghur, but it was as far from Bhilsa as Bhilsa was from Karra. Indeed, the distance from Karra to Deoghur was not less than seven hundred miles.

Ala-ud-din kept his scheme a profound secret from his uncle the Sultan. He levied a force of eight thousand horsemen, and disappeared quietly from Karra. His way led through much of the scene of Rama's wanderings; through

the jungles of Bundelkund, the tableland of Malwa, and over the Vindhya mountains and river Nerbudda. He gave out that he had quarrelled with his uncle the Sultan and was going to enter the service of some Hindu Raja. No one doubted the truth of the story; indeed, as already seen, princes in India had been going into exile from the remotest antiquity, as the natural result of some feud or quarrel that could not be promptly avenged.

Ala-ud-din and his horsemen at last approached the walls of Deoghur. The Mahratta Raja was taken by surprise; he could not believe his eyes when the Muhammadan horsemen galloped into the city. He fled to a hill fortress, and found to his discomfiture that it was provisioned with salt instead of grain. He hoped, however, that the strangers would force the city to pay a ransom, and speedily go away, after the manner of predatory brigands.

Meanwhile Ala-ud-din plundered the city, and tortured the merchants and bankers to deliver up their hidden hoards. He attacked the fortress where the Raja had taken refuge, and found it to be very strong. He gave out that he only came as the commander of an advanced guard of the army of the Sultan of Delhi; and that the Sultan was coming up with the main army, and would soon starve out the Raja. This threat and the want of grain soon brought the Raja to terms. He paid over a large hoard of money and jewels, and pledged himself to send a yearly tribute to Delhi.

Ala-ud-din carried the plunder in safety to Karra, but there he had another game to play. His uncle the Sultan would certainly march an army to Karra, and demand the surrender of the plunder; and Ala-ud-din was resolved to keep the spoil. He tried to cajole the Sultan; expressed himself afraid of the Sultan; declared that if the Sultan came alone he would make over the plunder, but that if the Sultan came with an army he would escape with the plunder into Bengal. The Sultan was deceived; he believed that his nephew was really afraid of him. He went to Karra with an army, but halted the troops on the western bank of

the Ganges, while he crossed the river in a small boat to meet his nephew on the opposite side. Ala-ud-din greeted his uncle affectionately, when the Sultan was struck by an assassin. The old uncle cried out "treachery," and ran back to the boat; but he was thrown down and beheaded on the spot, and Ala-ud-din was proclaimed Sultan of Delhi.

Ala-ud-din made no attempt to excuse the murder. He silenced the army by distributing money, and silenced the people by the same means. He went to Delhi, scattering money the whole way. At Delhi booths were set up, and victuals and liquors were given to all comers. The two sons of the murdered Sultan were thrown into prison, deprived of their eyesight, and then murdered. Meanwhile the multitude were amused with money and feasting. Such liberality proclaimed the accession of a new sovereign. At the same time almsgiving and feeding the poor are regarded throughout the east as atonements for sin. Thus, even those who knew that the new Sultan had murdered his uncle were inclined to believe that his charities expiated the crime.

When Ala-ud-din was established on the throne at Delhi, he sent an army to conquer Guzerat. The Raja was a Rajput; he was defeated by the Muhammadans, and fled away south into the Mahratta country. His queen was carried off to Delhi, and became the wife of Ala-ud-din. The Rajput princess, in the palace of her Muhammadan conqueror, was sad and lonely; she pined for the company of a little daughter, whom she had left in Guzerat, named Dewal Devi; and the Sultan sent messengers to bring the girl to Delhi.

This girl had a strange fate. She was only eight years old. Her father had taken her with him to the Mahratta country, and the Mahratta Raja wanted to marry her to his son; but the Rajput Raja, even in exile, was too proud to give his daughter in marriage to a Mahratta. Presently messengers came from Ala-ud-din to bring away the girl to her mother at Delhi. Such a fate was considered to be worse than a Mahratta marriage; so the Raja of Guzerat changed

his mind and agreed to marry his daughter to the Mahratta. But while the bride was going in the marriage procession, a body of Muhammadans fell upon the party, and carried her off to Delhi. In the end she was married to a son of Ala-ud-din.

The Sultan next planned the conquest of Rajputana. A century had passed away since the Muhammadan conquest of Hindustan. A Rajput prince of Kanouj had founded a kingdom in Marwar, or Jodhpore. Another Rajput prince of Ayodhya, a descendant of the famous Rama, had founded a kingdom at Chitor. The sovereign of Chitor was renowned far and wide under the name of the Rana. The suzerainty of the Rana of Chitor, the descendant of Rama, the representative of the children of the Sun, was acknowledged by every prince in Rajputana.¹ In the present day the suzerainty is represented by the Rana of Udaipur or Oodeypore.

Chitor was the heart of Rajputana. Ala-ud-din had invaded the country round about, apparently to strike at the heart. Already he had marched through Bundelkund on the east; conquered the Mahrattas on the south; and subdued Guzerat on the west. He now lay siege to Chitor. The siege is remarkable on account of the self-devotion of the Rajputs; they preferred to die rather than surrender themselves or their wives to the Muhammadans. Accordingly, when all was lost, they performed the terrible rite known as the Johur. Huge piles of timber were built up and set on fire. The women threw themselves into the flames. The men then rushed out of the city and perished, sword in hand. A few cut their way through the Muhammadan army, and found a refuge in the Aravulli hills.

The siege of Chitor lasted several months. Meanwhile there was more than one rebellion among the Muhamma-

¹ The Rajputs are divided into two families, the children of the Sun and the children of the Moon; the former have a blazing sun as their ensign, the latter have a crescent. The children of the Sun were sovereigns of Ayodhya and Kanouj. The children of the Moon were sovereigns of Delhi and Patali-putra, or Patna.

dans. The nephew of the Sultan tried to assassinate him, just as Ala-ud-din had tried to assassinate his own uncle; but on this occasion the uncle escaped, and the nephew was beheaded. Afterward there was an outbreak at Delhi, where a rebel seized the throne and held it for seven days, when the city was retaken by a party of horse. The rebel Sultan had opened the public treasury and scattered the money among the people. When the ringleaders were slain, and the head of the rebel Sultan was paraded on a spear, the people were so frightened that they carried back to the treasury all the money they had picked up.

After the capture of Chitor, the Muhammadan army returned to Delhi, and Ala-ud-din took strong measures for keeping the city under subjection. He kept a host of spies to report all that was said and done in the streets and bazars. He prohibited all wine-drinking and entertainments. All who imported wine, sold it, or drank it, were flogged and sent to prison. The prisons were soon overflowing, and great pits were dug outside Delhi for the reception of offenders. The Sultan found, however, that it was impossible to prevent drinking; he therefore proclaimed that when liquor was distilled privately, and drunk in private houses without any drinking parties, the informers were not to interfere.

Meanwhile the Moghuls were very troublesome. In the previous reign the uncle of Ala-ud-din had enlisted three thousand, and settled them near Delhi; but they were turbulent, refractory, and mixed up with every rebellion. Ala-ud-din ordered them to be disbanded, and then they tried to murder him. Ala-ud-din then ordered a general massacre. Thousands are said to have been put to death, and their wives and children were sold into slavery.

Ala-ud-din was the first Muhammadan sovereign who conquered Hindu Rajas in the Dekhan and Peninsula. Here it may be explained that India is divided into three great belts or zones: namely, Hindustan in the north, with the Punjab at one end and Bengal at the other; the Dekhan in the centre; and the Peninsula in the south. The line of the

Nerbudda river separates the Dekhan from Hindustan. The line of the Kistna or Krishna river separates the Dekhan from the Peninsula.

Ala-ud-din had already conquered the Mahratta country in the Western Dekhan. The Eastern Dekhan was covered with the jungles of Gondwana, but toward the south was the Telinga country,¹ where the Telugu language is spoken. The Peninsula, generally speaking, is divided between the Kanarese-speaking people in the west, and the Tamil-speaking people in the east.²

Ala-ud-din sent his general Malik Kafur to invade these southern countries, ransack temples, and carry off treasure and tribute. The story is a dreary narrative of raid and rapine. The Hindus were powerless against the Muhammadians. Occasionally they shut the gates of a city against the invaders, and tried to defend their walls, but were soon overpowered or starved out. Temples were stripped of gold and jewels, idols were thrown down and spoiled of all precious stones, and scenes of bloodshed and outrage were enacted by Muhammadan troopers. The Hindus could make little resistance: they apparently yielded to their fate in abject despair.

It is certain that Malik Kafur plundered the temples of Madura to the south of Madras, and those of Mysore in the western Peninsula; a distance of fifteen hundred miles from Delhi. Yet Muhammadan historians say that the army of Malik Kafur was always connected with Delhi by a chain of posts, with relays of horsemen and runners. Every day news reached Delhi of the progress of the army, while news reached the army of the health of the Sultan. This constant flow of intelligence between the camp and the capital was

¹ The Telinga or Telugu country was the seat of an ancient empire, known as that of the Andhras.—See ante, p. 73.

² There are other languages, such as Malayalim; but further details will appear hereafter. Telugu is spoken between Hyderabad and the coast of Coromandel. The Tamil language is spoken in the Madras Presidency from Pulicat to Comorin. Kanarese is spoken in Mysore.

necessary to prevent rebellion. A false rumor that the army was cut off might have caused an outbreak at Delhi; while reports that the Sultan was sick or dying might have driven the army to mutiny or rebellion.

Ala-ud-din died in 1316. His death was followed by a Hindu revolt; indeed Hindu influences must have been at work at Delhi for many years previously. Ala-ud-din had married a Hindu queen; his son had married her daughter. Malik Kafur was a Hindu converted to Islam. The leader of the revolt at Delhi in 1316 was another Hindu convert to Islam. The proceedings of the latter rebel, however, were of a mixed character. He was proclaimed Sultan under a Muhammadan name, and slaughtered every male of the royal house. Meanwhile his Hindu followers set up idols in the mosques, and seated themselves on Korans. The rebels held possession of Delhi for five months. At the end of that time the city was captured by the Turkish governor of the Punjab, named Tughlak. The conqueror then ascended the throne of Delhi, and founded the dynasty of Tughlak Sultans.¹

The Tughlak Sultans would not live at Delhi; they probably regarded it as a Hindu volcano. They held their court at Tughlakabad, a strong fortress about an hour's drive from old Delhi. The transfer of the capital from Delhi to Tughlakabad is a standpoint in history. It shows that a time had come when the Turk began to fear the Hindu.

The conqueror of Delhi died in 1325. He was succeeded by a son who has left his mark in history. Muhammad Tughlak was a Sultan of grand ideas, but blind to all experiences, and deaf to all counsels. He sent his armies into the south to restore the Muhammadan supremacy which had been shaken by the Hindu revolt. Meanwhile the Moghuls invaded the Punjab, and Muhammad Tughlak bribed them to go away with gold and jewels. Thus the imperial treas-

¹ There is a curious likeness between the quasi-religious revolt in the fourteenth century, and the Sepoy mutiny in the nineteenth. The facts are set forth at greater length in the larger History of India, vol. iv.

ury was emptied of all the wealth which had been accumulated by Ala-ud-din.

The new Sultan tried to improve his finances, but only ruined the country by his exactions. The rich people were driven into rebellion, while the poor people were driven to beggary. To make matters worse, there was a failure of the rains, and consequently a dreadful famine. The whole of the Punjab and a great part of Hindustan are said to have become a desolation. Villages were broken up, and thousands of families were starving.

The Sultan was so horrified at the famine that he tried to escape it. He ordered the whole population of Delhi to remove to Deoghur in the Dekhan. Thousands died on this cruel journey. It was a march of more than seven hundred miles through jungles, over mountains, and across rivers like the Nerbudda. When the survivors reached Deoghur, they were reduced to such misery, and died away so rapidly, that the Sultan ordered them to go back to Delhi.

The Sultan next committed another act of madness. He had heard that the Chinese used paper money, bearing the stamp of the emperor, and payable at the imperial treasury. Accordingly he struck a number of copper counters, and ordered his subjects to receive them as gold money. At first this measure was successful. People could buy all they wanted with copper counters. Merchants bought the products of India with copper counters, and sold them in foreign countries for gold money. Muhammad Tughlak, by means of his copper counters, raised a large army for the conquest of China, and sent it over the Himalayas, where it perished miserably. He raised another large army for the conquest of Persia. By this time the state was bankrupt; no one would take copper money, and gold rose to four times its value. The army intended for Persia was disbanded for want of pay; and the reign of anarchy began.

Copper counters were brought to Tughlakabad in vast heaps, but there was no gold or silver in the treasury to give in exchange. The Hindus had coined copper money for

their own use; they had turned their houses into mints, and flooded the country with copper counters. They paid their tribute in copper. Trade flourished when merchants bought Indian goods for copper and sold them for foreign gold; but no merchants would bring their goods to India and sell them for copper. Consequently trade was stopped, and the country was ruined.

Then followed rebellions and revolutions. Bengal revolted, and became a separate kingdom under an independent Sultan. The Rajas of the Dekhan and Peninsula withheld their tribute. The Muhammadan army of the Dekhan broke out into mutiny, and set up a Sultan of their own. Muhammad Tughlak saw that all men turned against him. He died in 1350, after a reign of twenty-five years.

The history of Delhi fades away after the death of Muhammad Tughlak. A Sultan reigned from 1350 to 1388, named Firuz Shah. He is said to have submitted to the dismemberment of the empire, and done his best to promote the welfare of the subjects left to him; but it is also said that he destroyed temples and idols, and burned a Brahman alive for perverting Muhammadan women.

In 1398-99, ten years after the death of Firuz Shah, Timur Shah invaded the Punjab and Hindustan. The horrors of the Tartar invasion are indescribable; they teach nothing to the world, and the tale of atrocities may well be dropped into oblivion. It will suffice to say that Timur came and plundered, and then went away. He left officers to rule in his name, or to collect tribute in his name. In 1450 they were put aside by Afghans: turbulent Muhammadan fanatics whose presence must have been hateful to Hindus. At last, in 1525, a descendant of Timur, named the Baber, invaded India, and conquered the Punjab and Hindustan.

The history of Muhammadan rule in India may be summed up in a few words. About 1000, Mahmud of Ghazni conquered the Punjab and Western Hindustan; but before 1200 his empire had died out, and the Afghans of

Ghor had become the dominant power from the Punjab to Bengal. India was next exposed to inroads of Moghuls; the same men who overthrew the Khalifs of Bagdad in 1258. About 1300 the Muhammadan Sultans of Delhi extended their conquests into the Dekhan and Peninsula; but then followed the reaction. A Hindu revolt broke out at Delhi, which had ramifications extending into the remote south. The Muhammadan empire in India was dismembered into petty kingdoms, but the Hindus could not throw off the Muhammadan yoke. Different Muhammadan dynasties were founded in Hindustan and Bengal, but their history is meagre and confused. For two centuries, from 1350 to 1550, the Dekhan and Peninsula were the theatre of wars between Muhammadans and Hindus; while the Portuguese established a Christian power at Goa, on the coast of Malabar. Meanwhile the once famous Moghul empire was founded in Hindustan, and for a period of two centuries was respected as the paramount power in India.¹

¹ The history of the Muhammadan empire in the Dekhan will be told in the next chapter. The history of the Portuguese power in India is told in Chapter III. The history of the Moghul empire begins in Chapter IV., and is continued in the following chapters.

CHAPTER II

DEKHAN AND PENINSULA

A.D. 1350 TO 1565

WHEN Ala-ud-din sent his army into the Dekhan and Peninsula, he opened up new territories. The whole of the region to the south of the Nerbudda river was distributed into a number of kingdoms, each having its own Raja, like the Punjab and Hindustan. Marco Polo was coasting round the country between 1260 and 1295, and describes some of these Rajas. Those of the Tamil country on the coast of Coromandel were black barbarians, wearing nothing but a cloth about their loins, but adorned with massive gold bracelets, and strings of rare and precious stones. They worshipped the bull and cow, and had temples, idols, priests, and dancing girls. The Rajas of the Malabar country were much of the same stamp, but were also famous for their piracies, as they had been in the days of the Greeks and Romans.¹

Hindu traditions tell of different Hindu empires which were founded at intervals, and were associated with differences of religion. There were Brahman kingdoms and Jain kingdoms; there were sages expounding rival faiths; Jain Rajas were converted to the religion of the Brahmans, and Brahmanical Rajas were brought over to the religion of the Jains. These controversies were often accompanied by cruel persecutions and religious wars, but the traditions are dying out of the memory of the people of the land.

¹ Marco Polo seems to have visited the coast before the expeditions of Malik Kafur, as he says nothing whatever about them.

The religion of the Jains is the outcome of the same forms of thought as Buddhism. It expresses the same distaste for life, the same yearning for the deliverance of the soul from the vortex of endless transmigrations. But the Jains reject the doctrine of annihilation or Nirvana. They believe that when the soul has been liberated from the trammels of successive existences it begins a spiritual life in some indefinable mansion of the blessed. The Jains worship the saints who have attained this spiritual life, and they hold twenty-four particular saints in the profoundest veneration. The Jains are divided, like the Buddhists, into monks and laymen. Originally some of the sects abandoned all clothing, like the Gymnosophists of old; but the Jain monks, in general, are not only clothed, but distinguished as the "white-robed."

The lower orders of the people of India are slaves to idolatry and superstition, but modern Brahmanism, as understood by the more enlightened classes, is of a more intellectual character. It teaches the transmigrations of the soul after death, but it also teaches the deliverance of the soul from the chain of transmigrations by good works or by faith. Deliverance by good works is generally associated with the worship of Siva. Deliverance by faith is associated with the worship of Vishnu. It is said that by faith in Rama or Krishna, as incarnations of Vishnu, the soul may be delivered from the vortex of transmigrations. These differences of belief have originated numerous sects and controversies; yet all seem to be agreed that the deliverance of the soul from transmigrations is the beginning of a new spiritual life, and that the emancipated soul is either absorbed in the God-head, or received in the heaven of the Supreme Spirit.

Hindu traditions tell of an empire named Vijayanagar, which was associated with the worship of Vishnu. It extended over the whole of the Peninsula from the river Kistna to Cape Comorin, and from the coast of Coromandel to that of Malabar. Some traditions say that it also included the Dekhan and Hindustan. European travellers speak of the same empire under the name of Narsinga; they describe it

as spreading over the Peninsula, while the Dekhan was held by the Muhammadans.

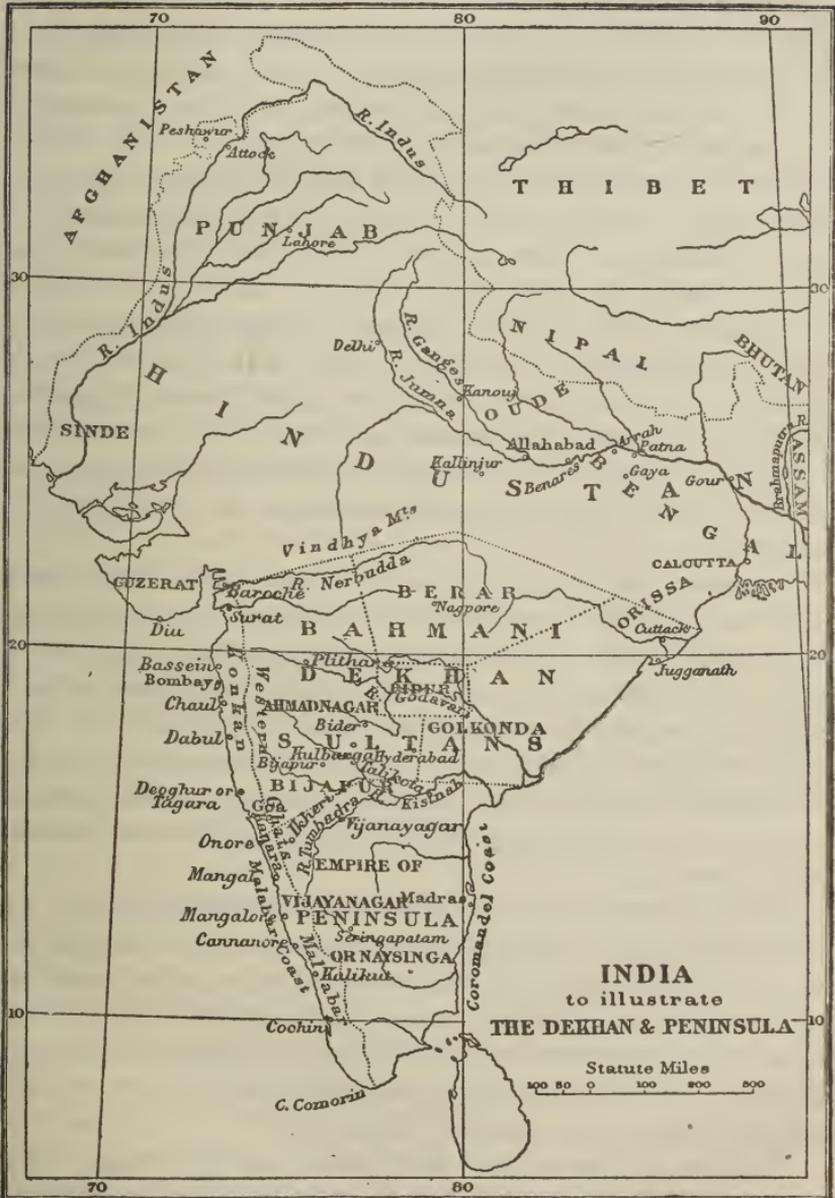
The metropolis of this empire was founded about the fourteenth century, or some earlier date, on the banks of the Tumbadra river, an affluent of the river Kistna. It was known as the city of Vijayanagar. It was built of stone and granite, and the temples, palaces, and fortifications are to be seen to this day.

The Muhammadan army of the Dekhan revolted, as already stated, in the year 1350, and raised up a line of Sultans of their own, who are known as Bahmani Sultans. These Sultans reigned at Kulbarga,¹ and soon came in conflict with the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar. The wars which ensued between Muhammadans and Hindus are the most horrible on record, and were often waged to gratify the paltry passions of jealousy or revenge.

Krishna Rai, Maharaja of Narsinga, was proud and overbearing, corresponding closely to Southey's conception of Kehama. He was said to have been the great conqueror who subdued all peninsular India, from Malabar to Coromandel. One day he received an insulting document from the Sultan of the Dekhan. The Sultan had been drinking wine in his palace, and listening to flattering songs in praise of kings. In the pride of his heart he gave the musicians an order for the payment of money on the Hindu treasury at Vijayanagar.

In due course the order reached the Maharaja. It amounted to a demand that the Maharaja should pay the musicians out of his own treasury in obedience to the orders of the Sultan. Krishna Rai was enraged at the insult. He ordered the messenger to be led through the streets of Vijayanagar with every mark of contempt. He resolved to wipe out the insult with blood and slaughter. He crossed the river Tumbadra with his army, captured one of the fron-

¹ The city is situated in the Nizam's territories, about 150 miles west of Hyderabad. It is now a railway station.



tier fortresses belonging to the Sultan, and slaughtered the garrison almost to a man.

The Sultan was enraged in his turn. He entered the mosque in his city of Kulbarga, and swore upon the Koran that he would not sheathe his sword until he had slain a hundred thousand idolaters. He crossed the river Tumbadra with his army, and began a horrible massacre of men, women, and children, until, it is said, he had completed the tale of slaughter. At last the Brahmans declared that Krishna Rai had offended the gods, and they compelled him to sue for terms. The Sultan demanded that the Maharaja should pay the musicians, and Krishna Rai was bound to obey. This simple concession brought the war to a close. But the Sultan and the Maharaja were alike horror-stricken at the bloodshed, and it was agreed that for the future none should be slain in war except the soldiers that were fighting in the field.

In 1400 there was a Maharaja named Deva Rai; he invaded the Sultan's territories and encamped his army on the bank of the Kistna. The Sultan was afraid to cross the river in the face of the Hindu host. At this crisis eight men offered to go and assassinate either Deva Rai or his eldest son. The Sultan gave his consent to the proposed assassination. The men crossed the river and made friends with some dancing-girls who were going that night to perform before the eldest son of Deva Rai.

The dances in Southern India often represent battles. The performers appear with sticks or weapons in their hands, and sing and dance, strike their sticks or brandish their weapons, while leaping, fencing, and indulging in other mad gestures. Della Valle describes a performance in which the master of the troop appeared among the girls with a naked poniard, and pretended to slaughter them.

The son of Deva Rai entertained his officers in a large pavilion. There was feasting and drinking, while the dancers began to perform in their usual fashion. After a while the men from the Sultan's camp appeared among

the girls in the guise of dancers, with naked daggers in their hands. The revelry was at its height; the prince and his guests were drunk with wine, when suddenly the prince was stabbed to the heart, with many of his chief men. The lights were put out, and the assassins escaped in the uproar.

The Hindu camp was thrown into a panic, which lasted all night; every man was afraid of his neighbor. Amid the darkness the Sultan crossed the river and fell upon the terror-stricken army. The massacre which followed may be left to the imagination. Deva Rai was paralyzed. At last he made over large treasures to the Sultan, and pledged himself to send a yearly tribute to Kulbarga.

Years passed away, and the same Sultan and same Maharaja engaged in another war; but this time it was brought to a close by a marriage. The Sultan married the daughter of Deva Rai. The marriage feast continued forty days, and was the great event of the time. The Muhammadan army was encamped four miles from the city of Vijayanagar. The road between the city and the camp was converted into a street, and lined on either side with shops and booths. All comers took what they pleased as a free gift. Provisions and sweetmeats, flowers and perfumes, fruits and choice drinks, were open to all. Meanwhile conjurers, play-actors, snake-charmers, dancing-girls and performers, performed before the multitude from day to day.

When the marriage rites were over, the street was covered with carpets, and the princess was carried with great pomp from the palace of the Maharaja to the pavilion of the Sultan. After some days the bridegroom and bride paid a visit to the Maharaja. All the chief officers of the Sultan went in procession in gorgeous array; music was playing, banners were flying, and beautiful children were scattering flowers of gold and silver. The Sultan was feasted for three days by the Maharaja, and then took his leave.

The parting was unpropitious between the Sultan and his father-in-law. The Maharaja accompanied his son-in-law half-way to the camp, but then returned to the city. The

Sultan was offended because the Maharaja had not gone the whole way to the camp; and he nursed up the secret in his heart. Ten years afterward he renewed the war to avenge the affront. In this war he was utterly defeated by the Maharaja, and died of grief and mortification.

About 1500 the Bahmani empire was dismembered, and formed into five separate kingdoms, under different Sultans. The Dekhan at this period might be described as a square, having a little kingdom in the centre, and a large kingdom at each of the four angles. Bidur was the centre. Northward of Bidur was Ahmadnagar and Berar; southward of Bidur was Bijapur and Golkonda.

The division of the Bahmani empire weakened the Muhammadan dominion in the Dekhan. Ahmadnagar, Berar, and Bidur were far away to the north, and had little to fear from the Hindu power of Vijayanagar. But Bijapur and Golkonda were on the border, and not strong enough of themselves to withstand the collected force of the Hindu empire. To make matters worse, the Sultans of the Dekhan quarrelled among themselves, and were at war with each other, when they ought to have united their forces against their southern neighbor.

But for some years there was nothing to fear from Vijayanagar. The Hindu court was distracted by a series of treacheries, assassinations, and butcheries, equally revolting and bewildering. It would be tedious to unravel the story. A plain narrative of the progress of events will suffice to show why the Hindus of the Peninsula were forced to keep the peace toward the Muhammadans of the Dekhan.

The atrocities at the court of Vijayanagar began with an intrigue, which has always been common in Oriental courts. It was an intrigue for the transfer of the sovereignty of the Raj from the family of the Maharaja to the family of the minister. It has been generally carried out by the removal of the males of the reigning family, and the marriage of the minister's son to one or more of the princesses, in order to give to the son of the minister a show of right to the throne.

Deva Rai, Maharaja of Narsinga, died, leaving an infant son. The infant was placed upon the throne, while the minister conducted the government in the capacity of regent or guardian. When the infant reached his majority, he was murdered, and another infant was placed upon the throne. Three infants reigned in succession, and were murdered in like manner.

Meanwhile the minister, Timma, brought about a marriage between his son Ram Rai and a granddaughter of Deva Rai. When the third infant was murdered, Ram Rai was proclaimed Maharaja, and all the males of the royal family were put to death, with two exceptions. One was a half-witted man named Termal Rai; the other was an infant belonging to the female branch of the family.

Ram Rai was accepted as Maharaja without opposition; but his pride and arrogance soon created enemies. The old nobles of the empire refused to submit to the insolence of a usurper, and proceeded to the provinces and raised a rebellion. Ram Rai took the field against the rebels, leaving his treasures in the charge of a trusted slave. The slave was a favorite who had risen to high offices, but his head was turned by the treasures. The sight of the gold is said to have driven him mad, and stirred him up to desperate actions. He plotted a conspiracy with the half-witted Termal Rai. He placed the infant of the female line on the throne of Vijayanagar, and assumed the post of minister. The rebel nobles rallied round the infant representative of the royal house. They marched on to the capital. Ram Rai saw that his cause was lost, and retired to his own estates for security.

But Termal Rai was infected with the same madness as the slave. He murdered the infant and the slave, and seized the throne as Maharaja. He was akin to the old dynasty, and so far was preferred to the usurper, Ram Rai. Notwithstanding his fits of madness he was acknowledged sovereign by all the nobles at Vijayanagar.

The madness of Termal Rai soon began to show itself in

intolerable ways. He exasperated the nobles by his insolence; and they appealed to Ram Rai for deliverance, and joined him with their retainers. An overwhelming army was soon marching to the capital with Ram Rai at its head. Termal Rai was seized with terror. In sheer desperation he called in the help of the Muhammadans. He sent messengers to Bijapur, promising to become the vassal of the Sultan, if the Sultan would only protect him against his revolted subjects. The Sultan, nothing loth, marched an army to Vijayanagar; he was admitted into the city, conducted to the palace, and placed upon the throne. To crown all, Termal Rai did homage before the Sultan, and acknowledged him as his suzerain and protector.

This sudden revolution sent a thrill through the Peninsula. The Hindus were horror-stricken. They saw to their dismay that a mad Maharaja had made over his throne and empire to the Muhammadans; that their metropolis was occupied by an army of Turks and other foreigners, who had desolated their country in days gone by, destroyed temples, broken down their idols, and filled the land with bloodshed and terror.

Meanwhile Ram Rai and the nobles had recourse to guile. They promised to become reconciled to Termal Rai if he would only send away the Muhammadans. They swore to become his faithful subjects for life, if he would only get rid of the intruders. They declared that the presence of the Muhammadans polluted the temples and angered the gods; and that prayers and worship were of no avail so long as the enemies of the gods remained in the land.

By this time Termal Rai had grown weary of his new allies; he was, in fact, heartily sick of the sight of the Muhammadans. He tried to persuade the Sultan to leave Vijayanagar and return to Bijapur. At last he succeeded, but not until he had bribed the Sultan with money and jewels to the value of two millions sterling.

No sooner had the Muhammadans crossed the Kistna river than Termal Rai found that he was betrayed. Ram

Rai and the nobles were on the march for Vijayanagar to deprive him of his throne and take possession of his empire. Termal Rai played out the remainder of his part like a desperate lunatic. He put out the eyes of the horses and elephants in the royal stables and cut off their tails. He began to destroy the precious stones in the treasury by crushing them with heavy millstones. At last he heard his enemies breaking into the palace, and fell on his sword and perished on the spot.

Ram Rai was once again Maharaja of Narsinga. He found the Sultans of the Dekhan at war against each other, and soon began to interfere in their dissensions. The Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda entreated him to help them in a war against the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, and Ram Rai was only too ready to interfere. Thus an alliance was formed by two Sultans with a Hindu Maharaja for the overthrow of another Sultan; and Ram Rai took the field in Muhammadan territory in concert with Muhammadan allies.

The Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda soon repented of their unholy league. The Muhammadans of India were horrified at hearing that Muhammadan Sultans were helped by an idolatrous Maharaja in a war against a brother Muhammadan. Moreover, the Hindu soldiery had committed enormous sacrilege in Muhammadan territory; they stabled their horses in mosques, and offered sacrifices to their idol gods in the shrines of holy men, while the recreant Sultans made no attempt to prevent them.

When the war was over, the Sultans found that the alliance with the Hindu Maharaja was not to be endured. Ram Rai was puffed up with pride and vainglory; he treated the Sultans as his vassals, and put their envoys to shame. At last, four of the Sultans banded together to throw off the yoke of the infidel Maharaja. They laid aside all quarrels; they leagued together as brother Muhammadans, to be avenged once and for all on the Maharaja of Vijayanagar.

The decisive battle was fought in 1565; it is known as

the battle of Talikota, and is famous alike in Muhammadan history and Hindu legend. The four Sultans assembled their armies on the banks of the Kistna. Ram Rai was filled with wrath, and collected together all his horse, foot, and elephants to overwhelm the Muhammadans. Both armies had cannon, but the Muhammadans had the better. The confederate Sultans guarded their front with a line of cannon fastened together with ropes and chains. The Hindus guarded their front with war elephants as well as cannon; and through these elephants they lost the day.

The Hindus advanced bravely to battle, with songs and dances after the old Telinga fashion. They began the battle with shot and rockets, and drove back the Muhammadan wings. But the Muhammadan centre was unbroken, and began to open fire. The Muhammadan gunners had loaded their cannon with bags of copper money. The Hindus were slaughtered in heaps by the fiery storm. At this moment a war elephant ran madly about, and overturned the litter of Ram Rai. The Muhammadan gunners seized the Maharaja as their prisoner, and beheaded him on the spot; and then fixed the bleeding head upon a spear, and paraded it before the contending armies.

The death of the Maharaja brought the battle to a close. The Hindus fled like sheep when they beheld his head upon a spear. The Muhammadans pursued them to the gates of Vijayanagar; they took possession of the city, and found none to oppose them. The metropolis of the last of the great Hindu empires was at their mercy; and six months are said to have been spent in the work of plunder.

Two years afterward a European traveller, named Cæsar Frederic, visited the city of Vijayanagar; he found the houses standing, but the inhabitants had vanished from the spot. The whole country round about was infested with thieves. He stayed six months at Vijayanagar out of fear of the thieves; and when at last he set out for Goa he was every day attacked by robbers, and nearly every day compelled to pay a ransom.

The empire of Vijayanagar was broken up by the battle of Talikota, but it was not conquered by the Sultans. The court removed to Pennakonda, eight days' journey to the south; but the successor of Ram Rai was little better than an exile, and his sovereignty soon dwindled away. The provinces became kingdoms. The Naiks, or deputies of the Maharaja, who had ruled as Viceroys, soon began to reign as Rajas; they ceased to pay tribute to the exiled Maharaja, and in the course of two or three generations the descendants of Ram Rai possessed nothing but an empty name.

The Hindu empire of Vijayanagar was of the same type as that of Magadha, but in both there was a religious antagonism in the background. Under Asoka the Brahmanical worship of the gods faded away from Hindustan, and Buddhism became a state religion. Under Krishna Rai, Deva Rai, and Ram Rai, the teachings of Buddhist and Jain were denied or ignored, and the Brahmanical worship of the gods was restored from the Kistna river to Cape Comorin. The story of these religious revolutions has yet to be deciphered from withering palm-leaves and mouldering inscriptions; but enough has been revealed to show that amid the jars and conflicts of rival creeds sparks of divine truth have not been altogether wanting; and the day may yet dawn when Brahmans will confess that without goodness and purity of the heart the worship of the gods is of no avail, while Jains may learn that the true spirit of holiness to which they aspire is the outcome of Deity alone.

CHAPTER III

PORTUGUESE EMPIRE—MALABAR

A.D. 1498 TO 1625

IN 1498, sixty-seven years before the battle of Talikota, ships from Portugal made their first appearance in the Indian seas, and anchored off the coast of Malabar. The whole Indian continent was in a state of unrest. Afghan chiefs were invading the Punjab, and devastating Hindustan from the banks of the Indus to the mouths of the Ganges. The Bahmani empire of the Dekhan was divided against itself, and splitting into five kingdoms under five independent Sultans. The empire of Vijayanagar, in the Peninsula, was distracted with revolts, treacheries, and assassinations, which accompanied the transfer of the sovereignty from the family of the Maharaja to the family of the minister. But the Portuguese knew nothing of these revolutions. They saw only the coast of Malabar and the purple heights of the Western Ghats. As far as they were concerned, the region beyond the mountains was an unknown world.

The western coast, commonly called the coast of Malabar, must always have been the first land in India which met the eyes of European discoverers. Pliny tells of the voyages of Roman merchants from Egypt to Malabar, which occupied seventy days. The Roman ships were manned with archers to keep off the Malabar pirates. In the fifteenth century the pirates were equally troublesome, although few probably would have dared to encounter the cannon of the Portuguese.¹

¹ Pliny does not call the western coast by the name of Malabar; but there is no question about its identity. He speaks of Barace, the modern Baroche, as the most convenient port; and a glance at a map of India will show that the

While the western coast of India has been open to the Indian Ocean, it has been more or less shut out from the empires of the Dekhan and Peninsula. A mountain chain runs southward from the Vindhya mountains to Cape Comorin, enclosing a long and narrow strip of territory toward the sea, and walling it off from the eastern plains. This chain is known in India as the Western Ghats; it might be better described to European readers as the Indian Apennines.

The term Malabar is properly restricted to the southern portion of this coast territory. The region between the sea and the Ghats, from the Nerbudda river to Cape Comorin, is properly divided into three sections; namely, Konkan on the north, Kanara in the centre, and Malabar on the south. It will be seen hereafter that each of these sections has a history of its own.

Malabar proper extended from Cape Comorin northward to the port of Cannanore.¹ It was the first Indian country reached by the Portuguese. It was distributed among a number of petty Rajas, known in tradition as the twelve kings of Malabar.² They were black barbarians more or less under the influence of Brahmans, and ready to share the profits of freebooters, pirates, or traders. They and their dependents formed a military class, devoted to arms, and living among an agricultural people of an inferior race. They were in fact a hereditary caste known as Nairs; and may be described as Rajputs in the rough. They wore cloths hanging from their girdles, and carried swords and bucklers;

port of Baroehe, at the mouth of the Nerbudda river, would be the most convenient shelter for ships coming from Egypt. Again, the pepper of Cochin, toward the southern extremity of the coast, has been famous for ages; and Pliny tells us that the pepper of Cochinara was brought to Barace in canoes.

Two important marts on the western coast are mentioned by Ptolemy, namely, Plithana and Tagara. Plithana has been identified with Paitan, the capital of Salivahana on the river Godavari. The name of Tagara still lingers in that of Deoghur, whither Muhammad Tughlak sought to remove his capital.

¹ Sometimes it was advanced as far north as Mangalore; but the matter is of no moment.

² There were thirteen in all, including the Zamorin of Calicut.

but the Rajas decorated themselves with gold and jewels. The twelve Rajas of Malabar owed allegiance to an emperor who reigned at Calicut, and was known as the Zamorin. At times they may have paid tribute to the Maharaja of Vijayanagar;¹ but otherwise they maintained a political independence.

Malabar has always been famous for pepper and spices. The different Rajas held a monopoly of these commodities. They either supplied cargoes, or levied duties on all sales. The trade was in the hands of Arab Muhammadans who were called Moors, and had carried it on for centuries. They shipped Indian commodities and Indian pilgrims to the Red Sea. The pilgrims were landed at Jedda, and proceeded through the desert to the holy places at Mecca and Medina. The goods were landed at Suez, and carried on the backs of camels through Egypt to Alexandria, where they were again shipped by the merchants of Venice and Genoa, and conveyed to the different ports of the Mediterranean.

The first Portuguese fleet that reached India consisted of three ships under the command of Vasco de Gama. The voyagers left Lisbon on the 8th of July, 1497, like an army of martyrs. Every man went to confession and received absolution. The monks of Our Lady of Bethlehem walked to the ships in solemn procession, and offered up prayers for the success of the voyage.

It is needless to dwell on the perils and privations of the expedition. The voyagers rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and steered boldly across the Indian Ocean toward the coast of Malabar. On the 28th of May, 1498, the fleet anchored off Calicut, the residence of the Zamorin;² and Vasco de Gama sent a message on shore, announcing his arrival as

¹ In this little empire of Malabar there are traces of a constitution. Each state is said to have sent a representative to the court of the Zamorin at Calicut; and their representatives formed a council, and caused much turmoil by their jealousies and rivalries.

² Calicut is about 250 miles to the northward of Cape Comorin, and about 100 miles to the north of Cochin.

an ambassador from the King of Portugal, with a letter and presents for the Zamorin.

The Portuguese ambassador was soon invited to an audience. Vasco de Gama landed at Calicut with twelve of his officers. In the first instance the party were carried in palanquins to a pagoda, to be purified and perfumed. They were received by four Malabar Brahmans, naked to the waist, who sprinkled them with scented water, and presented them with a sweet-smelling paste made of sandal-wood. The temple was dedicated to the goddess Mariamma. The Portuguese saw the statue of a woman, and asked the name of the goddess; the Malabars cried out "Mari, Mari." The Portuguese confounded the name with that of the Virgin Mary; and prostrated themselves at the feet of the goddess before they discovered their folly.

Vasco de Gama and his retinue were next conducted to the palace of the Zamorin. It was built of mud, but was pleasantly situated amid trees and gardens. The chief Brahman led the ambassador into the audience-hall. The Zamorin was seated on a couch of silk, while a grave official stood by his side holding a golden plate filled with betel. The Zamorin was arrayed in white cotton, flowered with gold.¹ He wore jewels in his ears, bracelets on his arms, bangles on his legs, and was crowned with a diadem of pearls. He assumed the grave, stolid demeanor which eastern princes display under like circumstances; but the letter and presents were received, and the ambassador was promised a speedy answer.

The Muhammadan traders at Calicut soon learned all that was going on. They knew that the Portuguese were their enemies in religion, and likely to be their rivals in trade. They bribed the officials of the Zamorin. They whispered that the Portuguese were not ambassadors; that

¹ This simple fact has a significance. It shows that the audience was regarded as a great State ceremony. On such occasions the Zamorin wore a white vestment, but never otherwise. None of his Nairs were allowed to wear a vestment at any time.

the presents were not such as a king would send, or the Zamorin could receive; that the so-called ambassadors were dangerous pirates and kidnappers, who had already committed outrages on the coast of Africa.

Vasco de Gama soon saw that the Moors were bent on mischief. He had landed his goods, and the Zamorin gave him a house; but the factor placed in the house could neither sell nor buy, and was soon treated as a prisoner.

Vasco de Gama seized some fishermen by way of reprisals. The Zamorin was alarmed, and the factor was released. The ambassador then released most of the fishermen, but kept back a few in order to carry them to Portugal. This last proceeding awakened the suspicions of the natives. They believed the story of the Moors that the Portuguese were pirates and slave-dealers. The alarm spread along the coast, and ships began to assemble at the neighboring ports for the destruction of the strangers. Vasco de Gama found that the country was against him. He left Calicut with his ships, steered out in the Indian Ocean, and returned to Portugal by the way he came.

The King of Portugal next sent a fleet of thirteen ships with the fishermen on board, under the command of Alvarez Cabral. More than half the ships foundered during the voyage, and only six anchored off Calicut. The fishermen were put on shore, and left to tell their own story. The Zamorin became better disposed toward the Portuguese. He again made over a house at Calicut; and a factor was placed in the house with goods and money under the protection of sixty chosen Portuguese.

But the Moors were soon at their old tricks. The Portuguese could not obtain a cargo; and the few goods they were permitted to buy were purchased at very advanced rates. All this while they saw that the Moors were procuring cargoes with the utmost ease, and loading their own ships very rapidly. The Portuguese admiral was so exasperated that he boarded a Moorish vessel, and transferred the cargo to his own ship.

This violent proceeding stirred up the Nairs. The cry went forth that the Portuguese were pirates. All the Nairs in Calicut gathered round the factory, and assailed the inmates with darts and javelins. The Portuguese fought for their lives, but were overwhelmed by numbers. At last a portion of the wall was broken down, and the Nairs rushed in. Forty Portuguese were slaughtered on the spot; the survivors escaped to the shore and swam to the ships. The factory was plundered by the Nairs, and Cabral was told that the Zamorin shared the plunder. The admiral was so angry that he burned fifteen native ships that were lying in the harbor, and cannonaded the city of Calicut for two days.

The cannon worked a great change: it inspired the Rajas round about with respect for the Portuguese, and hopes of revenge against the Zamorin. The Raja of Cochin, further south, had a special feud against the Zamorin, and was anxious for the friendship of the powerful strangers. The Raja concluded a treaty with the Portuguese, supplied them with cargoes, and permitted them to build a fort within his territory.

But nothing could allay the bitter opposition of the Moors. Hostilities broke out between Christians and Muhammadans which might be described as war to the knife. Cruelties were perpetrated which are too horrible to contemplate. One atrocity may serve as a type of the whole. A Muhammadan ship was captured by the Portuguese, while carrying two hundred and sixty Mecca pilgrims to the Red Sea. Twenty children were saved and baptized; the remainder, to the number of two hundred and forty souls, were thrust into the hold without mercy, and the ship was scuttled and set on fire.¹

After some years the Sultan of Egypt raised a turmoil. The Portuguese had absorbed the Indian trade, and diverted

¹ This story, and many other tales of horror, are told by the Portuguese historian, Faria y Sousa, who was Secretary for India to the King of Spain and Portugal.

it from Egypt round the Cape of Good Hope. The Sultan was angry at the loss of transit duties in Egypt, and he was driven to fury by the atrocities of the Portuguese, the capture of Muhammadan ships and drowning of Mecca pilgrims. He sent letters to the Pope threatening to destroy all the holy places in Palestine unless the Portuguese abandoned the eastern seas. After great preparations he sent a fleet down the Red Sea; but it was defeated by the Portuguese off Guzerat, and the shipping was plundered and destroyed.

The real founder of the Portuguese empire in the east was Alfonso de Albuquerque, the Viceroy of the Portuguese possessions in India from 1509 to 1515. He selected the island of Goa, nearly half way down the western coast of India, between Konkan and Kanara, to be the metropolis of the Portuguese empire, and the emporium of eastern trade. This island had been originally a nest of pirates, but had been captured and cleared by a Muhammadan Sultan of the Dekhan. Albuquerque seized and conquered the island, and founded the city of Goa, which was destined to become the Venice of the east. In like manner he founded the city of Malacca on the Malay peninsula opposite the island of Sumatra. Albuquerque died at the bar of Goa in December, 1519, at the age of sixty-three, just as he was about to return to his native land.

Meanwhile the policy pursued by the Portuguese at Cochin was repeated by the Viceroy of Goa. Permission was obtained to build forts at various points along the coast; and when a fort was defended by cannon, and manned by Europeans, it was impregnable to Asiatics. A Raja or a Sultan might repent of his alliance with the strangers, and try to turn them out of the fort, but the task was beyond his power. In this manner the Portuguese built one fort at Diu in an island off the southern coast of Guzerat; another at Bassein in Konkan to the north of Bombay;¹ others at Chaul

¹ The Portuguese ultimately built a fort at Bombay, but it was a weak affair; and Bombay played no part in history until it was ceded by Spain to the English in 1661, as the dowry of the Infanta who married Charles the Second.

and Dabul in Konkan to the south of Bombay; others at Onore and Mangalore in Kanara; while another, as already seen, was built at Cochin, in Malabar. Churches and houses were built within these forts; priests were appointed, and monasteries were often endowed; and Roman Catholic Christianity began to make a stir in Western India.

In 1538 the Viceroy of Goa proposed to open up a trade with Bengal, and sent a Portuguese mission to Chittagong. At that time the Sultan of Bengal was an Arab in mortal fear of his life; and he ordered the strangers to be sent as prisoners to Gour. The orders were obeyed, and the Portuguese would probably have been murdered; but the Sultan was slain by an Afghan, and the prisoners were released and permitted to return to Goa.

According to the Portuguese historian, the government at Bengal was at this period of the worst possible kind. A series of low-born adventurers, favorites or slaves, arose in turn, murdered the reigning Sultan, and obtained the kingdom. Sultan after Sultan cut his way to the throne by treachery and assassination, and, after a brief reign of self-indulgence and terror, was slaughtered in his turn. The new-comer might be an Arab, or an Afghan, or even a black Abyssinian slave; but the people of Bengal were too timid and effeminate to throw off the yoke, or even to interfere. If the intruder held the throne for three days, the population accepted him as their sovereign.

About this time the Sultan of Turkey once again played a part in the affairs of India. The Sultan of Guzerat sent messengers to implore the Porte to help him to drive the Portuguese out of Diu. The Porte sent an armanent from Egypt,¹ to capture Diu, but the expedition proved a failure. No Muhammadan prince would join the Turks except the Sultan of Guzerat, and he was soon tired of his new allies. The Portuguese garrison at Diu fought with the utmost bravery and repelled every assault. At last the Muham-

¹ The Sultan of Turkey conquered Egypt in 1517.

madan forces united in a general charge, and were repulsed with great slaughter. But the Portuguese were nearly starved out, and suffered the most horrible privations. They were on the point of surrendering, when the Turkish fleet sailed away and was never seen again in the eastern seas. The Sultan of Guzerat had got rid of his Turkish allies, by telling them that a great fleet was coming out from Portugal and would destroy them all.

The news of the repulse of the Great Turk was hailed by the Portuguese nation with enthusiastic joy. The commandant of Diu returned to Lisbon, and was received with acclamation. All the nobles thronged to the Tagus to welcome him. All the foreign ambassadors strove to do him honor. The French ambassador ordered a painting to be made of the brave man who had defeated the Great Turk in the Indian seas.

In 1545 there was another war about Diu. The Portuguese Viceroy relieved the fort in person, and on his return to Goa was received with the honors of a Roman triumph. His head was crowned with laurel, and he was accompanied through the streets of Goa by a procession of prisoners and captured guns and arms. Salutes were fired, bands of music were playing, the houses were adorned with silks, and fair women threw flowers and perfumes from the verandas. When the Queen of Portugal heard the story she declared that the Viceroy had conquered like a Christian and triumphed like a pagan.

A picture of Goa during the latter half of the sixteenth century is furnished by a Dutch traveller named Linschoten. Goa was situated on the northern side of the island, facing an arm of the sea. The shore was covered with country-houses and gardens, and adorned with forts and churches. The Viceroy's palace was built over the city gate. It was a splendid building, and portraits of every Viceroy of India were hung in the Council-hall. Passing through the gateway, the visitor entered a fine broad street, half a mile long,

leading from the palace to a church. In front of this church was the Exchange.

Every morning; except Sundays and Saints' days, the Exchange at Goa was the great centre of attraction. It began at sunrise, and was generally over by nine o'clock. It resembled the old Fairs of Europe, except that gentlemen of noble birth bought and speculated like common dealers. It was a kind of auction at which goods were sold at public outcry by men specially appointed. Some criers ran about, hung with costly chains, jewels, pearls, rings, and precious stones, which were thus offered for sale. Others disposed of bales of damasks, velvets, silks, satins, spices, drugs, pepper, and porcelain. Others sold the goods of deceased persons; for according to the law of Goa, whenever a man died, from the Viceroy downward, his goods were sold at the Exchange for the benefit of his heirs. Slaves were also sold, male and female. Men were bought to serve as menial servants; others to be hired out to different masters. Women slaves were taught to make sweetmeats and confections, or to embroider pocket-handkerchiefs; and the youngest and fairest were sent into the streets to offer such commodities for sale.

The social life at Goa was not healthy. The city was often overrun by Portuguese adventurers, who came out to India under the name of soldiers, and affected to be nobles and gentlemen. These men were often required to garrison forts, or to serve as soldiers on board the ships in different expeditions; but when not on service their presence was an intolerable evil. They were often reduced to poverty, living ten or twelve in one house, with perhaps only one or two suits of silk clothes among them, which they wore in turns. At the same time they were so touchy as regards etiquette, the return of salutations, and other points of honor, that they often filled the city with brawls and bloodshed. Their dissolute lives led to other disorders. Portuguese householders shut up their wives and daughters in Oriental seclusion; but this only aggravated the evil. The ladies became demoral-

ized by their female slaves, and often intrigued with the soldiers, causing more jealousies and bloodshed, as well as poisonings, assassinations, and other secret crimes.

Meanwhile there was no lack of wealth at Goa. Trade was the main business of the city; and the arrival and departure of ships in the river added to the excitement of the daily exchange. Ventures on board ships were exposed to the risks of capture or wreck, but the profits of a successful voyage were often three or four hundred per cent. Again, profits from thirty to forty per cent were often to be made by money-changing alone, without any risk whatever. Every September, Portuguese ships arrived at Goa, and sought to exchange their reals for Persian money for the purchase of pepper and spices at Cochin. Every April the ships went to China, and were glad to give Persian money for reals, which were required for the purchase of silks and porcelain.

During the sixteenth century the Portuguese monopolized the whole trade between Europe and the east; and a large share of the accumulated wealth was spent in Goa. The Viceroy returned to Portugal every three years with a splendid fortune; leaving a successor to amass riches in like manner. The commandants of forts, and a few disappointed soldiers, may in like manner have returned to their native country after a term of years. But gentlemen traders married and settled in Goa, and adopted it as their home. They built country-houses with secluded gardens. They made splendid shows of gold and silver plate. They adorned their wives and daughters with rings, chains, bracelets, and jewels of every description. They endowed churches, monasteries, colleges, and schools. Missionaries from Goa, chiefly Jesuits, were sent out to convert, not only the natives of the surrounding country, but the people of remote regions, such as those of China and Japan.

The Viceroy and Council were at the supreme head of affairs. There were also Secretariats, a Court of Chancery, and other public officers. A large ecclesiastical authority

was exercised by the Archbishop and his Secretaries. There was an Inquisition with authority superior to that of the Archbishop; and religious offenders were arrested, imprisoned, condemned, tortured or executed, by this tribunal, without any control whatever, beyond what might be involved in its correspondence with Rome. No Hindu rite was permitted within the island of Goa. No Muhammadan was allowed to perform his devotions in public, or to call believers to prayers. But otherwise the Inquisition rarely interfered with Hindu or Muhammadan, and generally confined its attention to Portuguese and native converts. If once a native, Hindu or Muhammadan, embraced Christianity, he was a slave to the Inquisition, and was punished for acts of apostasy as if he had committed the gravest crimes.

Between the years 1623 and 1625, a Roman Catholic gentleman named Pietro della Valle visited Goa. He has left graphic descriptions of the country, when the fortunes of Goa were on the turn. The surroundings were still as imposing as ever. As Della Valle entered the arm of the sea, known as the river of Goa, he saw a beautiful city stretched out on his right hand. The churches were the finest buildings in Goa. Many belonged to religious orders, such as the Augustines, Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Jesuits. Already, however, there were too many priests in Goa, and half the number would have sufficed for a much larger city.

The native inhabitants formed the bulk of the population. They were a black generation, mostly slaves. The Portuguese were few in number, and had lost their wealth through the invasions of the Dutch and English. But they were very proud, and made what show they could, for all wished to be accounted gentlemen and soldiers.

The religious processions at Goa were very remarkable. Della Valle saw a procession of the Holy Sacrament made by the whole clergy, with a greater show of green boughs than clothes. Mysteries were represented by persons in dis-

guise, accompanied by fictitious animals, dances, and masquerades. Della Valle remarked that in Italy such scenes would be confined to villages, and would not have been witnessed in great cities.

Subsequently the order of Carmelites celebrated the canonization of St. Teresa. Two boys, clad as couriers, announced the canonization to the Viceroy of Goa in appropriate verses, and then proclaimed it with the sound of a trumpet through the streets of Goa. At night there were displays of fireworks throughout the city; and all the Portuguese gentlemen of note paraded the city in various disguises, after the manner of a masquerade.

At the feast of John the Baptist, the Viceroy and other Portuguese gentlemen rode through the streets in masquerading habits, but without masks. They next attended Mass, and then went to the large street of St. Paul. Many companies of Kanarese Christian soldiers went through their exercises in this street, marching past with ensigns, drums, and arms, and then leaping and playing along the street with drawn swords.

Shortly afterward the canonization of Ignatius and Xavier was celebrated by the Jesuits of the college of St. Paul. All the collegians came forth in a great cavalcade, divided into three squadrons, under three banners. One squadron represented Europe, the second Asia, and the third Africa. The men of each squadron were dressed in the costumes of the nations of their respective continents. Before the cavalcade went a chariot of clouds, with Fame on the top, who sounded her trumpet to the accompaniment of other music, and proclaimed the canonization of the two saints. Two other chariots followed; one represented Faith, or the Church; the other was a Mount Parnassus, carrying Apollo and the Muses as representatives of the sciences taught in the college. Five great pyramids, covered with pictures, were also drawn along the streets on wheels by men on foot. The first was painted with all the martyrs of the order of the Jesuits. The second was painted with

doctors and authors belonging to the same order. The third was painted with figures of every nation to whom the Jesuits had sent missions, and thus represented the various languages in which the Jesuits preached and taught. The fourth pyramid was painted with devices showing the provinces of the said religion. The fifth displayed all the miracles which had been performed by the two saints, Ignatius and Xavier. These pyramids were drawn through the principal streets, and then placed as monuments in different parts of the city.

There was no city in the world where there were so many religious processions as in Goa. Della Valle remarked that such shows were right and proper when kept within bounds, but in Goa they were much too frequent. The crowds of monks and ecclesiastics were burdensome to the state and prejudicial to the military. Goa was a city bordering on enemies; the metropolis of a kingdom lying in the midst of barbarians. Under such circumstances the utmost attention should have been given to fleets and armies.

Della Valle accompanied a Portuguese ambassador on a mission to the so-called king of Kanara, named Venk-tapa Naik. Sixty years had passed away since the battle of Talikota was fought in 1565. The predecessors of Venk-tapa had been Naiks or governors of the province of Kanara under the old Maharajas of Vijayanagar; and Venk-tapa still retained the name of Naik, although he ruled Kanara as an independent Raja, and added to his dominions by the conquest of less powerful neighbors.

There had been some difficulty between the Viceroy of Goa and Venk-tapa Naik, which the embassy was intended to clear up. The Naik had been drawn into hostilities with the Portuguese, but was anxious for peace. His country produced much pepper, and the Portuguese were accustomed to buy it, but they had not come for the pepper of the current year, and they had not paid for the pepper of the previous year. The Portuguese were equally anxious to keep on good terms with the Naik, for their cash was low, and

they were afraid lest the Naik should sell his pepper to the English or Dutch.

The capital of Venk-tapa Naik was at Ikkeri, a city in the interior, about fifty miles from Onore. The journey might have been made by land, but the Sultan of Bijapur was in possession of the intervening territory, and his officers were not always courteous toward the Portuguese. Accordingly it was determined to go by sea to the Portuguese port at Onore,¹ and then to proceed by land to the city of Ikkeri.

Onore was a type of a Portuguese settlement. A few of the Portuguese dwelt outside the fort, where there was a native bazar. But the commandant and all the married Portuguese dwelt inside the fort, which was laid out in streets of houses with wells and gardens. There was also a piazza within the fort, which would contain all the inhabitants in the event of a siege.

The kingdom of Kanara was in like manner a type of a Hindu Raj in Southern India. In the journey to Ikkeri Della Valle climbed the Ghat.² The mountain in that place was not so high as the Apennines, and the ascent was easier, but the woods were more dense. On the top of the mountain was a fortress belonging to Venk-tapa Naik, and a temple to the god Hanuman, the famous monkey who helped Rama.

The city of Ikkeri was surrounded by three lines of defences. The two outer ones were mere fences of bamboo, intended to keep out horse and foot. The third enclosure was a wall, but weak and inconsiderable. The houses were scattered and ill-built, especially outside the wall, where they were diversified with groves of trees and ponds of water.

After a day or two's delay, the Portuguese ambassador obtained an audience with Venk-tapa Naik. The party rode to the palace in procession, accompanied with drums and

¹ Onore appears in modern maps under the name of Honahwar.

² The ruins of Ikkeri are still to be seen in Western Mysore, about eighteen miles to the north of Bednore. The Raj of Kanara appears to have occupied a considerable area in Western Mysore.

music. The palace stood in a large fortress, environed with a ditch and some badly built bastions. Venk-tapa Naik received the Portuguese ambassador and party in a small court. He was seated on a raised pavement at the upper end of the court, under a wooden canopy covered with gilding. Several courtiers stood at his right hand, and one of them fanned him to drive away the flies. He chewed betel leaves throughout the audience. He asked the ambassador why the Portuguese ships were so late this year. The ambassador replied in a long rodomontade. A Portuguese fleet was coming to India with a great army. The King of Spain and Portugal had formed an alliance with England. Prince Charles of England was on a visit to the court of Madrid. To this he added other bits of news which could have but little interest for the Hindu prince, and were only intended to glorify the Portuguese.

Della Valle saw other sights at Ikkeri which are common to Hindu cities in the south. There were companies of young girls in figured silks and linen jackets, with diadems of white and yellow flowers, who danced in circles with painted sticks in their hands, and sang songs in honor of their goddess. There were wooden beams set up with ropes and hooks on which devotees were accustomed to swing themselves at certain festivals. There were large chariots in which, on certain days, the gods were carried in grand processions. There were Indian friars smeared with ashes, known as Jangamas, who led the lives of mendicants, and were worshipped as holy men.

One night Della Valle met a procession which is no longer to be seen in India. A woman had lost her husband and was bent on burning herself. She rode on horseback with open face, holding a looking-glass in one hand and a lemon in the other. She went along singing and chanting her farewell to the world with such passionate language as moved all who heard her. She was followed by many men and women, and some carried an umbrella or canopy over her to do her honor. Drums were sounded before her, and

she never ceased to accompany the noise with her sad songs. Della Valle was told that she would ride in procession through the streets for a certain number of days, and then go out of the city and be burned with great solemnities.

At Ikkeri Della Valle was a close observer of Hindu worship. There were several temples in the city, but the greatest of all was dedicated to the god Aghoresvara.¹ The idol was in the form of a man with one head and sixteen arms.

One evening tapers were lighted in all the temples in Ikkeri. A great noise was made with drums and pipes, while priests began to dance before the gates of the temples. Della Valle went off to the temple of Aghoresvara. The people were called together by the sound of trumpets. The priests formed a procession, carrying two idols in a palanquin decked with flowers and ornaments. The procession was accompanied by music, torches, lances, streamers, and umbrellas. There was a long train of dancing-girls two by two, decked in gold and jewels. There were other women, marching on either side of the palanquin, carrying little staves with long white horse-tails with which they fanned away the flies from the idols. Many priests accompanied the idols. In this manner the procession entered the piazza of the temple, and made a large ring or circle, and the dancing began.

Two women, from either side of the circle, advanced three steps forward and then fell three steps backward, but always with their faces toward the idols; and this they did several times by way of saluting the idols. Two others then joined them, and after that two others.

After the salutations were over, the dancing began with leaping, fencing, and many mad gestures. When the dancing was over, the procession moved outside the temple round the outer enclosure, halting at intervals to repeat the salu-

¹ The ruins of this temple are still to be seen. The god was a form of Esvara or Siva; also known as Mahadeva, or the "great god." The idol was a representative of the Supreme Being. See ante, 82, 84.

tations and dancing. At last the procession re-entered the temple and the ceremonies were brought to a close.

The next night was the new moon. All the temples in Ikkeri were illuminated with candles and torches; so were all the streets, houses, and shops. Every temple had its idol, and in some temples the idol was a serpent. The outer porches were illuminated with lights, and adorned with transparencies of painted horsemen, elephants, people fighting, and other odd figures. A great concourse of men and women went about the city visiting all the temples in Ikkeri. Late at night Venk-tapa came to the temple of Aghoresvara with his two nephews,¹ attended by a large train of soldiers and servants. He stayed in the temple for about an hour, during which he was entertained with music and dancing, and then returned to his palace.

Della Valle remarked that the Hindu worship of the gods chiefly consisted in music, songs, and dances; and in serving the idols as though they were living beings. Thus the priests presented the idols with things to eat, washed them, perfumed them, gave them betel leaves, dyed them with sandal, and carried them abroad in processions. Della Valle was undoubtedly correct. To this day the temple services in the worship of Krishna, Jagganath, and other similar idols, is of the same materialistic character.

Della Valle left Ikkeri and proceeded to the Portuguese port of Mangalore. He was anxious to see the Queen of Olaza, a little kingdom bordering on Mangalore. He found that travelling in Hindu countries was difficult on the score of diet. The Hindus would not furnish him with fish or flesh; they would only supply him with rice, butter, milk,

¹ Throughout the countries of Kanara and Malabar, nephews of Nairs, when born of sisters, were treated as sons, and inherited the property to the exclusion of sons. The causes of this extraordinary usage are fully treated in the larger History of India. It will suffice to state here that Rajas, and other members of the military class of Nairs, were not regularly married, but lived such irregular lives that no one knew who was the father of a child. There was, however, a certainty about a blood relationship between a man and the son of a sister; and accordingly the son of the sister inherited the property or throne as the nearest of the blood lineage.

and other inanimate things; this they would only do as a great favor. The people lived by cultivating rice, which was done by overflowing the soil with water; but they complained of the large tribute they were obliged to pay to Venk-tapa, which reduced them to great poverty notwithstanding their hard labor.

Della Valle heard that the Queen of Olaza was staying at a neighboring town named Manel. He went to Manel, accompanied by a Brahman interpreter. On going to the bazar to procure a lodging in some house, he saw the Queen coming on foot the same way. She was not attended by women, but only by soldiers. Six soldiers walked before her with swords and bucklers, but without any covering save a cloth about their loins, and a kind of scarf over the shoulder. Other soldiers walked behind her in the same fashion, and one of them carried an umbrella of palm-leaves to shade her from the sun.

The Queen of Olaza was as black as an Ethiopian. She was corpulent and gross, but not heavy, for she walked nimbly enough. She was about forty years of age. She wore a plain piece of cotton cloth from her waist downward, but nothing at all from her waist upward, except a cloth about her head, which hung down a little upon her breast and shoulders. She went barefooted, but that was the custom of all Hindu women, high and low, at home and abroad. Most of the men went unshod in like manner. A few of the graver sort wore sandals, but very few wore shoes. The Queen was more like a kitchen-maid or a washerwoman than a noble princess; but her voice was graceful, and she spoke like a woman of judgment.

The Queen spoke a few words to Della Valle through his Brahman interpreter, asking what had brought him to those woods of hers. She was going into the fields about a mile off, to see some trenches which were being dug for conveying water to certain lands; and when she returned from the fields, she was busied in administering justice among her people. She said, however, that she would send for Della

Valle in the evening. Della Valle procured a house in Manel, belonging to a Moor; and was thus enabled to procure animal food. He waited however in vain for a message from the Queen. She was heard praising the liberality of Della Valle in paying for poultry and other necessaries. She said, "Do we in India toil and moil for a fanam,¹ while this stranger spends money in this fashion?" But for some unknown reason she never invited Della Valle to come and see her.

The early life of the Queen of Olaza reveals something of social life in Kanara. The Raja of Olaza had died leaving neither son nor nephew. Accordingly his wife succeeded to the Raj. The wife died, and was succeeded by her sister, the present Queen. The new female sovereign married the Raja of a neighboring territory, called Banghel; but the husband and wife only met at intervals. The Raja had other wives, and the Queen was said to have other lovers. After a while they quarrelled, and the Queen returned all the jewels the Raja had given her. The Raja was so offended that he made war upon her, and called in the aid of the Portuguese. The Queen appealed to Venk-tapa Naik to help her. In the end Venk-tapa annexed the Raj of Banghel, defeated the Portuguese, and compelled the Queen of Olaza to cede a considerable territory. The Portuguese embassy was sent to Venk-tapa Naik at Ikkeri to protest against the annexation of Banghel, on the ground that the Raja was an ally of the King of Portugal.

Before leaving Mangalore, Della Valle paid a visit to a holy man dwelling in a neighboring hermitage. He was known as the King of the Yogis; a sect of wandering mendicants, who were supposed to abstract themselves from all the cares of the world.² The so-called King was lord of a

¹ A fanam was a very small silver coin, worth about twopence-halfpenny.

² The Yogis are dying out of India. They were common enough in ancient times, but are disappearing before the advancing tide of European civilization. They were supposed to abstract themselves from the world, and to lead a life of religious contemplation, in order to secure the deliverance of the soul from the otherwise endless chain of transmigrations. See ante, p. 85.

little circle of land, comprising a hermitage, a temple, and certain habitations for Yogis, together with a few country-houses and villages. The territory had been given to the Yogis by a former Raja of Banghel; and as the Yogis had no wives, the dominion of the hermitage and adjacent lands went by elective succession. The Yogis were not subject to their King in the way of obedience, but only paid him reverence and honor. They went where they listed, and were dispersed among different temples; but at certain solemn times they assembled at the hermitage in great numbers, and were supplied with victuals by their King. Many servants and laborers of the King lived at the hermitage, and cultivated the land for his maintenance. It yielded a yearly revenue of about five or six thousand pagodas, or nearly three thousand pounds sterling. Most of the money was spent on feasts; the remainder was devoted to the service of the temple and idols.

Della Valle found the King of the Yogis employed in business of a mean sort, like a peasant or villager. He was an old man with a long white beard, but strong and lusty. He had a golden bead hanging from his ear as big as a musket-bullet; and had a little red cap like those worn by Italian galley-slaves. He seemed a man of judgment, but was without learning. He told Della Valle that formerly he had horses, elephants, and a great equipage; but Venk-tapa Naik had taken all away, so that he had very little left.¹

About this time the Portuguese were sending a fleet from Mangalore to the Zamorin of Calicut. There was a question of peace between the Portuguese and the Zamorin. The Zamorin had sued for peace; but the Viceroy would not come to terms unless the Raja of Cochin was included in the treaty. Accordingly a fleet was sent to Calicut with the Viceroy's ultimatum.

The better sort of the people of Malabar were Hindus,

¹ A representative of the King of the Yogis is living in Mysore to this day, and is still complaining of his loss of wealth and power.

especially those inland. They mostly belonged to the caste of Nairs, or hereditary soldiers. The sea-coasts were inhabited by Malabar Muhammadans, who lived among the Hindus, and spoke their language, although they differed in religion. The Malabar Muhammadans were corsairs, who had infested the coast, and had been the terror of merchant vessels since the days of Pliny, and probably for ages before.¹

Della Valle went on board the Portuguese fleet with the view of seeing Calicut. During the voyage the Portuguese had two encounters with Malabar corsairs. On each occasion the light vessels of the corsairs escaped to the creeks and mouths of rivers which were scattered along that coast. The Portuguese would not attack them by land, as it belonged to the Zamorin; and they were anxious to respect his territories while the peace was in agitation.

On arriving at Calicut, messengers were sent to the Zamorin at early morning with the ultimatum of the Viceroy. If he wanted to make peace with the Portuguese, he must immediately send an ambassador on board the fleet, pledged to conclude a treaty with the Viceroy at Goa, in which the Cochin Raja would be a party.

The proposal was a bitter pill for the Zamorin. His feud with the Raja of Cochin had been handed down for many generations; and he could not bring himself to come to terms with his hereditary enemy. But he was forced to take some action. He had ships with rich cargoes coming from the Red Sea; and unless he made peace with the Viceroy, the Portuguese would capture the ships. Accordingly he sent messengers to the admiral of the fleet. He proposed to make a treaty with the Viceroy first, and then to make a treaty with the Raja of Cochin. Under any circumstances he requested that the fleet would stop at Calicut until he had sufficient time to deliberate with his ministers respect-

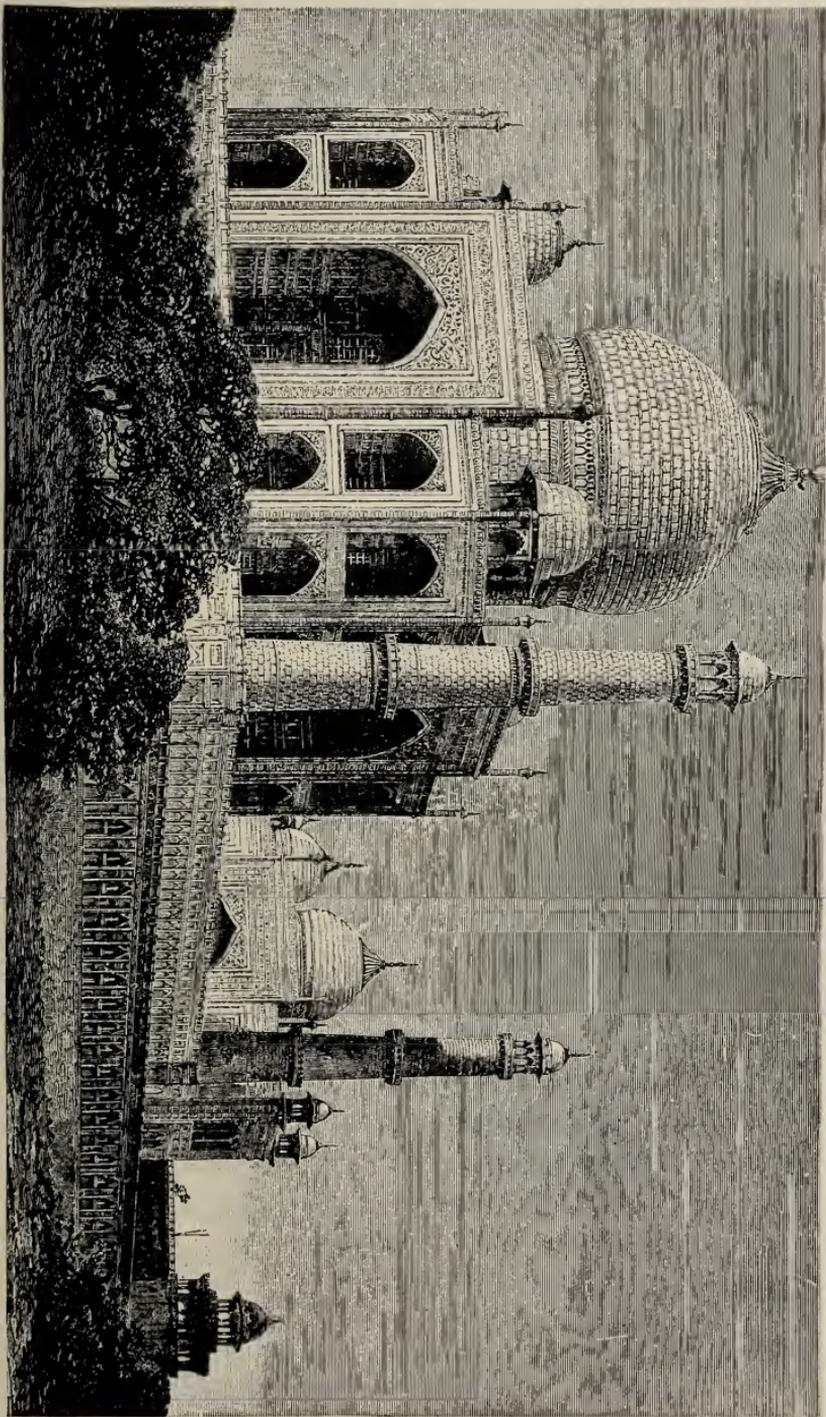
¹ Of course the pirates could not have been Muhammadans in the days of Pliny, as their prophet was not born until A.D. 570. Probably during the sixteenth century the pirates had been recruited by the Moors, who had lost their trade with the Red Sea and Persian Gulf after the arrival of the Portuguese.

ing the proposed treaty. In reply he was told that the fleet would return to Goa at nightfall, whether the ambassador came on board or no.

Meanwhile Della Valle, with the captain of the ship he was in, and some others, went ashore to see the town of Calicut. The streets were long and narrow. The houses were mere cottages built of mud and palm-leaves. The bazar was filled with provisions and other necessaries, but there was not much cloth. Indeed there could have been little demand for clothes; for men and women wore nothing but a piece of cotton or silk, hanging from their girdles to their knees. Della Valle and his party also saw much of the plunder of the Malabar pirates in the bazar; such as Portuguese swords, arms, books, and clothes, which had been taken from Portuguese vessels. No Christian could buy such articles under pain of excommunication.

When Della Valle and his companions were tired of wandering about the bazar, they walked toward the palace. To their great surprise some persons of quality came up and invited them to enter and see the Zamorin. They accepted the invitation, and entered a large court where they found a number of courtiers.

After a while Della Valle and his party were conducted into a smaller court, and told to sit down on a raised pavement. Suddenly two girls, about twelve years of age, entered the court. They wore no covering of any kind except a blue cloth about their loins; but their arms, ears, and necks were covered with ornaments of gold and precious stones. Their complexion was swarthy but clear enough; their shape was well proportioned and comely; and their aspect was handsome and well favored. They were both daughters of the Queen; that is, not of the Zamorin, but of his sister, who was styled the Queen, and was so in effect. These two girls were in fact *Infantas* of the kingdom of Calicut. Upon their entrance all the courtiers paid them great reverence; and Della Valle and his companions rose from their seats, and saluted them, and then stood before



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them bareheaded. The girls talked together respecting the strangers; and one of them approached Della Valle, and touched the sleeve of his coat with her hand, and expressed wonder at his attire. Indeed they were as surprised at the dress of the strangers, as the strangers were at the strange appearance of the girls.

Presently the Zamorin came in accompanied by more courtiers. He was a young man of thirty years of age, of large bulk of body, and a handsome presence. He had a long beard, and wore nothing except the cloth hanging from his girdle.¹ He had bracelets on his arms, pendants at his ears, and other ornaments with jewels and rubies of value. In his hand he carried a stick like a shepherd's staff. He received the salutations of the strangers with smiles and courtesy, standing all the while and leaning on the staff. Many courtiers came in and saluted the Zamorin with joined hands. There were higher cloisters round the court filled with women, who had come to behold the strangers. The Queen sister stood apart in the most prominent place, with no more clothing than her daughters, but abundantly adorned with jewels.

The secret now transpired; the Zamorin wanted to sound the party as to the intentions of the admiral of the fleet. The captain declared that he was only a private soldier, and knew nothing of the admiral or his business; while all the others were absolutely ignorant of the state of affairs. Finally, after a long interview, the Zamorin requested the captain to persuade the admiral to stop at Calicut until the deliberations were over; and then he dismissed the party. The fleet remained at Calicut all night, and sailed away next morning without any ambassador.

In Malabar the persons of Rajas were sacred in battle. The Nairs fought on either side, but no one fought a Raja,

¹ This was not a state occasion like that on which a Zamorin had received Vasco de Gama more than a hundred and twenty years previously. The absence of the vestment shows that it was only an ordinary reception. See ante, p. 127, note.

or even struck the royal umbrella. To shed the blood of a Raja was regarded as a heinous sin, and would be followed by a terrible revenge. The Zamorin was of a lower caste than the Raja of Cochin.¹ If the Zamorin was killed, his subjects devoted three days to revenge; they ran "amok," as it was called, killing all they met until they were killed themselves. If the Raja of Cochin was killed, his subjects ran "amok" for the rest of their lives.²

¹ The question of caste between the Zamorin of Calicut and the Raja of Cochin was the cause of the feud. According to a religious myth the land of Malabar had been given to the Brahmans by the god Parasu Rama. The Brahmans called in the Nairs for their protection. The Rajas then ruled Malabar as deputies of the Brahmans. The Zamorin affected a superiority over the Brahmans, and ruled as a deputy of the gods. In revenge the Brahmans affected to regard the Zamorin as a Sudra, inferior in caste to the Raja of Cochin. Such a quarrel could not possibly be settled by a treaty with the Portuguese. For more than a century there must have been constant deliberations between the Zamorin and his ministers upon this difficult and delicate question.

² This was the origin of the English phrase "running amuck." It prevails among Rajputs, Malays, and other cognate races.

CHAPTER IV

MOGHUL EMPIRE—BABER, HUMAYUN, AKBAR

A.D. 1525 TO 1605

DURING the sixteenth century, while the Portuguese were establishing their maritime empire in the eastern seas, two races were contending for the empire of Hindustan, namely, the Afghans and the Moghuls. Both races were associated with a remote past; both have played important parts in the modern history of India.

To all appearance the Afghans are of Jewish origin; not Jews of the orthodox type, the outcome of Jerusalem and the temple worship; but Jews of the old turbulent stiff-necked type, who revolted at Shechem against Rehoboam, and set up golden calves at Bethel and Dan. The Afghans claim to be descendants of Saul the son of Kish.¹ They are divided into tribes, clans, and families. They distribute conquered lands by lot; perform the ceremony of the scapegoat, and build shrines on high places. Their features are unmistakably Jewish; but their language is not Hebrew, nor anything akin to Hebrew. It is conjectured that they are the descendants of the Ten Tribes, whom the King of Assyria carried away to the city of the Medes; but the loss of all traces of the Hebrew language militates against the theory, and it is impossible to verify the identity.² In modern times

¹ This tradition helps to identify the Afghans with the children of the men who fought against the house of David.

² The Jewish features of the Afghans outweighs, to the author's mind, the evidence of language. The face of Shere Ali Khan, the late Amir of Afghanistan, revealed not only the Jewish features, but the melancholy mania that belongs to the character of Saul.

they are Muhammadans of the Sunni religion, and traditional foes of the Persians or Shiahs.

The early conquests of the Afghans in India are obscure. In the thirteenth century a dynasty of Afghan Sultans was reigning at Delhi under the name of Patans; and this name is said to have been derived from an earlier Afghan dominion at Patna.¹ Toward the end of the century the Afghan dynasty was ousted by a Turkish dynasty; and for a century and a half the Afghans fade away from history.

In 1398-99 Hindustan was invaded by Timur the Tartar. After his departure the affairs of Hindustan are veiled in darkness. He left officers at Delhi to rule in his name, or rather to collect tribute in his name; and accordingly four princes reigned in succession at Delhi in his name, but nothing is known of them of any moment. The last was swept away by the tide of Afghan invasion.

In 1450 the Afghans were overrunning the Punjab and Hindustan. They established a dynasty at Delhi, known as the Lodi dynasty. They were bitter persecutors of the Hindus and their religion. They broke down temples and built mosques in their room, as in the days of Mahmud of Ghazni. A Brahman was put to death by a Sultan of this dynasty for maintaining that the religions of Hindus and Muhammadans were equally acceptable in the eyes of God.

Afghan dominion is always divided and unsettled, excepting at rare intervals, when a man of energy and genius is at the head of affairs. The Afghan Sultans of Delhi had no firm hold on their empire. Lawless Afghans had spread over Hindustan, and some of their leaders had established themselves as independent princes. They occupied fortresses, exercised local dominion, and levied tribute and blackmail, especially in the outlying provinces of Bihar and Bengal. They were often in revolt against the Sultans of Delhi, and often at war among themselves. They

¹ The old capital of Bengal at Gour seems to have been named after the ancient Afghan stronghold of Ghor between Ghazni and Herat.

bore a strong family likeness to their reputed forefathers, who rebelled against the house of David; and they bore an equally strong likeness to their descendants, who have so often rebelled and fought in Herat and Kandahar.

The Afghans have left a bad name in India. Their passion for revenge has become a proverb. No man is said to be safe from the revenge of an elephant, a cobra, or an Afghan.

The Moghuls are men of a different stamp. In history they are associated with the great Tartar invasions under Chenghiz Khan and Timur. Their so-called annals are bewildering stories of evanescent dynasties. Sometimes they founded a dominion as vast as the empires of Darius and Ahasuerus; and then, after a few generations, it crumbled into fragments, and provinces were transmuted into independent kingdoms.

Father Rubruquis, who travelled through the greater part of Asia shortly after the death of Chenghiz Khan, says that the Moghuls were the ruling tribe among the Tartars. This statement is a clew to their history. The Tartars are barbarous nomads, who have wandered over the vast steppes of Asia, from pasture to pasture, from an unknown antiquity. They have no settled habitations, and dwell in huts which they carry about on carts. They probably represent the ancient Scythians; and if so, the Moghuls may represent the Royal Scythians.¹

The Moghuls were proud and arrogant; but they were inquisitive and tolerant, especially in matters of religion. Indeed it was one of the laws of Chenghiz Khan that every priest was to be revered who taught the belief in one God. Many became Muhammadans, but they were very lax observers of the Koran, and had none of the bigotry

¹ The Royal Scythians are an interesting but obscure tribe described by Herodotus. Their religion, like that of the Scythians generally, was undoubtedly Vaidik, and Sir Henry Rawlinson has proved that their language was Aryan. Philologists may deny that there is any identity between the terms $\Sigma\kappa\iota\theta\alpha\iota$ and Kshatriya, but there are other similarities which may help to solve the problem as regards the origin of the Vaidik Aryans.

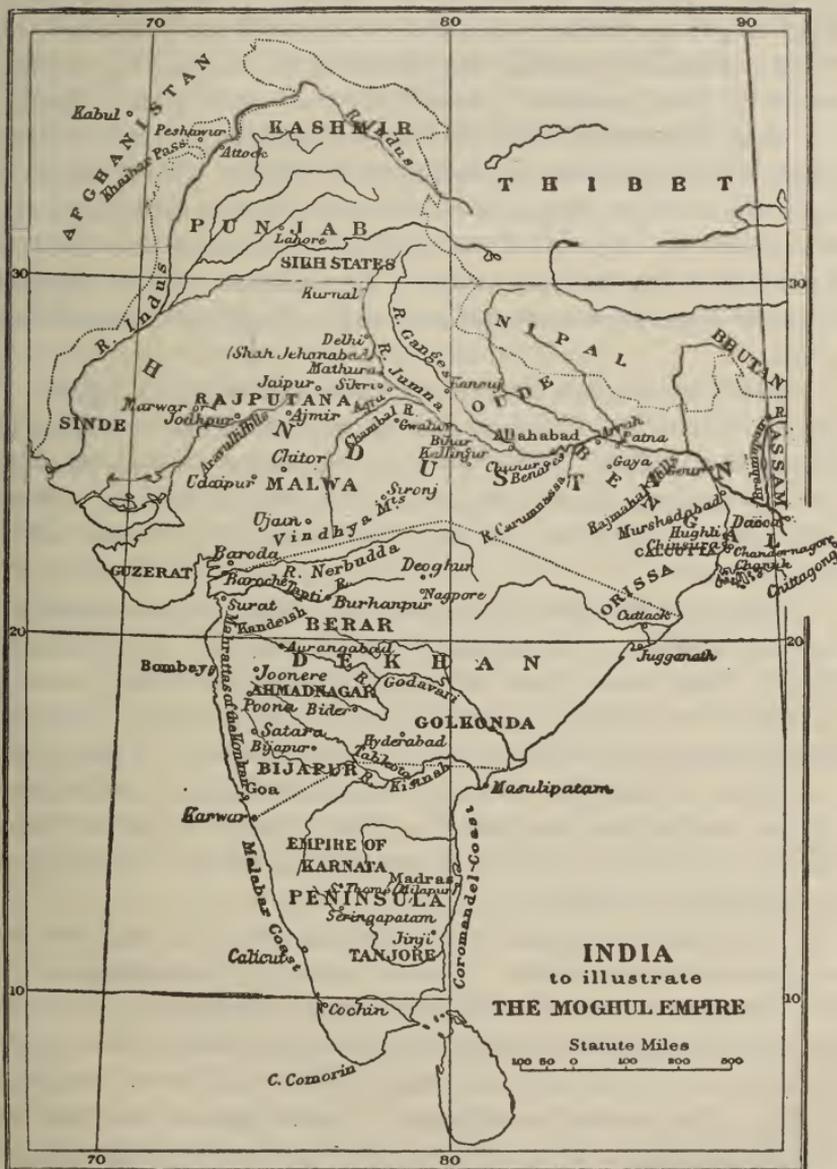
which characterized the Afghans. Marco Polo, the Venetian, who was entertained at the court of the great Khan, is loud in praising the Moghuls. Father Rubruquis, who excited their suspicions, complains bitterly of their deceitful ways and coarse mode of life.

In the sixteenth century the Moghuls had lost many of their Tartar features and much of their Tartar manners. The yellow complexions, high cheek-bones and ugly mouths had disappeared; and the Moghuls who conquered Hindustan bore a general resemblance to Persians. These changes have led to confusion. The people of India often include Persians under the general name of Moghuls; but they always mark the distinction between Moghul and Afghan.

The founder of the Moghul empire in India was a chieftain named Baber. The career of Baber is a romance. He was born in 1482; and claims descent from Timur and Chenghiz Khan. At the age of twelve he inherited the kingdom of Khokand on the Jaxartes. While still a youth he conquered the whole of Bokhara from the Jaxartes to the Oxus. Subsequently, after years of fighting, he was driven out of Bokhara by the Uzbeks, and founded a kingdom in Afghanistan.

The character of Baber is revealed in his memoirs, which are said to have been written by himself. Sometimes he was storming a city or defending a stronghold; at other times he was an exile in the desert broken down by wounds and privations; but on all occasions he had an easy temper, and an affectionate regard for the playmates of his boyhood, his mother and female relatives, and for all old friends. He was fond of a drinking bout with gay companions. He freely describes the temptations which led to these excesses—the shady wood, the hill with a fine prospect, or the idleness of a boat floating down a river. He also tells the amusements which accompanied them—extempore verses, recitations in Turki and Persian, sometimes a song, and often a contest of repartee.¹

¹ Erskine's translation of Baber's Memoirs.



For years Baber had contemplated the conquest of Hindustan. In 1525 he was encouraged to make the attempt. The reigning Sultan of Delhi was weak and fickle. The whole Afghan empire was disaffected. The Afghan governor of the Punjab invited Baber to invade the country. At the same time the suzerain of the Rajput princes, the Rana of Chitor, sent messengers to Baber promising to attack Agra if the Moghuls would attack Delhi. Baber obeyed the call. In the winter of 1525-26 he crossed the Indus at the head of ten thousand men. The Afghan Sultan marched against him with an immense army, but was defeated and slain.

Baber occupied Delhi and then marched to Agra. As he advanced the Hindus fled from the villages, and he fell short of supplies. To crown all, he found the whole army of the Rajput league arrayed against him, not as a friend and ally, but as an enemy resolved to drive him out of Hindustan.

The proceedings of the Rana of Chitor were treacherous but intelligible. He expected Baber to invade Hindustan as Timur had done; that is, to sack Delhi and then go away, leaving him, the Rana, to re-establish the ancient empire of the Rajputs over Hindustan and the Punjab. When Baber defeated the Afghan Sultan, the Rana made no advance to Agra, but waited for events. When Baber captured Delhi and marched to Agra, the Rana felt aggrieved and went out to fight the invaders.

The battle between the Moghuls and the Rajputs was desperate but decisive. Baber aroused the enthusiasm of his Muhammadan troops against the idolaters. He broke up his drinking vessels on the field, and swore that henceforth he would never taste wine. The battle was fought at Sikri, a few miles from Agra. Baber gained the victory, and the Rajputs fled back to their hills. From that day to this the Rajputs have never attempted to reconquer Hindustan.

Baber reigned four years afterward, but was chiefly oc-

cupied in rooting the Afghans out of their strongholds. He died in 1530, and was succeeded by his son Humayun.

Baber was a bad Muhammadan, inasmuch as he drank wine and allied with the idolatrous Rana of Chitor against Afghan believers. His son Humayun was a worse Muhammadan, for he relapsed into the old nature worship of the Moghuls. He divided his household affairs according to the four elements of fire, air, water, and earth. He built a pavilion with seven apartments of different colors to represent the sun, moon, and planets; and he sat each day in a different apartment, and transacted business or took his pleasure according to the reigning luminary.

Humayun was engaged like his father in rooting Afghans out of their strongholds; but he lacked his father's energy and decision. An Afghan named Sher Khan was in possession of Chunar, an important fortress on the south bank of the Ganges, which commanded the line of communication between Hindustan and Bengal. Humayun demanded the surrender of the fortress, and might easily have dislodged the Afghan; but Sher Khan affected entire submission, sent his son with a troop of horse to fight in the army of the Moghul, and begged to be allowed to hold the fortress in the name of Humayun. In a word, Humayun was cajoled into leaving Sher Khan in possession of Chunar.

About this time Humayun interfered in Rajput affairs. A Sultan of Guzerat, the very man who invited the Sultan of Turkey to drive out the Portuguese, had invaded the territory of the Rana of Chitor. The city was invested by the Muhammadans, as it had been in the reign of Ala ud-din. The women performed another Johur; among them was the widow of the Rana who fought against Baber. Before the princess joined the sacrifice, she provided for the escape of her infant son, and sent her bracelet to Humayun.

The gift of the bracelet is a relic of the days of Rajput chivalry. Whenever a Rajput lady is in peril, be she wife or maiden, she may select a protector by sending him her bracelet. She thus adopts him as her brother. He may

never see her, but he is flattered by the mystery and honor. Humayun accepted the bracelet and obeyed the summons. Muhammadan historians say that Humayun was a follower of the Prophet; but his conduct is at variance with the statement. He went to war against a brother Muhammadan on account of a Rajput princess, and drove the Sultan of Guzerat out of Chitor.

When Humayun returned to Agra, he found that Sher Khan the Afghan had taken possession of Bengal. He now had reason to curse his folly in leaving the fortress of Chunar in the hands of Sher Khan. He was obliged to capture the fortress before he could enter Bengal; and six months were wasted before the walls before it was starved into surrendering. Next he was blocked up by the Afghans in the narrow defile between the Ganges and the Rajmahal Hills, which is the only opening into Bengal. Finally he entered Bengal at the beginning of the rains, and lost a large portion of his army by fever and dysentery. When the rains were over he tried to return to Agra, but was attacked and routed by Sher Khan. His affairs were so desperate that he had no alternative but to fly to Persia; and there he remained in exile for a period of fifteen years.

The Afghan rule of Sher Khan and his successors is a break in the history. It is a strange fact that the Afghans, the bigoted enemies of the Hindus and their religion, should have maintained an empire over the Punjab and Hindustan for fifteen years. Stranger still, the last Sultan of this Afghan dynasty favored the Hindus and lost his throne in consequence. He appointed a Hindu named Hemu to be his minister, and advanced Hindus to rank and power. Accordingly his own nobles rebelled against him, and thus opened a way for the return of Humayun.

The adventures of Humayun during this interval have little bearing on the history. During his flight to Persia, his favorite wife gave birth to the celebrated Akbar. During his residence in Persia he is said to have cast aside the Sunni religion and become a Shiah out of deference to the

Shah. In 1555 he raised a force and returned to Hindustan and recovered possession of Delhi and Agra.

A final struggle was pending between Moghul and Afghan, when Humayun was killed by an accident. He was ascending the stone steps outside the palace in order to say his evening prayers on the roof, when his foot slipped and he fell lifeless on the pavement below.

The Afghan conquest of Hindustan between 1540 and 1555 has never been forgotten by the Afghan people. In their eyes it gives them a traditional claim to the possession of Hindustan. Baber claimed Hindustan by virtue of the conquest of Timur; and in after years the Afghans affected to claim Hindustan by virtue of the conquest of Sher Khan. Such assumptions are mere phantoms of Oriental imaginations, but nevertheless they often have a bearing upon the current of Oriental history.

Akbar, the son and successor of Humayun, was the real founder of the Moghul empire in India. By wise policy and consummate craft he put an end to the conflict between Afghan and Moghul, and brought about a reconciliation between Muhammadan and Hindu. The annals of his reign open up a new era in the history of India.

Akbar, the contemporary of Queen Elizabeth, succeeded his father in 1556. He was only a boy of fourteen; and when Humayun was dying at Delhi, the young prince was away in the Punjab fighting the Afghans. His guardian was an experienced general named Bairam Khan, and when the boy became Padishah the guardian became regent.¹

The Moghul empire was in sore peril. A host of Afghans had advanced up the valley of the Jumna under the leadership of Hemu, and recovered the cities of Agra and Delhi, and was now marching on to the Punjab.² The Moghul

¹ The term Padishah was the Moghul equivalent for Emperor. The last syllable is the well-known Persian "Shah," signifying origin or lord. "Pad" signified stability and possession. See Abul Fazl's preface to the *Ain-i-Akbari*, translated by Mr. Blochmann.

² The history of this crisis is a mystery. Possibly the facts have been mis-

officers were in such a panic of fear that they counselled a retreat to Kabul.

Akbar and his guardian resolved on battle. A bloody action was fought, and the Moghuls gained the victory. Hemu was wounded in the eye and taken prisoner. Bairam Khan exhorted Akbar to kill the Hindu and win the title of Ghazi-ud-din, or "champion of the faith." Akbar refused to slaughter a helpless warrior, and Bairam Khan beheaded the Hindu with his own sword.

During the four years that followed there were constant wars between Moghuls and Afghans. Meanwhile Akbar reached his eighteenth year, and resolved to throw off the control of his guardian. He left the camp under the plea of a visit to his mother. He next proclaimed that he had assumed the sovereign authority of Padishah, and that no orders were to be obeyed but his own. Bairam Khan saw that he had lost his power. He tried to cajole Akbar into appointing him minister, but the young Padishah was resolved to be his own master. Akbar offered his old guardian any post he pleased excepting that of minister. But Bairam Khan would be minister or nothing, and prepared to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He was about to depart when he was assassinated by an Afghan. It was the old story of Afghan revenge. Bairam Khan had killed the father of the assassin in some battle, and was stabbed to death by the son.

The wars of Akbar are of small interest. He had to restore order in Hindustan after two centuries of anarchy and misrule. To effect this object it was necessary to capture fortresses in the hands of Afghans, and to stamp out disaffection and revolt among his own turbulent chieftains. It was also necessary to subdue and dethrone dynasties of independent Sultans who had built up kingdoms in Guzerat, Malwa, and Bengal, out of the ruins of the old Delhi empire

represented by Muhammadan historians; but in the absence of other contemporary authorities it is impossible to test their statements. The march of an Afghan army under a Hindu general is opposed to all Asiatic experiences.

of the Tughlaks. In all these wars he displayed the energy and skill of a practiced commander, and the bodily strength of a warrior familiar from his boyhood with the toils of war and the sports of the field.

But though the wars are of small interest, some traditions have been preserved which serve to bring out the character of Akbar, and illustrate the lawlessness against which he had to contend. An officer named Adham Khan was sent to reduce a Sultan of Malwa. The Sultan fled at his approach and left his treasures behind. Adham Khan took possession of Malwa, but kept back the Padishah's share of the spoil, and only sent a few elephants to Agra. Suddenly he learned that Akbar was at hand with a strong force and hastened to make submission and reparation. Akbar feigned to be satisfied and returned to Agra. Adham Khan was soon recalled to Agra and another governor sent in his room. Adham Khan found that no command was given to him, and thought that the minister was his enemy; he went to the palace and stabbed the minister to death in the hall of audience. Akbar heard the uproar and rushed to the place. The murderer begged for mercy, but was thrown over the parapet by Akbar's orders, and perished on the spot.

Another officer in Bihar kept back the Padishah's share in like manner, and soon found that Akbar was upon him. He, too, made submission and reparation, but then fled from Bihar and joined some rebels in Oude. At that moment Akbar was called away to the Punjab by an invasion of Afghans. Meanwhile the whole region to the north of the Ganges broke out in open revolt. Akbar disposed of the Afghans and then marched back to Allahabad in the middle of the rainy season. He reached the Ganges with his bodyguard while the rebel army was encamped in perfect security on the opposite shore. At night he swam the river with his bodyguard, and fell upon the enemy at daybreak. The thunder of the imperial kettle-drums sufficed to scare away the rebels. The flight was a stampede. Some of the ring-leaders were slain in the pursuit; the greater number were

taken prisoners and trampled to death by elephants, after the barbarous custom of Moghul times.

The rebellion was crushed out in Oude, but it was soon followed by others. The truth seems to be that the Muhammadan religion had lost its force. The brotherhood of Islam could not bind Moghul, Turk, and Afghan into one united mass as it had united the Arab tribes in the old wars of the Khalifat. The dismemberment of the Muhammadan empire in India had begun two centuries before, at the fall of the Tughlak dynasty and revolt of the Dekhan. Under such circumstances Akbar called in the aid of a new power to restore peace in Hindustan and consolidate a new empire; and the policy which he pursued forms the most important and interesting event in the history of his reign.

Akbar was not a man of culture like the Muhammadan Sultans of olden time. If he had gone with his father to Persia he might have received a schooling; but he stayed with an uncle in Kabul and learned nothing but war. He could not read or write,¹ but he had listened to histories, and seems to have formed ideas. He was not a zealous Muhammadan, and he certainly did not share in the Muhammadan hatred of idolaters. On the contrary, he was imbued with the religious toleration of Chenghiz Khan, and inclined to regard all religions as equal. He resolved to amalgamate Hindus and Muhammadans into an imperial system, in which the one should be a check on the other. In a word, he foreshadowed that policy of equality of race and religion which maintained the integrity of the Moghul empire for more than a century, and since then has been the mainstay of the British empire in India.

The first step in the work of amalgamation was the conquest and pacification of the princes of Rajputana. The Rajput league, under the suzerainty of the Rana of Chitor, was bound together by a system of intermarriages. Hindus

¹ Akbar made up for some of his deficiencies in after years. His Spelling-book was preserved as a curiosity down to modern times.

marry but one wife, but polygamy has always been the practice of Rajas. The Rana of Chitor was supposed to be the descendant of Rama and the old Rajas of Ayodhya, the noblest of the children of the sun.¹ Every Raja considered it a high honor to receive a daughter of the Rana in marriage. In like manner every Raja deemed it an honor to give a daughter in marriage to the Rana.

By this time the old ceremony of the Swayamvara had died out of India. A Rajput princess no longer appeared in her father's hall, to signify her choice of a husband by the gift of a garland. But the fiction of "self-choice" had been preserved, and continues to this day. A gilded cocoanut is still formally sent to a Raja in the name of a princess as symbolical of choice. It is but an empty compliment, for the girl has no voice in the matter; but the cocoanut is a relic of a civilization which has passed away.

The policy of Akbar was to put the Padishah in the room of the Rana; to become himself the suzerain of the Rajput league, and the commander of all the Rajput armies. To carry out this object it was necessary that he should take the daughters of the Rajas to be his wives, and give them daughters in return. The idea was repulsive alike to Rajput and Muhammadan; it was contrary to caste laws; it was contrary to the religion of the Koran unless the bride became a convert to Islam. In a word, the policy could only be carried out by a barbarian and a despot; and such a man was Akbar.

The wars of Akbar in Rajputana may be forgotten.² It will suffice to say that after bitter struggles Jaipur and Jodhpur yielded to their fate, and each gave a daughter in marriage to Akbar, and paid him homage as their suzerain.

¹ Of course there are rival families, but the superior claims of the Rana are pretty generally acknowledged.

² It is important to bear in mind the relative positions of Rajputana and Malwa, between the Jumna and the Nerbudda Rivers. Rajputana lies to the west of the river Chambal, and extends to the neighborhood of the Indus. Malwa lies to the east of the Chambal, and extends in a southerly direction to the Nerbudda river.

In return he added to their territories, raised them to high rank in his court, loaded them with honors, and took their armies into his pay. Other Rajas followed the example and were rewarded in like manner. Akbar thus brought a new political element into existence; and the support which he derived from the princes of Rajputana enabled him to establish and consolidate an empire.

The Rana of Chitor, however, held out against all threats and temptations. He preferred death to dishonor. In 1567 the city of Chitor was environed by the army of Akbar. The Rajputs saw that there was no hope of deliverance, and performed the awful rite of Johur. The women threw themselves on burning piles, while the men put on saffron garments and perished sword in hand. Chitor was reduced to a ruin. Sir Thomas Roe saw it fifty years afterward. It contained a hundred temples and innumerable houses, but not a human inhabitant was there.

The very name of Chitor was blotted out of the after history of Rajputana. The Rana was named Udai Singh. He sought a refuge in the Aravulli hills, where he founded the city of Udaipur. Henceforth he was known as the Rana of Udaipur, or Oodeypore. But Chitor was never forgotten. So long as Chitor was a widowed city, the Rana bound himself and his successors never to twist their beards, or eat from gold or silver, or sleep upon anything but straw. To this day the memory of the interdiction is preserved in the palace at Udaipur. The Rana never twists his beard. He eats from gold and silver, but there are leaves beneath the dishes. He sleeps upon a bed, but there is a scattering of straw below.

Meanwhile the Rajput princes, who had been hated as idolaters since the days of Mahmud, were treated by Akbar as honored and valued friends. The marriages of the Padishah with their daughters converted them into kinsmen of the Moghul. Akbar especially employed the Rajputs to maintain his ascendancy over the Afghans, the bigoted and inveterate foes of the Hindus. The history is obscure;

and to all appearance has been purposely obscured. But it is certain that one Rajput kinsman was appointed Viceroy of the Punjab; another commanded the Rajput army against the Afghans of Kabul; while one Rajput Raja of renown was appointed Viceroy of Bihar and Bengal, which had been at the mercy of Afghan chieftains from a remote antiquity. The historian of Akbar tells us that these Rajas proved able rulers; but in truth nothing is known of the working of Akbar's policy, beyond the bare fact that he employed the Rajputs to overawe the Afghans.

Henceforth there were two aristocracies in the Moghul empire, and two armies. Each was distinct from the other, and acted as a balance against the other. The one was Moghul and Muhammadan; the other was Rajput and Hindu.

The Moghul aristocracy was one of white-complexioned foreigners, chiefly Persians, who went by the common name of Moghuls. The Moghuls had no hereditary nobility outside the royal family. The Padishah was the sole fountain of honor, and the fountain of all honor. He gave rank at will, and all rank was military rank. He gave titles at will, and every title was associated with the idea of loyalty. The emoluments took the form of military pay. Every grandee was appointed to command a certain number of horse; but he rarely maintained more than a third of the number, and received payment for the whole. Rank and title might be given in a moment, and in a moment they might be swept away.

Every Moghul noble and officer was entirely dependent on the Padishah. Their lives and property were at his disposal. He was the heir to the wealth of every one of his grandees, and wives and families of men of the highest rank were sometimes reduced to beggary. Hereditary nobility was thus unknown to the Moghuls. In one generation an Amir, or grandee of the first order, might hold a high command, and enjoy a princely income. His grandsons might be brown-complexioned men serving in the ranks as common soldiers.

The Amirs were the highest class of nobles, the *grandees* of the empire.¹ They might be made governors, viceroys, or ministers. A second class was known as *Mansubdars*, and a third class as *Ahadis*; but these were military officers. One and all were little better than slaves of the *Padishah*.

The *Rajputs* formed a hereditary aristocracy on a feudal basis. They held their lands in return for military service, and all commands were hereditary. The vassal served his lord, the lord his *Raja*, and the *Raja* his suzerain. When *Akbar* became suzerain in the room of the *Rana*, he raised the *Rajas* to the rank of Amirs, and sometimes conferred the title of *Raja* on his *grandees*.²

The religious antagonism between Muhammadan and Hindu was a positive gain to *Akbar*. Muhammadans could not always be trusted in a war against Muhammadan rebels; and any scruples about fighting fellow-Muhammadans were a hindrance to *Akbar* in the suppression of a revolt. But no such scruples existed between Muhammadans and Hindus. Muhammadans were always ready to fight idolatrous *Rajas*. The *Rajputs*, on the other hand, were always ready to fight Muhammadan rebels; and they gloried especially in fighting their hereditary enemies, the bigoted *Afghans*, who had driven their forefathers from their ancient thrones on the *Ganges* and *Jumna*.

Abkar has often been described by contemporaries. He was proud and arrogant like all *Moghuls*, but clement and affable. He was tall and handsome, broad in the chest and long in the arms. His complexion was ruddy and nut-brown. He had a good appetite and digestion, but was sparing as regards wine and flesh meat. He was remarkable for strength and courage. He would spring on the backs of elephants who had killed their keepers, and compel them

¹ In old books of travel the Amirs are called *Umrahs* and *Omrahs*.

² It is not quite certain that the title of *Raja* was conferred by *Akbar*; it was certainly conferred by his successors.

to do his bidding. He delighted in every kind of sport; in fights between buffaloes, cocks, harts, rams and elephants; in the performances of wrestlers, fencers, dancers, and actors of comedies, as well as in those of trained elephants. He often despatched serious business in the midst of these spectacles. He was very fond of hunting. He had no hunting dogs, but kept tame antelopes with nets fastened to their horns to entangle wild ones; also tame panthers to take other wild beasts. He surrounded a whole wood with hunters, and then sent beaters into the jungle to drive out the game.

All this while Akbar was outwardly a Muhammadan. Thus he made a vow that on the birth of a son he would walk on foot to the shrine of a Muhammadan saint at Ajmir. In 1570 a son was born, who was named Selim, but afterward succeeded to the throne under the title of Jehangir. Akbar accordingly walked on pilgrimage to the shrine, and paid his devotions to the saint, and built a mosque at Ajmir. Even his Rajput brides were required to say the formula of Islam as they entered the zenana—"There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is the prophet of Allah." But having thus made a show of being converted, the Hindu princesses did as they pleased. They introduced idols and Brahmans into the zenana, and offered sacrifices to their idols; and at last Akbar joined in the idol worship of his wives, like Solomon of old.

In process of time Akbar came in collision with orthodox Muhammadan doctors. In Muhammadan states, the laws are supposed to be based on the Koran. Thus law and religion are blended together, and eminent lawyers are often eminent divines. This class is always numerous at the capital; for judges, magistrates, and law officers in general are chosen from among these learned doctors. The whole body is known by the collective name of Ulama; and occasionally they assemble and discuss points of law. The opinions of the Ulama have great weight in a Muhammadan court, and will often influence the decisions of the Sultan.

About 1675 an ambitious young scholar, named Abul Fazl, was introduced to Akbar, and soon found favor in the eyes of the Padishah. He was a born courtier, and by steadily administering to the vanity of Akbar he became his minister and confidant. He was anxious to master all religions. To use his own language, he longed to study the great religions of the world at their fountain-heads; to sit at the feet of the Christian padres of Goa, the Buddhist monks of Thibet, and the Parsi priests who were learned in the Zendavesta. He imbued the mind of Akbar with a like curiosity. At the same time he had good reasons for hating the Ulama; they had persecuted his father and driven him into exile; they would have persecuted himself in like manner, had they not been afraid of Akbar. They were ignorant, bigoted, and puffed up with pride and orthodoxy.

Akbar, like other Oriental sovereigns, was fond of listening to religious controversies. He held assemblies on Thursday evenings especially to hear different members of the Ulama dispute in his presence. At first the proceedings were conducted with the utmost decorum. After a while the disputants became accustomed to the Padishah, and spoke with more freedom and greater warmth. At last one evening there was an uproar, and learned men reviled one another in the very presence of their sovereign.

Abul Fazl was at the bottom of all the mischief. He was anxious to degrade the Ulama in the eyes of Akbar; and no mode was so effective as that of involving them in religious controversy. He introduced subjects which he knew could only end in wrangling. He introduced others, like Akbar's marriages, which placed the learned doctors on the horns of a dilemma. If they sought to please the Padishah they sinned against the Koran; and if they stuck to the Koran they offended the Padishah. One orthodox magistrate spoke out conscientiously against the marriages, and was removed from his post. In this way the Ulama were ruined in the eyes of Akbar; they drifted into disgrace and ruin; they had cursed one another in their speech, and prob-

ably in their hearts they were all agreed in cursing Abul Fazl.

Meanwhile Akbar was led by Abul Fazl to believe that he was a far better judge in religious matters, and especially in religious controversies, than the bigoted body of doctors that made up the Ulama. Akbar eagerly caught at the idea. He was anxious to throw off the influence of the Ulama, who would have persuaded him to persecute heretics and Hindus. He was resolved, like Henry the Eighth, to become himself the supreme authority in all religious matters.

The result of all these experiences was that Akbar became hostile to the Muhammadan religion. He broke up the power of the Ulama, and banished all refractory professors to the remote regions of Central Asia. He conversed with teachers of other religions—Brahmans, Buddhists, and Parsis. He sent a letter to the Portuguese viceroy at Goa, requesting that Christian fathers might be sent to Agra to teach him the tenets of Christianity. The religious world at Goa was thrown into a ferment at the idea of converting the Great Moghul. Three fathers duly arrived at Agra, and were permitted to build a church and perform Christian rites without molestation; privileges which would have been accorded, perhaps, in no other Muhammadan city. Both Akbar and his minister Abul Fazl professed the utmost respect for Christianity; Akbar even entered the church and prostrated before the image of the Saviour; but neither the Padishah nor his minister were sufficiently impressed with the truths of Christianity to become baptized.

Akbar indulged in religious experiences until he believed himself to be a representative of deity. The sixteenth century was a period of great excitement throughout the Muhammadan world. It was currently believed that at the end of a thousand years from the Hijra, or flight of Muhammad, a new prophet would appear to convert the world and usher in a new millennium. The "Lord of the period," as he was called, was expected to appear in 1591-92; and many

pious Muhammadans prepared for his coming by fasting and prayer.¹

In the first instance Akbar was induced by Abul Fazl to believe that he himself was the "Lord of the period." Subsequently, when his faith in Islam had died out, the idea took another form. He founded a new religion known as the Divine Faith. He permitted himself to be worshipped as a type of royalty emanating from God; or, to use the symbolical language of Abul Fazl, to be adored as a ray of the divine sun, the supreme soul, that animated the universe. Every morning he worshipped the sun in public. At the same time he was himself worshipped by the ignorant multitude, who were induced to believe that he could work miracles and cure diseases.

All this while, however, Akbar sought to better his subjects by measures of toleration as well as by improved social laws. He permitted the use of wine, but punished intoxication. He gratified his Hindu subjects by prohibiting the slaughter of cows. He forbade the marriage of boys before they were sixteen, and of girls before they were fourteen. He permitted the marriage of Hindu widows, and did his best to put a stop to widow burning. In after life he tried to check the practice of polygamy among the Muhammadans.

But the character of Akbar had a dark side. He was sometimes harsh and cruel. He was jealous of his authority; suspicious of plots and rebellions; and resorted to strong measures which are revolting to civilization. His persecution of Muhammadan doctors was unpardonable. He is, moreover, charged with keeping a poisoner and getting rid of his enemies in this manner without remorse. Such practices are known to have been common to his successors; and there are strong grounds for believing that they were equally common during the reign of Akbar.

The daily life of Akbar and his court may be gathered

¹ For a further account of this remarkable movement, the reader is referred to the larger History of India, vol. iv. chap. iv.

from three institutions of Moghul origin. They were known as the Jharokha, the Durbar, and the Ghusal-khana; in English parlance they would be known as the window, the audience hall, and the dressing-room.¹ Details of these institutions will appear in the after history; for the present it will suffice to describe their general character.

The Jharokha was a window at the back of the palace, which overlooked a plain below. Every morning Akbar appeared at this window and worshipped the sun, while the multitude thronged the plain below and worshipped Akbar. Later in the morning, generally about noon, Akbar appeared at the window, and was entertained with the combats of animals in the plain below.² Sometimes he inspected troops, horses, elephants, and camels, from this window.

The Durbar was the hall of audience, situated in a large court at the entrance to the palace. Every afternoon Akbar sat upon his throne at the back of the Durbar hall, and gave audience to all comers. Here he disposed of petitions, administered justice, and received Rajas, Amirs, and ambassadors. All the grandees at court were bound to attend the Padishah at the Jharokha and Durbar.

The Ghusal-khana was a private assembly held in the evening in a pavilion behind the Durbar court. None were admitted excepting the ministers and such grandees as received special invitations. Sometimes the gathering resembled a privy council; at other times it was an assembly of grandees and learned men. The assembly of the Ulama on Thursday evenings would, probably, have been held in this pavilion, but it was not large enough. Consequently another pavilion was prepared expressly for their reception.

Akbar is famous for having introduced a land settlement into his dominions. It should be explained that under Mo-

¹ The Ghusal-khana was literally the bathroom, and contained a large bath decorated with jewels. The idea of entertaining visitors in a bathroom is apparently peculiar to Moghuls.

² It is the custom in India among the wealthier classes to perform their devotions at early morning, and then to take a breakfast and a siesta. This will account for the late hours kept at the evening assemblies.

ghul rule all lands were treated as the property of the Padishah. They were divided into two classes, Khalisa and Jaghir. The Khalisa lands were those held by the Padishah as his own demesnes, and paid a yearly rent to him. The Jaghirs were estates given in lieu of salaries. In this way Jaghirs were given to governors, ministers and grandees; they were also given to queens and princesses in the imperial harem. Every Jaghir paid a fixed yearly rent to the Padishah; and all that could be collected above this amount belonged to the Jaghirdar, or holder of the Jaghir.¹

Akbar employed a Hindu named Todar Mal to make a revenue settlement; in other words, to fix the yearly payments to be made by holders of the land. All lands were measured, whether cultivated or uncultivated. Every piece of land yielding a yearly income of twenty-five thousand rupees was placed under the charge of an officer known as a Krori; the object being to bring uncultivated lands into cultivation. The Krories are charged with every kind of rapacity and oppression; but the settlement of Todar Mal is lauded to this day. It was the one thing to which landholders and cultivators could appeal against the rapacity of revenue collectors.

Toward the end of his reign Akbar conquered Kabul and Kashmir. Kabul, however, was a dangerous acquisition, from the lawlessness of the people; and on one occasion Akbar lost an army there, but the details are imperfectly known. Kashmir proved a more acceptable conquest; and Akbar and his successors occasionally resorted to a retreat among the mountains of Kashmir, as a pleasant change from the heats of Hindustan.

¹ Land tenures in the Moghul empire involve contradictions not easily explained. The husbandman often possessed a few fields, and had the power of selling and bequeathing them, at the same time that the district in which those fields were included was annually let out by the government to a renter, who paid a certain sum of money to the lord of the country, and received from the cultivator a certain part of his harvests. To seize such lands was regarded as the height of injustice. The Moghul was only anxious to keep down the Amirs, not to deprive the smaller landowners of their hereditary rights.

Akbar was always anxious to establish his sovereignty over the Muhammadan Sultans of the Dekhan. The battle of Talikota, in which the Sultans defeated the Maharaja of Vijayanagar, was fought in 1565, being the ninth year of the reign of Akbar. Some years afterward the Padishah sent ambassadors to the Sultans of the Dekhan, inviting them to accept him as their suzerain, and promising to uphold them on their thrones and prevent all internecine wars. One and all, however, refused to pay allegiance to the Moghul.

During the latter part of his reign Akbar conquered the northern half of the Dekhan, including Ahmadnagar and Berar, and would probably have conquered the remaining kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda, when he was called away by the rebellion of his eldest son.

The rebellion of Prince Selim, better known in after years by the name of Jehangir, was apparently a Muhammadan insurrection against the apostasy of Akbar. It was marked by the assassination of Abul Fazl. The rebellion was suppressed, and Akbar became outwardly reconciled to his son; but he was apparently a changed man. He abandoned scepticism and heresy, and returned to the Muhammadan faith. He died in October, 1605, aged sixty-four; but there are strong grounds for believing that he was poisoned at the instigation of Jehangir.¹

¹ For proof of this poisoning, see the larger History of India, vol. iv. chap. iv.

CHAPTER V

MOGHUL EMPIRE—JEHANGIR AND SHAH
JEHAN

A.D. 1605 TO 1658

JEHANGIR succeeded Akbar at the age of thirty-five. He inherited his father's vices, but had none of his virtues. He was not only harsh and cruel, but took pleasure in the sufferings of his victims. He drank wine like a Scythian, and was especially fond of drinking bouts at his evening assemblies. Above all, he was the slave of a crafty intriguing woman named Nur Mahal.

Jehangir had not been the favorite of his father. He seems to have joined the Muhammadan party against his father. Akbar's favorite was his grandson Khuzru, the eldest son of Jehangir, and he had intended that Khuzru should succeed him on the throne. Khuzru was a young prince of Akbar's way of thinking, inclined to Christianity, and a great friend of the Rajputs. Jehangir had always been jealous of Khuzru; and it was this jealousy of Khuzru that led him to rebel during the lifetime of Akbar.

From the day that Jehangir ascended the throne, Khuzru was in mortal fear. He expected to be strangled, or poisoned, or, at any rate, to be deprived of sight, so as to be cut off from all hopes of the throne. At last he fled in a panic from the palace at Agra, and hurried to Lahore. On the way he was joined by large numbers of Rajputs, but was hotly pursued by Jehangir. He tried to escape into Persia, as Humayun had done; but he was cruelly betrayed and sent in fetters to his father.

The revenge of Jehangir upon the rebels was horrible

and sickening. It resembled those cruel scenes of slaughter which are to be seen on Assyrian monuments. Hundreds were flayed alive after Moghul fashion. Hundreds were impaled on sharp stakes, and left to die in lingering torture. The wretched Khuzru was conducted through the lines of victims, and forced to hear the shrieks of his followers, and witness their dying agonies. His life was spared, but he was doomed to years of captivity and suffering.

Meanwhile Jehangir became the slave of Nur Mahal. Various stories are told of the early adventures of this celebrated princess. According to general rumor, she was a Persian girl of low birth, and Jehangir fell in love with her during the lifetime of his father. Akbar objected to such connections; and the girl was given in marriage to a Persian, and went with her husband into Bengal. When Jehangir came to the throne he sent for the girl; but her husband raised some natural objections, and was murdered in a fray. The widow was conducted to Agra, and for a long time refused to listen to Jehangir. At last she consented to become his queen; and her brother Asof Khan was appointed minister. She herself is best known by the title of Nur Mahal, or the "light of the harem."

During the early years of the reign of Jehangir, the English began to appear in the Indian seas. The East India Company had been formed in 1599, in the lifetime of Akbar. It obtained its first charter from Queen Elizabeth in 1600, under which the Company were to monopolize all the English trade in the Indian seas. English ships sailed round the Cape as the Portuguese had done; but they could do nothing in Malabar, for the ports were in the hands of the Portuguese. They sailed northward to Surat within the Moghul's territory. Surat was situated near the mouth of the river Tapti, about a hundred and eighty miles to the north of Bombay.

The English, however, could do but little business at Surat. The Portuguese thwarted them in every way; bribed the Moghul governor of Surat to prevent the English from

buying cargoes; jeered at James I. as a king of fishermen, and scoffed at Great Britain as a contemptible island. In fact, the Portuguese treated the English at Surat much in the same way as they themselves had been treated a century before by the Moors of Malabar. The result was that for years the English and Portuguese were natural enemies, and fought one another to the death whenever their ships met on the high seas.

A sea captain named Hawkins managed to make his way from Surat to Agra on a sort of mission to the Padishah. Jehangir took a fancy to the Englishman; promoted him to the rank of commander of four hundred horse; and drank wine with him every night in the Ghusal-khana, and asked him a thousand questions about Europe and its princes. In the first instance the head of Hawkins was turned by the favor shown to him by the Great Moghul; but his very success created numerous enemies. The Portuguese had friends in the Moghul court, and managed to excite the suspicions of Jehangir against the Englishman. The Moghul governor of Surat raised an outcry against Hawkins; he had bought many things of Hawkins and had refused to pay for them. One Amir portentously declared in the Durbar hall that if once the English got a footing in India they would soon become masters. Hawkins found that he could get no redress and no favors, and soon made his escape from Agra.

The English were anxious to buy goods, and willing to pay for them; but the Moghul merchants were afraid to sell lest the Portuguese should seize their ships on the high seas; and for a long time they refused to deal with the English traders. At last the English were provoked to take the law into their own hands. They did not plunder Muhammadan ships and scuttle them, as the Portuguese had done a century before; but they attacked Moghul ships in the Red Sea, seized the cargoes, and paid for them at the market rates which prevailed at Surat. In fact, there was lawless fighting on all sides; and to make matters worse, other English ships appeared in the eastern seas in defiance of the Company's

charter; and these interlopers committed acts of piracy on Moghul ships, which gave the English a bad name in the court of Jehangir.

Two or three years afterward an English ambassador named Sir Thomas Roe was sent to the Great Moghul by James the First. Roe was a far greater man than Hawkins; he was a lord ambassador, and had a secretary, a chaplain, and a retinue. He landed at Surat in 1615, attended by a guard of honor made up of captains, merchants, and sailors. The English ships in the river were decked with flags and streamers, and welcomed the lord ambassador with a salute of forty-eight guns. Sir Thomas Roe was to make a treaty with Jehangir, to explain the difference between the ships of the East India Company and those of interlopers, and to establish the Company's trade on a sound footing.

Sir Thomas Roe experienced some rudeness at landing from the Moghul officials at the Custom-house. They had little respect for his character as ambassador, and persisted in searching all his servants and opening all his boxes, including those which contained the presents for Jehangir. At length, after a month's delay at Surat, Roe procured carriage and escort as far as Burhanpur, about two hundred and twenty miles due east of Surat. Burhanpur was the headquarters of the Moghul army of the Dekhan; and here Roe expected to secure fresh carriage and escort to enable him to go as far as the imperial camp, which had been recently removed from Agra to Ajmir.

Roe was disgusted with what he saw during his journey from Surat to Burhanpur. The country was desolate; the towns and villages were built of mud; and there was not a house fit to lodge in. At one place he was guarded with thirty horsemen and twenty musketeers because of highwaymen. In fact, he was travelling through Kandeish, a province partly in Hindustan and partly in the Dekhan, which has been infested by Bhils and brigands down to modern times.

At this period the Great Moghul was carrying on a war

in the Dekhan. A black Abyssinian named Malik Amber had risen to power in Ahmadnagar. Abyssinians, in spite of their color, were respected on account of their strength and bravery, and often played important parts in political revolutions in India. Malik Amber set up a prince of the fallen house of Ahmadnagar, secured help from Bijapur and Golkonda, and compelled the Moghul army to retreat northward to Burhanpur.

The Moghul army of the Dekhan was under the command of Parwiz, the second son of Jehangir. Parwiz was a drunken prince, and left the army in the hands of an officer known as the Khan Khanan, or Khan of Khans. Meanwhile the Khan Khanan took bribes from the different Sultans of the Dekhan, and did nothing. At times he tried to deceive Jehangir by feigning to attack Ahmadnagar; but his treachery was already suspected by the Padishah.

At Burhanpur Sir Thomas Roe was received with some show by the head of the police, known as the Kotwal. He paid a visit of ceremony to Parwiz, who was haughty and arrogant as regards ceremony, but otherwise good-natured. Roe found him sitting in a gallery under a canopy, with a platform below him, railed in for his grandees.

Roe ascended the platform and saw the grandees standing below the prince with joined hands, like so many slaves or suppliants. He made a bow, and Parwiz bowed in return. He would have ascended the gallery to speak to the prince, but was stopped by a secretary. Parwiz, however, was ready to grant every request as fast as Roe could make it. He allowed the English to establish a factory at Burhanpur, and promised to supply carriage and escort to enable Roe to get on to Agra. He received Roe's presents very graciously, especially a case of strong liquors. He left the gallery, and said he would send for Roe presently, and speak to him in a private chamber. Roe waited for a while, and was then told that he might leave the palace. He learned afterward that Parwiz had opened the liquor bottles, and had rapidly become too drunk to speak to anybody.

The road from Burhanpur to Ajmir runs through the heart of Rajputana; yet Roe had few adventures on the way beyond a sharp attack of fever. He paid a visit to the ruins of Chitor; and he met a crack-brained Englishman named Tom Coryat, who had undertaken a walking tour through Asia. Coryat was one of the most wonderful travellers of his time. He had gone on foot from Jerusalem, through Asiatic Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan, to the cities of Delhi and Agra, at a cost of about a penny a day; and being regarded as a madman, no one interfered with him. When he met Roe he was going to Surat, where he subsequently died from drinking too much sack, and was buried in the outskirts of the city.

In January, 1616, Sir Thomas Roe had his first audience with Jehangir. He describes the Durbar hall as resembling a London theatre. The Padishah was sitting on his throne at one end. The grandees were standing on a platform before him like actors on a stage; they were railed off in three rows according to their respective grades. The common people formed the audience or groundlings, who looked on from behind the third rail.

There was at first a question of prostration, but Roe refused to do anything of the kind, and the point was waived. He passed the three rails, making a profound bow at each; and was admitted among the grandees of the first grade. Jehangir received the English ambassador with princely condescension. He accepted the presents, consisting of virginals, knives, an embroidered scarf, a rich sword and an English coach. He wanted some one to play the virginals, and one of Roe's retinue complied with his wish. The coach was too large to be brought into the Durbar hall, but Jehangir sent persons to look at it. The Padishah then spoke very graciously to the ambassador, hoped he had got rid of his fever, and offered to send him his own physicians. Altogether Roe went away charmed with his reception.

When the Durbar was over Jehangir showed himself to be an inquisitive Moghul. He went out and examined the

coach, and even got into it and ordered his servants to draw it. He made Roe's English servant array him in the scarf and sword, English fashion; and then strutted about and drew his sword and brandished it. But he complained to the bystanders that the presents were very poor, and said that the King of England ought to have sent him jewels.

Roe's negotiations proved a failure throughout. He wanted too much from the Padishah. Jehangir was willing to issue firmans, or orders to all local officers to grant certain privileges to the English; and a few bribes to the local officers would have insured attention to these privileges, until by long custom they had hardened into rights. But Roe was smitten with an Englishman's passion for treaties. He wanted a treaty signed and sealed, which would bind the Padishah and his successors forever, while he had nothing to give in return but a few paltry presents. As it was he wasted two years in negotiations, and never got anything beyond firmans.

The history of the Moghul rule at this period is very suggestive. Jehangir was growing more and more suspicious of the Khan Khanan. Twice he tried to poison him, but failed. He recalled Parwiz from the Dekhan, and sent him to command in Bengal. He then appointed his third son, Prince Shah Jehan, to command the army of the Dekhan. He hesitated to recall the Khan Khanan, lest the latter should break out into rebellion with the army of the Dekhan at his heels.

A kinswoman of the Khan Khanan was in the imperial zenana, and Jehangir consulted her on the subject. He proposed sending a dress of honor to the Khan Khanan as a token of forgiveness. She replied that Khan Khanan would suspect the dress to have been poisoned; that the Khan Khanan was already aware that Jehangir had on two several occasions tried to poison him. Jehangir made no attempt to deny the charge; he only suggested that he should wear the dress for an hour, and that the kinswoman should inform the Khan Khanan accordingly. She replied that the

Khan Khanan would trust neither of them. Accordingly Jehangir determined to go in person to the Dekhan.¹

Sir Thomas Roe saw much of the Moghul court during his stay at Ajmir. He was present at the Nau-roz, or feast of the new year, when the Padishah sat upon his throne in the Durbar, and received presents of great value from all his grantees. He was present at the celebration of Jehangir's birthday on the 2d of September, 1616. In the morning the Padishah was weighed six times against gold and silver, silks and stuffs, grain and butter; and all the things that were weighed against him were given to the poor. In the afternoon there was a grand procession of elephants before the Durbar.

On the evening of the birthday there was a drinking bout in the Ghusal-khana. Roe was sent for at ten o'clock at night after he had gone to bed. He found Jehangir sitting cross-legged on a little throne, arrayed in his jewels. There was a large company of grantees, and numerous gold and silver flagons, and all present were ordered to drink. Every one got drunk excepting Prince Shah Jehan, the minister Asof Khan, and the English ambassador. Jehangir scattered rupees to the multitude below. He threw about gold and silver almonds for which the nobles scrambled like schoolboys. At last he dropped off to sleep, on which all the lights were put out, and the company were left to grope their way out of the Ghusal-khana in the best way they could.

On one occasion a hundred thieves were brought before Jehangir in the Durbar hall, and condemned to death without further trial. They were butchered and exposed in the different streets of Ajmir; the head thief being torn to pieces by dogs in front of Roe's house.

At another time there was a terrible scene in the Durbar

¹ All that Roe tells about the court of Jehangir may be accepted as truth, as nearly everything that goes on in the zenana of a Moghul sovereign is soon known outside. Nothing is concealed but thoughts or emotions, and even they are often betrayed.

court. Whenever the Padishah commanded his nobles to drink wine, they were bound to obey; and such had been the case on the evening of the birthday. If, however, Jehangir heard that a grandee had been drinking on any other occasion without his order, the offender was scourged in his presence. One night Jehangir gave a feast to the Persian ambassador, and ordered all present to drink wine. Accordingly, every man drank to the health of the Padishah, and his name was entered in a register according to custom. But Jehangir was so drunk that he forgot all that had passed. Next day there was an allusion to the drinking, and Jehangir asked who had given the order. He was told that the paymaster had given it; an answer that was always returned when the Padishah thought proper to forget his own orders. Jehangir at once called for the register, and began to punish the offenders. They were flogged so unmercifully that some were left for dead; and there was not a man at court, not even a father or a son, that dared to speak a word in behalf of the sufferers.

About this time Roe reported to London that Shah Jehan was plotting the death of his elder brother Khuzru. He mentioned the fact as a warning to the East India Company not to push their trade too far into the interior. The struggle between the two princes might throw all Hindustan into a ferment. If Khuzru prevailed the English would be gainers, because he loved and honored Christianity. If Shah Jehan prevailed the English would be losers, because he hated Christianity, and was proud, subtle, false, and tyrannical.

In November, 1616, Jehangir left Ajmir and began the journey toward the south. The departure was a grand procession of elephants and palanquins, radiant with jewels and cloths of gold and silver. At setting out there was a notable incident. Jehangir stopped at the door where his eldest son was imprisoned, and called for him to come out. Khuzru appeared and made his reverence. He had a sword and buckler in his hand, and his beard hung down to his waist

as a mark of disfavor. He accompanied the imperial camp during its progress through Rajputana, and hopes were expressed that he might yet succeed to the throne of his father.

The camp of the Great Moghul was like a moving city. The imperial pavilions formed a vast palace of scarlet canvas, surrounded by scarlet screens or walls of arras. The pavilions of the grandees were canvas mansions of white, green, and mixed colors; all were encompassed by screens, and were as orderly as houses. There were also long streets of shops, like the bazar of a metropolis. There was no confusion of any kind, for all the tents and pavilions were laid out and set up in the same order day by day. This regularity, however, disappeared as the camp moved through Rajputana; for the country was only half conquered, and was infested by robbers, while the road sometimes lay through forests and over mountains.

As the imperial camp advanced further south some alarm was expressed. It had been expected that the Sultans of the Dekhan would have sent in their submission directly they heard that Jehangir was approaching the frontier. But the Sultans did nothing of the kind, and Nur Mahal proposed that the Padishah should return to Agra under pretence of hunting. But Jehangir declared that his honor was at stake. He continued to advance, but sent on reinforcements to Shah Jehan, who had gone before to take command of the Moghul army of the Dekhan. Suddenly the news arrived of a great triumph of policy. The Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda had been detached from the cause of Malik Amber; the Abyssinian had been defeated, and Ahmadnagar was restored to the Moghul.

Sir Thomas Roe left India in 1618. Jehangir went to Guzerat; subsequently he visited Agra and Delhi. In his memoirs, written by himself, Jehangir offers certain observations on the country and people, which may be summed up in a few words, and serve as a reflex of his character.

“Guzerat,” says Jehangir, “is infested with thieves and vagabonds. I have occasionally executed two or three hun-

dred in one day, but I could not suppress the brigandage. From Guzerat I went to Agra, where I became reconciled to my eldest son Khuzru. I next went to Delhi, where I heard of a rebellion in Kanouj, and sent a force to put it down. Thirty thousand rebels were slain; ten thousand heads were sent to Delhi; ten thousand bodies were hung on trees with their heads downward along the several high-ways. Notwithstanding repeated massacres there are frequent rebellions in Hindustan. There is not a province in the empire in which half a million of people have not been slaughtered during my own reign and that of my father. Ever and anon some accursed miscreant springs up to unfurl the standard of rebellion. In Hindustan there has never existed a period of complete repose.”

Subsequently Jehangir proceeded to the Punjab. He made Lahore his capital, but spent the hot months of every year among the cool mountains of Kashmir. Meanwhile Nur Mahal engaged in various intrigues respecting the succession to the throne, which led to tragical consequences.

Jehangir had four sons—Khuzru, Parwiz, Shah Jehan, and Shahryar. Shah Jehan, the victor in the Dekhan, stood the fairest chance of the throne. For a long time he enjoyed the favor of Nur Mahal; and he had married her niece, a daughter of her brother Asof Khan. Subsequently he excited her wrath by another marriage, and she resolved to work his destruction.

Nur Mahal had a daughter by her previous husband, and she was ambitious for this daughter. She resolved to give her in marriage to Khuzru. This prince was already reconciled to his father Jehangir, and she purposed securing his succession to the throne. But Khuzru was not a Muhammadan, and was averse to polygamy. He was already married to one wife, and he refused to marry a second. Nur Mahal was bitterly angry with Khuzru, and betrothed her daughter to his youngest brother Shahryar. Henceforth she labored hard to secure the succession for Shahryar.

About this time fresh disturbances broke out in the

Dekhan. Shah Jehan was again ordered to take the command of the army of the Dekhan; but he was fearful that Jehangir might die in his absence, and that Khuzru might obtain the throne. He refused to go to the Dekhan unless Khuzru was placed in his charge. Nur Mahal raised no objection; Khuzru would probably be murdered by his unscrupulous brother, but such a catastrophe would forward her own schemes as regards Shahryar. Jehangir was getting old and stupid, and was induced to make over his eldest son to the charge of Shah Jehan.

Months passed away. Shah Jehan was again at Burhanpur in charge of his brother Khuzru. Suddenly news arrived at Burhanpur that Jehangir was dying. One night Khuzru was strangled to death in his chamber. No one doubted that the murder was instigated by Shah Jehan. Shortly afterward Jehangir recovered his health. He was so angry at the murder of Khuzru, that he sent for his grandson Bulaki, the son of Khuzru, and raised him to the rank of ten thousand horse, the highest rank in the empire. He then declared Bulaki to be his successor to the throne of Hindustan.

Shah Jehan was driven to desperation by this turn of affairs. The murder of Khuzru, which was to have placed him on the throne, had elevated his nephew Bulaki. To crown all, he was deprived of the bulk of his army. An army was despatched from Lahore against Persia under the command of Shahryar; and Shah Jehan was ordered to send a large force to join it; while his officers received direct orders from the Padishah to quit the Dekhan and join the army of Shahryar.

At this crisis a secret plot was hatched between Shah Jehan and his father-in-law, Asof Khan. The idea was to seize the imperial treasures at Agra. The court had removed from Agra to Lahore, and Asof Khan persuaded Jehangir to remove the treasure in like manner. Asof Khan proceeded to Agra to conduct the removal; and Shah Jehan was to march his forces with the utmost

secrecy from the Dekhan and surround the convoy. The plan had nearly succeeded. The treasurer at Agra, much against his will, had loaded the camels with the precious store, when he heard that Shah Jehan was coming up from the Dekhan by forced marches. He saw through the plot in a moment. He unloaded the camels, and lodged the treasure once again in the fortress, and reported the coming of Shah Jehan to the Padishah.

Shah Jehan arrived at Agra, but the treasure was beyond his reach. During three weeks he made repeated attacks on the fortress, but failed to capture it. He wreaked his vengeance on the city, plundering and torturing the citizens, and committing cruel outrages on their wives and daughters. Meanwhile Jehangir was marching from Lahore with a large army. Shah Jehan left Agra to encounter his father. A battle was fought at Delhi between father and son; and Shah Jehan was defeated, and compelled to fly to the mountains.

The further movements of Shah Jehan are startling from their audacity. His marches resemble the flying raids of Ala-ud-din and Malik Kafur. He resolved to plunder Bengal; and he took the city of Dacca by surprise, and ravaged the country, until the robberies and outrages of his followers were a terror to the Bengalis. At last he was again attacked and defeated by the imperial army. He now fled to the Dekhan, and found an asylum in the courts of Bijapur and Golkonda, like an exiled prince of the olden time.

All this while there were antagonisms between the Rajput and Muhammadan armies in the service of the Moghul. Nur Mahal was bitter against the Rajputs, especially against a Rajput general who had been converted to Islam, and was known by the name of Mahabat Khan. This general had commanded a Rajput army in the Dekhan, but was recalled at the instance of Nur Mahal. Subsequently through her instrumentality Mahabat Khan was insulted and degraded; and at last in a fit of desperation he carried off Jehangir and kept him as a state prisoner under his immediate charge.

For a brief interval Nur Mahal was baffled; her power was gone, for Jehangir, in spite of his detention, was still permitted to exercise the authority of Padishah. Mahabat Khan treated his sovereign with every mark of respect; and for some time Jehangir expressed thankfulness for his deliverance from the toils of Nur Mahal; but after a while he fled back to his beloved Nur Mahal. Mahabat Khan and his Rajputs were now in extreme peril. Mahabat Khan would have joined Parwiz with his Rajput army, but Parwiz was dead. At last he fled to the Dekhan and espoused the cause of Shah Jehan.

Jehangir died suddenly, in October, 1627. Before he died he again nominated his grandson Bulaki, the son of Khuzru, to succeed him as Padishah.

Asof Khan, the minister, installed Bulaki on the throne at Delhi. His object was to checkmate his sister Nur Mahal, and to gain time for furthering the designs of his son-in-law, Shah Jehan. Shahryar was taken prisoner and deprived of sight. The only remaining claimants to the throne were Shah Jehan, the third son of Jehangir, and his nephew Bulaki, son of Khuzru.

The critical state of affairs was brought to a close by one of those strange farces which are peculiar to Oriental history. It was given out that Shah Jehan was dangerously ill, and then that he was dead. Permission was readily obtained from Bulaki for burying the remains of his uncle and rival in the tomb of Akbar. Mahabat Khan and his Rajputs conducted an empty bier in sad procession to Agra. Bulaki was persuaded to go out with a small escort to conduct his uncle's remains to the tomb of Akbar. He saw a vast procession of Rajputs, and then suspected a plot and stole away to Lahore. At that moment the trumpets were sounded, and Shah Jehan was proclaimed Padishah, and entered the fortress of Agra amid universal acclamations.

What followed is one of the mysteries of Moghul history. There certainly was a massacre of princes at Lahore; and their bodies were buried in a garden, while their heads were

sent to Shah Jehan. But the fate of Bulaki is uncertain. It was said that he was strangled; but the Duke of Holstein's ambassadors saw the prince in Persia ten years afterward. Whether he was an impostor will never be known. Shah Jehan sent ambassadors to Persia to demand the surrender of the pseudo-Padishah, but the Shah of Persia refused to deliver up the exile; and henceforth the latter personage lived on a pension which he received from the court of Persia.

The reign of Shah Jehan is obscure. While alive his inordinate love of flattery led to fulsome praises of his administration, which find expression in history; while the misfortunes of his later years excited the sympathy of European residents in India, and blinded them to the scandals which stain his life and reign.¹

Shortly after the accession of Shah Jehan he manifested his hatred against the Portuguese. Goa was beyond his reach, but the Portuguese had been permitted by Akbar to establish a settlement at Hughli, in Bengal, about twenty miles from the present site of Calcutta. Shah Jehan had a special spite against the Portuguese of Hughli. They had refused to help him in the rebellion against his father Jehangir; and they had joined the imperial army with men and guns, and taken a part in the battle against the rebel son.

The fate of the Portuguese of Hughli is one of the saddest stories in the history of India; it has been likened to the Babylonian captivity of the Jews. The settlement was captured in 1632. The Portuguese were carried away captive to Agra and threatened and tortured to become Muhammadans. Many held out and suffered martyrdom. The flower of the women and children were sent to the imperial zenana; the remainder were distributed among the Amirs of the Moghul court; and the veil of oblivion may well be thrown over the unhappy doom of all.

¹ For details, see larger History of India, vol. iv. chap. vi.

The antagonisms between Rajputs and Muhammadans had risen to a dangerous height during the reign of Jehangir, but during the reign of Shah Jehan they became still more alarming. The race hostility between Moghul and Afghan was disappearing, and they were making common cause against the Hindu. A Rajput army under a Rajput general had been found necessary in acting against the Muhammadan Sultans of the Dekhan. When, however, Mahabat Khan was recalled from the Dekhan, an Afghan army was sent under an Afghan general named Khan Jehan. The Afghans were Sunnis; so was Malik Amber the Abyssinian. Intrigues naturally followed between the Afghan and the Abyssinian; and Khan Jehan discovered in time that his life was in danger from Shah Jehan, and broke out into rebellion. Then it was found that the Muhammadan army in the service of the Padishah would not fight against the rebel Khan Jehan and his Afghans. The Rajput army was brought into play, and soon defeated and slew the rebel, and carried off his head to Shah Jehan.

But while the Rajputs fought bravely against the Afghans, they were disaffected toward the Padishah. They had helped Shah Jehan to obtain the throne, out of hatred to Nur Mahal; but they had no respect for the new sovereign; and an incident occurred at this time which reveals some of the dangers which were beginning to threaten the imperial throne.

A prince of Marwar (Jodhpur) named Umra Singh had entered the Moghul's service with all his retainers. It was the custom for the Rajput generals to mount guard in turns before the palace, while the Muhammadan Amirs mounted guard inside the palace. Umra Singh had a strong aversion to the guard duty. On one occasion he was away for a fortnight without leave, and when he returned he excused himself by saying that he had been hunting. He was fined, but refused to pay the fine. He was summoned to the Durbar hall, and made his appearance while Shah Jehan was sitting on his throne. He pressed toward the front as if to

speak to the Padishah, and then suddenly drew a dagger from his sleeve and stabbed the minister to the heart. Having thus committed himself to the work of murder, he struck out at those around him; in a word, he ran "amok" until he was overpowered and slain.

The turmoil filled the Durbar hall with consternation. Shah Jehan was in such a fright that he left the throne and ran into the zenana. The retainers of Umra Singh heard that their master was dead, and ran "amok" in the old Rajput fashion. They put on saffron clothes and rushed to the palace, killing all they met. They threatened to plunder Agra unless the dead body of their prince was given to them. Shah Jehan was forced to comply. The dead body was made over to the Rajputs; the funeral pile was prepared, and thirteen women perished in the flames.

The Rajput princes outside the Moghul's service were still more refractory. They were called tributary Rajas, but rarely paid tribute unless they were forced. They were protected by forests and mountains. They often desolated the dominions of the Moghul, harassed his subjects, hindered trade, and plundered caravans. Fortunately they were at constant feud with each other; whereas, could they have united in one national uprising, they might possibly have contended successfully against a sovereign like Shah Jehan.

Shah Jehan carried out two great works which have served to perpetuate his name. He built the famous Taj Mahal at Agra. He also founded the present city of Delhi, which to this day is known to Muhammadans by the name of Shah Jehanabad, or "the city of Shah Jehan."

The Taj Mahal is a mausoleum of white marble; a lofty dome supported by four arches. Seen from the outside, the structure is of plain but dazzling whiteness. Inside the walls are inlaid with precious stones of various colors, representing birds and flowers. The marble gates are exquisitely perforated so as to resemble lace. The structure is built in the midst of gardens and terraces, while round about are lofty pavilions with galleries and arched ways. The whole must

have cost millions sterling. Twenty thousand men are said to have labored at it for twenty years.

This mausoleum was built in honor of Shah Jehan's first and favorite wife Mumtaz Mahal, the daughter of Asof Khan, and niece of Nur Mahal. The spirit of the place is feminine. There is nothing stately or masculine in the buildings; nothing to recall the architecture of Greece or Rome. It is lovely beyond description, but the loveliness is feminine. It is not the tomb of a wife, but the shrine of a mistress. It awakens ideas of fair-complexioned beauty; the soul is dead, but the form, the charm, the grace of beauty are lingering there. The walls are like muslin dresses, radiant with flowers and jewels. The perforated marble gates are like the lace veils of a bride.

Shah Jehan never lived at Delhi; he made Agra his capital, but sometimes spent the hot months in the cool climate of Kashmir. The new city and palace of Delhi are therefore chiefly associated with the reigns of his successors. But he constructed a peacock of gold and jewels over the imperial throne at Delhi that has been accounted one of the wonders of the world. Some have attempted to estimate its value. But the historical importance of the peacock lies in the fact that it proves Shah Jehan to have been at heart a Moghul and an idolater, and anything but a Muhammadan. The peacock was an emblem of the sun; and Chenghiz Khan and the Rana of Udaipur claimed alike to be the children of the sun. The image of a peacock was opposed to the direct injunctions of the Koran; but the peacock was the ensign of the old Maharajas of Vijayanagar, and to this day it is the ensign of the Moghul kings of Burma.

Shah Jehan carried on several wars on the frontier, but they are of small importance. On the northwest, Kabul was a bone of contention with the Uzbegs. Further south, Kandahar was a bone of contention with Persia.

The history of the reign of Shah Jehan is little better than a narrative of zenana influences and intrigues. Every governor of a province was expected to send not only a fixed

yearly sum as the Padishah's share of the revenue, but costly presents to Shah Jehan and the favorite queens. No governor could expect to keep his province except by presents, which were nothing but bribes; and such bribes, if liberally bestowed, would often cover or excuse tyranny and oppression, and secure promotion and titles of honor for the lavish donor.

The crowning event of the reign was the fratricidal war between the four sons of Shah Jehan for the succession to the throne. Each of these four sons had a distinctive character; their names were Dara, Shuja, Aurangzeb, and Murad. Dara, the eldest, resided with the court at Agra; Shuja was Viceroy of Bengal, Aurangzeb was Viceroy of the Moghul Dekhan, and Murad was Viceroy of Guzerat. Dara was attached to Europeans, and inclined to Christianity, but he treated the Rajput princes with arrogance and scorn. Shuja was a Shiah, and friendly toward the Rajput princes. Aurangzeb was a strict Sunni, and Murad professed to be a Sunni like Aurangzeb.

The old antagonism between Sunni and Shiah was about to break out in India. The original quarrel between the two hostile camps lies in a nutshell. The Sunnis say that the four Khalifs, who reigned in succession after the death of Muhammad, are the rightful successors of the prophet by virtue of their being elected by the congregation at Medina. The Shiahs declare that the three first Khalifs—Abubakr, Omar, and Othman—are usurpers; that Ali, the fourth Khalif, is the only rightful successor of Muhammad by virtue of his kinship with the prophet; Ali being the husband of Fatima, the prophet's daughter, and the father of Hasan and Husain, the prophet's grandsons. To this day the disputants are cursing and reviling each other, and often resort to fisticuffs, cudgels, and swords, in the vague hope of settling the controversy by force of arms.

But there is something more in the controversy than meets the eye. The Sunni is a puritan of a democratic type, who hates idolaters and unbelievers of every kind,

and allows but little speculation in matters of religion. The Shiah, on the other hand, believes in a kind of apostolic succession, and speculates as to how far Muhammad and his son-in-law Ali, and his grandsons Hasan and Husain, are emanations of the godhead; and he is certainly neither as puritanical nor as intolerant as the strict Sunni.

The early Padishahs were lusty men, sensual and jovial. Aurangzeb was a lean spare fanatic, abstaining from wine and flesh meat, and living only on fruit and vegetables. His face was pale and livid; his eyes were bright and piercing, but sunk in his head. At one time he is said to have lived as a fakir in the company of fakirs. He always carried a Koran under his arm, prayed often in public, and expressed a great zeal for Muhammad and the law.

Aurangzeb, as already said, was Viceroy of the Moghul Dekhan. He had resided many years in the province, and founded the city of Aurangabad, which was called after his name. He hated the Shiah Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda, and was anxious to annex their kingdoms to the empire of the Moghul. He formed a close alliance with Amir Jumla, a rebel minister of Golkonda, and projected the conquest of the two kingdoms; but his projects were thwarted by Dara, and were suddenly brought to a close by reports that Shah Jehan was dying, followed up by rumors that he was dead.

The whole empire was in a ferment. It was known on all sides that the four brothers would engage in a bloody contest for the throne; and every Amir and Raja was weighing the character and prospects of each of the four. Dara was the eldest son, and was on the spot to assert his rights; but he had alienated the Rajputs by his insolence; he was disliked by the Muhammadans as a heretic; and he was especially hated by the Sunnis as an infidel and unbeliever. Shuja, as a Shiah, could rely on the support of the Rajputs, and on the help of all those nominal Muhammadans who were followers of the Koran from family associations, but detested the puritanism and fanaticism of the

Sunnis. Aurangzeb, on the other hand, was a strict Sunni, and relied on the support of all sincere Muhammadans, who mourned over the decay of religion and morals, and yearned after a thorough reformation. His main difficulty was to reconcile his ambitious schemes with his religious views. But craft and fanaticism removed every difficulty, and enabled him to perpetrate the most atrocious crimes out of professed zeal for the prophet and his law.

Shuja, Viceroy of Bengal, was the first to take the field and march an army toward Agra. An imperial force was sent against him, consisting of a Muhammadan army under Sulaiman, the eldest son of Dara, and a Rajput army under the command of Jai Singh, Raja of Jaipur.¹ Jai Singh had no desire to act against Shuja. He hated Dara, who had grievously insulted him by calling him a musician.² He assured Shuja that Shah Jehan was still alive, and tried to persuade him to return to Bengal. But Shuja was self-willed, and a battle was the result; but though Shuja was defeated, Jai Singh hung back from a pursuit. Shuja retired with the wreck of his army into Bengal; and the imperial forces saved appearances by following slowly behind.

Meanwhile Aurangzeb was playing an artful game. He knew that his younger brother Murad had begun to march an army from Guzerat toward Agra. He wrote to Murad proposing that they should make common cause against Dara. All that he wanted, he said, was to prevent an infidel like Dara, or a heretic like Shuja, from succeeding to the throne of Hindustan. He was satisfied that Murad was an orthodox Sunni, and he would gladly help Murad to win the throne; and then he himself would retire from the cares and business of the world, and devote his remaining years to penitence and prayer at the prophet's tomb.

Murad was overjoyed at the proposal. The two armies

¹ Jai Singh, Raja of Jaipur (Jeypore), is famous in the after history. So also is Jaswant Singh, Raja of Marwa (Jodhpur).

² To call a man a musician is a grave offence in Oriental ears. To call a woman a dancing-girl is an equally opprobrious epithet.

were soon united, and marching through Rajputana toward Agra. Aurangzeb continued to observe a studied subservience to his younger brother. He treated Murad as the Padishah, took his orders as regards the movements of the army, and even prostrated himself before him. Murad was completely gulled. He was anything but a fervent Muhammadan, and certainly had none of the fanaticism of Aurangzeb. He professed himself a Sunni for political purposes; and he rejoiced at the blind zeal which had driven Aurangzeb to help him to the throne.

Dara was a doomed man from the beginning of the war. He sent an imperial force against the two brothers. The Rajput army was commanded by Jaswant Singh of Marwar; and this Raja was stanch to the imperial cause, for he had married a daughter of Shah Jehan by a Rajput wife. The Muhammadan army was commanded by a general who had been insulted by Dara and was burning for revenge. A battle was fought near Ujain (Oojein), but the Muhammadans would not fire a gun, partly through the treachery of their general, and possibly out of respect for the vaunted piety of Aurangzeb. The whole brunt of the battle fell upon the Rajputs, and they were cut to pieces. The Raja of Marwar fled with a handful of followers to the city of Jodhpur, only to encounter the fury of his Rani. The princess, though a daughter of Shah Jehan, had Rajput blood in her veins. She cried out, with the spirit of a Spartan, that the Raja ought to have conquered Aurangzeb or perished on the field of battle. She threatened to burn herself on the funeral pile, since her husband was dead to shame; and she only relented on his making a solemn vow to be revenged on Aurangzeb.

Dara was frantic at the defeat. He sent expresses calling up Sulaiman from Bengal, but Jai Singh persuaded Sulaiman to remain where he was. He raised an immense army of raw levies; and refusing to wait any longer, he led it against his two brothers. The Rajputs in Dara's army were stanch, but the commander of the Muhammadans was burning to be

revenged on Shah Jehan; for like other grandees, his wife had been dishonored by the Padishah. A battle was fought on the banks of the Chambal river. The Rajput leader was slain, and his men fled in a panic. The Muhammadan troops were persuaded by the wrathful husband that Dara was also slain, and they fled in like manner. Dara saw that all was lost, and galloped off to Agra with a handful of followers; but he dared not remain there, and made his way to the Punjab. He hoped to escape to Persia, as Humayun had done more than a century before.

The victorious army of Aurangzeb and Murad marched on to Agra, and shut up Shah Jehan in his own palace. There was not an Amir or a Raja to strike a blow in defence of the old Padishah, or interfere in his behalf. All were thunderstruck at the revolution, and paralyzed with fear. Shah Jehan tried to inveigle Aurangzeb into a private interview; but the latter was warned that he would be murdered by the Tartar women who formed the bodyguard to the Padishah, and was thus able to avoid the snare.¹

Aurangzeb next feigned to prepare for the coronation of Murad. Suddenly it was noised abroad that Murad had been found by his brother in a state of intoxication, had been declared unfit to reign, and had been sent as a state prisoner for life to the fortress of Gwalior. Meanwhile Aurangzeb was proclaimed Padishah amid the acclamations of his soldiers. The whole affair is a Moghul mystery. It is said that Murad was tempted to excess by Aurangzeb himself, and the circumstances confirm the suspicion. Murad was not likely to have indulged in wine, much less to have fallen into a state of intoxication, in the company of his strict brother, without some peculiar temptation. Again, though a zealous Muhammadan might maintain that a drunkard was unfit to reign, yet the fact that Aurangzeb made his

¹ An imperial bodyguard of Tartar women is an ancient institution in India. Megasthenes tells us that Sandrokottos had such a bodyguard; and Raja Dashyanta appears with the same kind of bodyguard in the drama of Sakuntala.

brother's drunkenness a plea for seizing the throne will excite suspicions until the end of time.

The conclusion of the fratricidal war may be briefly told. The fortunes of the contending brothers really depended upon the two Rajput Rajas, Jai Singh and Jaswant Singh; and both were won over for the time by the cajoleries of Aurangzeb, who forgot his religious scruples while seeking the support of Hindu idolaters. In the end Shuja was defeated by Amir Jumla, the staunch ally of Aurangzeb; and was forced to fly with his family and treasures to Arakan, where he is supposed to have perished miserably. Dara was encouraged by Jaswant Singh to hazard another battle, but was abandoned by the Raja, and ruined by the disaffection of his own officers, who were all in collusion with Aurangzeb. Again he fled toward Persia, but was betrayed by an Afghan, and sent in fetters to Delhi; and there he was murdered by hired assassins in the pay of Aurangzeb. His son Sulaiman escaped to Kashmir, but was betrayed by the Raja of Kashmir, and spent the remainder of his days as a state prisoner in the fortress of Gwalior. Shah Jehan was imprisoned for life in his own palace at Agra. Aurangzeb, who had made religion a stepping-stone to the throne, had overcome his brethren mainly by the support of two heathen Rajas. He was installed as Padishah in the city of Delhi, and was accepted as sovereign by the people of Hindustan.

CHAPTER VI

MOGHUL EMPIRE—AURANGZEB

A.D. 1658 TO 1707

AURANGZEB had gained the empire of Hindustan, but he was oppressed by fears and worn by anxieties. He may have felt but little remorse at the fate of his brethren; but he was in constant alarm lest his father Shah Jehan should escape from Agra, or his brother Shuja should turn up in Hindustan. The Sherif of Mecca refused to receive his envoys, although they brought him money presents; he told the pilgrims at Mecca that he knew of no sovereign of Hindustan excepting Shah Jehan.

Meanwhile Aurangzeb was obliged to dissemble his religious views; to trim between Muhammadans and Hindus. He tried to conciliate strict Muhammadans by enforcing the law against wine, by prohibiting music and singing, and by banishing dancing-girls. He is said to have conciliated the Rajas by magnificent feasts, at which he offered up prayers in the presence of a burning brazier,¹ as if he were performing sacrifices. But he could not, or would not, conciliate Shiah. He issued an edict compelling them to cut the long mustaches which they wore in memory of the prophet Ali; and he deprived many Persian Shiah of the lands which had been specially granted to their families by the tolerant Akbar.

Aurangzeb was not an amiable man. On the contrary,

¹ Hindus say their prayers, and read the sacred books, in the presence of a lamp or fire as a representative of deity. Sir William Jones was much censured in bygone days because he yielded to the prejudice of his Brahman pundits, and burned a lamp while studying the laws of Manu.

he was sour, reserved, and resentful, and seemed to delight in wounding the feelings of others. Although he was more than forty years of age, he cherished a grudge against his old tutor, and was mean enough to resent it by stopping his pension. The tutor thought there must be some mistake, and went to Delhi and secured a public audience with the Padishah in the Durbar hall. He expected to be treated with some show of warmth; but to his utter surprise Aurangzeb delivered a long tirade on the poorness of his education. "This tutor," said the Padishah, "taught me the Koran, and wearied me with the rules of Arabic grammar; but he told me nothing at all of foreign countries. I learned nothing of the Ottoman empire in Africa, nor of the Tartar empire in China. I was made to believe that Holland was a great empire, and that England was larger than France. Meanwhile I was taught nothing of the arts of government and war, and but very little of the towns and provinces of Hindustan."

The set speech of Aurangzeb was promulgated throughout the empire and lauded to the skies by all the parasites and courtiers; but wiser men saw the malignity which dictated it. The tutor had probably taught Aurangzeb all he knew, and certainly could not have been expected to teach him the arts of government and war. What became of the tutor is unknown.

For some years Aurangzeb made Delhi his capital. This city stood about a hundred miles to the north of Agra, where Shah Jehan was kept prisoner. It presented an imposing appearance in those days, but in reality was little better than a camp. When the court was at Delhi the city was crowded with people; but when the court removed to Kashmir or elsewhere, the city was nearly empty. Only a few houses in all Delhi were built of stone or brick; many were built of clay and whitened with lime; but the greater number were mere hovels of mud and straw; and when the court and army went into camp these huts were left to crumble to pieces beneath the sun and rain.

The city, properly so called, consisted of one broad street, lined with shops and arcades, which was known as the Chandni Chouk. There was also another broad street, without shops, where the grandees dwelt in their several mansions. These streets were intersected by long narrow lanes, peopled with the miscellaneous multitude of soldiers, servants, followers, artisans, bazar dealers, coolies, and all the strange varieties of human beings that make up an Indian capital.

The city of Delhi was separated from the palace by a great square; and when the Padishah was at Delhi this square was a vast bazar, the centre of city life, its gossip, and its news. Here the Rajputs mounted guard before the entrance gate of the palace. Here horses and elephants of the Padishah were paraded and mustered. Here the unfortunate Dara was conducted with every mark of contumely before he was doomed to death, in order that the people of Delhi might know that he was captured, and might not be seduced afterward by any impostor who assumed his name. Here wares of every kind were exposed for sale; mountebanks and jugglers performed before idle multitudes; and astrologers calculated fortunate and unfortunate days and hours.

Astrologers were an institution at Delhi, as indeed they are in most Oriental cities. Every grandee kept an astrologer, and treated him with the respect due to an eminent doctor. But there was always a number of poor impostors sitting in the bazar ready to tell the fortune of any man or woman for a penny. They sat cross-legged on pieces of carpet, and handled mathematical instruments, turned over the leaves of a large book which showed the signs of the zodiac, and then feigned to calculate a fortunate time for beginning any business or journey. Women, especially, covered themselves from head to foot in white calico, and flocked to the astrologers, whispering the secrets of their lives with the frankness of penitents at confession. Bernier describes one ridiculous pretender, a Portuguese half-caste, whose only

instrument was a mariner's compass, and whose astrological lore consisted of two old Catholic prayer-books, with pictures of the Apostles, which he passed off for European zodiacal signs.

The palace at Delhi was on the same plan as all the Moghul palaces. In front, within the entrance gate, were streets of shops and public offices. There also were quarters for the Amirs, who mounted guard in turns within the palace;¹ the arsenals for arms and accoutrements; and the workshops for all the artisans employed by the ladies of the zenana—embroiderers, goldsmiths, painters, tailors, shoemakers, and dressmakers.

At the inner end of the palace streets was the Durbar court, which was surrounded by arcades, and enclosed the hall of audience, and other pavilions. Beyond the Durbar court was the zenana and gardens. At the extremity of the gardens was the Jharokha window, looking out on an open plain which stretched to the river Jumna. This was the plain where the multitude assembled every morning to salam the Padishah; while later in the day animal fights and other performances were carried on beneath the window for the amusement of the Padishah and his ladies.

Shortly after the accession of Aurangzeb, his attention was drawn to the state of affairs in the Dekhan. The northern Dekhan was Moghul territory; further south were the two Muhammadan kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda. The western region near the sea, known as the mountains of the Konkan, had never been conquered by the Muhammadans, and was still held by the Hindus in a state of rude independence. The consequence was that the territories of the Moghul and those of the Sultan of Bijapur were alike harassed by a lawless chief of the Konkan, known as Sivaji the Mahratta. This man appeared in the twofold character of a rebel against

¹ Muhammadan Amirs mounted guard within the palace gates; Rajput Rajas mounted guard in the public square outside. The reason for this was that the Rajput Rajas were always suspicious of treachery, and would not enter gates or walls unless accompanied by the whole of their retainers.

the Sultan of Bijapur, and a freebooting Esau whose hand was against every man.

The mountains of the Konkan, the cradle of Sivaji, form the northern section of the Western Ghats.¹ They stretch southward from Surat, past Bombay toward the neighborhood of Goa. The political geography of the Konkan thus bore a close resemblance to that of Wales; and the chiefs or Rajas of the Konkan maintained a rude independence in these mountains, like that which was maintained by the Welsh princes against the early English kings.

The father of Sivaji was a vassal of the Sultan of Bijapur; as such he held the two fortresses of Joonere and Poona, about seventy miles to the eastward of Bombay. The region encloses fertile valleys, but otherwise might be described as a land of precipices and jungles. For an unknown period it had been the home of chieftains who were sometimes vassals of the Sultan of Bijapur and sometimes rebels against his suzerainty.

Sivaji was born at Joonere in 1627, and bred in the mountains between Joonere and Poona. While yet a child, his father had gone away south into the Mysore country; nominally to conquer territory for the Sultan, but practically to carve out a Raj for himself among the dismembered provinces of the Vijayanagar empire. Meanwhile Sivaji grew up to be a rebel and a freebooter. He was a short tawny mountaineer, with long arms, quick eyes, and a lithe and active frame. He was a rude uncultivated Hindu, cunning and crafty beyond his fellows, and fertile in artful devices and disguises. He boasted of a Rajput origin; was a constant worshipper of Siva and Bhowani;² and was especially imbued with a superstitious reverence for Brahmans. But in one way the tinge of Rajput blood showed itself. Sivaji always treated women with respect, and never insulted the religion of his Muhammadan enemies.

¹ The western coast of India, as already stated, was divided into three sections—Konkan, Kanara, and Malabar.

² Bhowani was a form of the goddess Durga, also known as Parvati and Kali, who was supposed to be the wife of Siva.

Sivaji was born with a genius for sovereignty. He was endowed with that mysterious instinct which enables some ignorant barbarian to convert shepherds or cultivators into soldiers, and drill them into submission and obedience. He succeeded in forming the mountaineers of the Konkan into loose but organized armies of horsemen; levying plunder and blackmail on a regular system; devastating the plains during the dry season, but returning at the beginning of the rains to their natural fortresses in the hills.

Long before Aurangzeb obtained the throne, and when he was simply Viceroy of the Moghul Dekhan, he heard of the exploits of Sivaji. Indeed the Mahratta performed a feat at this period, a deed of treachery and audacity, which rendered him notorious far and wide. The Sultan of Bijapur sent a general against Sivaji at the head of a large army. Sivaji feigned to be in great trepidation, and tendered the most humble offers of service. He inveigled the Muhammadan general into a private meeting, without followers on either side, at which he was to do homage as a faithful feudatory of Bijapur and take the commands of the Sultan.¹ Sivaji went to the appointed spot with a secret weapon concealed in his hand; a treacherous and murderous contrivance which reveals the savage instincts of the Mahratta. It consisted of steel blades curled at the points to resemble claws; and the whole was fastened to the fingers with rings, and known as tiger's claws.

The Muhammadan general approached the Hindu with dignified satisfaction. Before he left Bijapur he had boasted that he would bring the Mahratta rebel from his lair, and cast him in chains at the foot of the throne. Sivaji fell at his feet like an abject suppliant. The Muhammadan told him to rise, and he obeyed with every show of humiliation and submission. At this moment, when the Muhammadan was off his guard, the Mahratta rushed at him like a tiger,

¹ According to some stories, both Sivaji and the Muhammadan general were each accompanied by a few followers.

tore him down with the horrible claws, and killed him on the spot.

It is difficult to describe the turmoil which followed. The surrounding jungle seems to have been alive with Mahrattas. The Bijapur army discovered that their general was dead, and fled in all directions, while the Mahrattas plundered the camp and slaughtered the flying soldiery.

This exploit seems to have been after Aurangzeb's own heart. It reached his ears at a time when he was planning the conquest of Bijapur, and brooding over the approaching struggle with his brothers for the throne of Hindustan. He saw that Sivaji might prove a useful ally in the coming wars, and that in the event of defeat or disaster the mountains of the Konkan might offer a secure asylum. Accordingly, he is said to have forgiven all the aggressions of Sivaji on Moghul territory; to have ceded him a certain border territory; and to have come to some sort of treaty or understanding with him. But the Mahratta alliance came to nothing. The fratricidal wars were brought to a close without any appeal to Sivaji. Aurangzeb ascended the throne of Hindustan, and for some years Sivaji was forgotten.

Meanwhile Sivaji was engaged in aggressions on Bijapur. The government of Bijapur was weakened by domestic troubles, and anxious to make peace with the refractory Mahratta. At last there appears to have been some kind of understanding or compromise. Sivaji was to abstain from all further depredations on Bijapur, and in return was to be left in possession of certain territories and fortresses.

But it was impossible for a restless spirit like Sivaji to settle down to a quiet life. Having come to terms with Bijapur he began to harass the territories of the Moghul. He worked so much mischief as to attract the attention of Aurangzeb, and at last the Padishah took effectual measures for stopping all further depredations.

Aurangzeb appointed his uncle, Shaista Khan, to be Viceroy of the Moghul Dekhan. He sent his uncle with a large force to capture the fortresses of Sivaji and break up the

power of the Mahratta. Shaista Khan was accompanied by a Rajput army under Jaswant Singh, of Marwar. Aurangzeb had reason to be very suspicious of the Raja of Marwar. Jaswant Singh had married a daughter of Shah Jehan, and might form some plan for the liberation of his captive father-in-law. At any rate, it was considered more politic to employ Jaswant Singh in the Dekhan than to permit him to remain in Hindustan, where he might carry on secret plots and intrigues for the restoration of Shah Jehan to the throne.

In 1662 Shaista Khan captured the town and fortress of Poona, and made it his headquarters during the rains. One night Sivaji penetrated the Moghul camp and suddenly attacked the quarters of the Moghul general. Shaista Khan escaped with the loss of a finger; his eldest son was slaughtered on the spot. A Mahratta army suddenly fell upon the Moghul camp, and all was uproar and confusion. In the end Sivaji stole away with considerable booty.

Shaista Khan strongly suspected Jaswant Singh of being concerned in this disaster; and there is every reason to believe that there was a secret alliance between the Rajput and the Mahratta. If so, it was the first sign of that Hindu movement against Aurangzeb which forms a distinguished feature of the reign.

Sivaji was soon revenged on the Moghul for the invasion of Shaista Khan. The Moghul port of Surat was separated from Sivaji's territories in the Konkan by a tract of hill and jungle inhabited by Bhils, and other wild tribes, under the rule of some obscure Raja. Sivaji made an alliance with this Raja and marched a Mahratta army through the Bhil country. The town of Surat was taken by surprise. Most of the inhabitants fled into the country out of sheer terror of the Mahrattas. The Moghul governor of Surat made no resistance, but threw himself into the fortress, and sent out messengers for succor.

Meanwhile the Mahrattas plundered and burned the houses of Surat at their leisure. They attacked the English and Dutch factories, but both were fortified with can-

non; and the European merchants in both houses succeeded in beating off the brigands. The Mahrattas arrested all the inhabitants they could find in the streets or houses, and carried them off as prisoners to Sivaji, who remained in his tent outside the town. One Englishman named Smith was also taken prisoner. He saw Sivaji in his tent ordering heads and hands to be chopped off, whenever he suspected that the trembling wretches had hidden away their money or jewels in some secret hoard.

For years afterward the name of Sivaji was a terror to Surat. He often threatened to repeat the pillage, and forced large contributions from the inhabitants as the price of his forbearance. He called Surat his treasury. He annexed the intervening Bhil country on the plea that he could not trust the Bhil Raja with the key of his treasury.

About 1665, Shah Jehan died in the palace at Agra, not without suspicions of foul play.¹ Aurangzeb had been suffering from serious sickness, but after his father's death he was sufficiently recovered to proceed to Kashmir, where he recruited his health in the cool air of the mountains. At Kashmir he attempted to form a fleet which should rival the navies of European countries. Two ships were built by the help of an Italian, and were launched on the lake of Kashmir; but Aurangzeb found that it would be difficult to man them efficiently. No amount of teaching would impart the necessary quickness, nerve, and energy to his own subjects; and if he engaged the services of Europeans, they might sail away with his ships, and he might never see them again.

About the same time, Aurangzeb was threatened by the Shah of Persia. Shah Abbas the Second was a warlike prince, and was suspicious of Aurangzeb's journey to Kashmir. He thought it portended some design upon Kandahar, which at this time was Persian territory. Aurangzeb sent

¹ The question of whether Aurangzeb was implicated in the death of his father Shah Jehan is treated in the larger History of India, vol. iv. chap. vii.

an ambassador to the Shah, but the envoy was badly received, and publicly insulted. The Shah hated Aurangzeb for being a Sunni, and severely condemned him for his treatment of his father and brethren. He scoffed at the title which Aurangzeb had assumed of "Conqueror of the World"; and he threatened to march an army to Delhi. Aurangzeb was in the utmost alarm, when the news suddenly arrived that Shah Abbas had died of a quinsy brought on by excessive drinking.

Meantime Aurangzeb returned to Delhi. In 1666 he resolved to be avenged on Sivaji for the plunder of Surat, and he planned a scheme for entrapping the "mountain rat." He professed to be an admirer of Sivaji, and publicly praised his exploits. He declared that if the Mahratta would enter his service, he should be appointed Viceroy of the Moghul Dekhan. Jai Singh of Jaipur was induced to believe that Aurangzeb was sincere, and was empowered to make the offer to Sivaji; but he was required to leave his son at Delhi as a hostage for his good faith in dealing with the Mahratta.

Vanity is a weakness with Orientals. The pride of Sivaji was flattered with the offer of the Great Moghul. In the reign of Akbar, Rajput princes had been appointed Viceroys in Kabul and Bengal; and Sivaji may have asked himself—Why should not a Mahratta prince be appointed Viceroy of the Moghul Dekhan? It never crossed the mind of Sivaji that possibly he had been deceived; and he undertook the journey to Delhi in the utmost confidence that he would be appointed Viceroy of the Dekhan. But the suspicions of Jai Singh were awakened; he began to fear that Aurangzeb meditated some treachery; and, as he had pledged his faith to Sivaji, he wrote to his son at Delhi to look after the safety of the Mahratta.

When Sivaji reached Delhi, he soon discovered that he had been deluded. Instead of being praised and petted, he found himself neglected; and a long time elapsed before he was admitted to an audience. At last a day was fixed, and every one about the palace saw that unusual prepara-

tions were being made to astonish and overawe the Mahratta. Aurangzeb usually appeared in Durbar in white attire, decorated with a single jewel; and on such occasions he took his seat upon an ordinary throne.¹ But on the day that Sivaji was to be introduced to his notice, the Padishah entered the hall in a blaze of jewels, and took his seat on the peacock throne of Shah Jehan.

The Amirs and Rajas were railed off as usual in three compartments on three platforms, according to grades. The highest was of gold, the second of silver, and the third of marble.² Sivaji was admitted within the golden rail, but directed to take the lowest place on the platform. He saw that he was refused the rank of a Viceroy of the Dekhan, and could not contain his wrath and indignation. In spite of the pomp and ceremonial of the Durbar hall, and the barbaric pearls and gold of the Great Moghul, he loudly charged the Padishah with breach of faith, called the grandees above him cowards and women, and then left the platform and stalked out of the palace.

Every looker-on was expecting that Sivaji would be arrested and beheaded on the spot; but Aurangzeb listened to his tirade with perfect tranquillity; and nothing was to be seen upon his countenance except a malignant smile that played upon his lips when the Mahratta charged the grandees with cowardice. He sent one of his ministers to tell the wrathful prince that new-comers were never placed in the front row; that he had not as yet been invested with the insignia of Viceroy of the Dekhan; and that the investiture would follow in due course, after which he would take the rank of his appointment.

Sivaji feigned to be satisfied, but his eyes were opened to a new peril: he found himself a prisoner; a guard was

¹ It is reasonable to suppose that Aurangzeb had religious scruples as to sitting on the peacock throne, seeing that such a figure savored of idolatry, and was a violation of the injunctions of the Koran.

² It is doubtful whether the platforms were of gold, silver, and marble, or only the rails. In Jehangir's time the distinction turned on the color of the rails, the highest grade in the empire being enclosed by a red rail.

placed over his tent under pretence of protecting him against the offended grandees. At this very time it happened that the son of Jai Singh was mounting guard before the palace, and he discovered enough to warn the Mahratta that there was a plot to murder him. Sivaji had ample grounds for believing that it would be dangerous to remain longer at Delhi. What followed is involved in some mystery. According to the current story, Sivaji was carried outside the city walls in an empty fruit basket, and then made his way to Benares, disguised as a religious mendicant. All that is known for certain is, that after many months he reached the Konkan in safety. In September, 1666, the English merchants in India wrote home to the Directors of the East India Company, that if Sivaji had really escaped, Aurangzeb would soon know it to his sorrow.

It has always been a matter of surprise why Aurangzeb did not put Sivaji to death, without all this plotting and scheming. In plain truth he was afraid of an insurrection of the Rajas. Other Hindu princes, besides Jai Singh, had become sureties for the performance of Aurangzeb's promises. It was on this account that Aurangzeb assumed an unruffled demeanor in the Durbar hall, and plotted in secret for the assassination of Sivaji without exciting the suspicions of the Rajas. Fortunately his designs were discovered by the son of Jai Singh, and Sivaji escaped the trap which had been prepared at Delhi.

Aurangzeb afterward sent an imperial force of Muhammadans and Rajputs against Sivaji. The Muhammadan army was under the command of his eldest son, Shah Alam. This prince was destined to play a part in history. His mother was a Rajput princess, whom Aurangzeb had married when very young. The Rajput army was commanded by Jai Singh of Jaipur.

Aurangzeb gave his son Shah Alam secret instructions to feign a rebellion. The object was to discover what officers in the imperial army were disaffected toward the Padishah, and to induce Sivaji to join the pretended rebels, when he

would be captured and beheaded. The result showed that all the officers, excepting one, were disaffected toward Aurangzeb, and ready to support the rebellion of Shah Alam. Jai Singh and the Rajputs were especially enthusiastic in favor of Shah Alam, for they all hated Aurangzeb as a bigoted Sunni, and were anxious to place the son of a Rajput mother on the throne of Hindustan.

Sivaji, however, was not to be ensnared a second time. His adventures at Delhi had taught him to be preternaturally suspicious of Aurangzeb. He professed to throw himself heart and soul into the cause of Shah Alam, but nothing would induce him to join the rebels. He told Shah Alam to go on and win the throne of Hindustan; he himself would remain behind and maintain the prince's cause in the Dekhan; and in the event of a failure he would keep an asylum open in the Konkan to the prince and his followers.

When Shah Alam saw that nothing would move the Mahratta from his purpose, he brought the sham rebellion to a close. Another imperial army appeared upon the scene to protect Shah Alam against the wrath of the officers whom he had deceived. The rebels saw that they had been deluded by Shah Alam; they saw moreover that they had been separated from each other, and that there was no way of escape. All the disaffected soldiers were drafted off to different provinces to serve under other generals. All the rebel generals were put to death or sent into exile. For some years the Rajas of Jaipur and Marwar disappear from history; but the Rana of Udaipur still maintained his independence in his secluded territories as in days of old.

But Aurangzeb had effected another object, which reveals the political craft of the Moghul. From the reign of Akbar downward, the empire had been exposed to rebellion on the part of the eldest son of the Padishah. But the cunning of Aurangzeb had rendered such a rebellion impossible for the future. Henceforth Shah Alam found it impossible to revolt; neither Muhammadan nor Rajput would trust him after his consummate treachery. Indeed, such was the

general fear and universal distrust, that the chances of a successful rebellion were less during the remainder of the reign of Aurangzeb than at any former period in the history of Moghul India.

In 1668 an edict was issued forbidding any one to write the history of the reign of Aurangzeb. The reason for this extraordinary prohibition has never been explained. Almost every Moghul sovereign has been anxious that his memoirs should be written and preserved to posterity; and Timur, Baber, and Jehangir have left memoirs of their lives, ostensibly written by themselves. Possibly Aurangzeb was afraid lest current suspicions of his being implicated in the death of his father would be recorded in the popular histories of his reign. The consequence has been that the reign of Aurangzeb has hitherto been little known to history. The present narrative is based on the contemporary memoirs of Manouchi the Venetian, and a history written from memory many years afterward by a Muhammadan named Khafi Khan.¹

For some years the attention of Aurangzeb was drawn away from the Dekhan by the troubled state of the north-west frontier. The outlying province of Kabul was included in the Moghul empire, but was only nominally under Moghul rule. The Viceroy lived at Peshawar, and rarely, if ever, attempted to go further. About 1666 a Moghul army was collected on the frontier to oppose the Persian invasion; and when all danger was removed by the death of Shah Abbas, the Viceroy of Kabul led the army through the Khaibar Pass and entered the Kabul plain. No enemy was encountered, and want of supplies soon compelled the Moghul governor to retire toward Peshawar by the way he came. On re-entering the Khaibar Pass, the whole force was surrounded by Afghans, and literally cut to pieces. The Moghul governor escaped to Peshawar in the guise of an Afghan, but with the loss of all his troops and treasure.

¹ For particulars respecting these authorities, see the larger History of India, vol. iv. part ii.

In 1672 there was a mysterious outbreak in Kabul. Shuja, the second brother of Aurangzeb, was supposed to have perished in Arakan some twelve years before. This year, however, a man appeared in Kabul, and declared himself to be the missing Shuja; and the Afghans accepted him as their Padishah. To this day it is impossible to say whether the man was, or was not, Shuja. It is certain, however, that the Viceroy at Peshawar believed him to be the real Shuja, and refused to interfere between Aurangzeb and his brother.

The revolt in Kabul created the utmost alarm at Delhi. Aurangzeb took the field in person, and for the space of two years carried on operations against the Afghans, but effected nothing decisive. The Moghul army was still harassed by the Afghans, and Shuja was still secure in the recesses of the mountains.

At last treachery was tried. Aurangzeb returned to Delhi, and a new Viceroy was sent to Peshawar. A policy of conciliation was adopted. The new Viceroy began to ingratiate himself with the Afghan chiefs, treated them as his friends, abolished imposts, and attended Afghan feasts without armed followers. At last he gave a grand entertainment at Peshawar to celebrate the circumcision of his eldest son. All the Afghan chiefs were invited, and a large number attended without fear or suspicion. There were horse-races, animal combats, wrestlings, and exhibitions of all kinds. The whole wound up with a banquet in a tented pavilion set up in the public square. In the midst of the banquet the Viceroy left the pavilion under pretence of having cut his hand. Immediately afterward volleys of musketry were poured into the pavilion from the surrounding houses. The air was filled with cries of treachery and murder. There was no way of escape for the frightened guests, for all the avenues were guarded with armed men. How many were slaughtered, how many escaped, can never be told. The massacre spread weeping and wailing throughout Kabul. The Afghan nation was paralyzed with terror and sorrow.

The man calling himself Shuja fled away from the scene and was heard of no more.

Meanwhile Sivaji the Mahratta was renewing his depredations in the Dekhan. All treaties or agreements were violated or ignored. He ravaged alike the territories of the Sultan of Bijapur and those of the Moghul. He organized a regular system of blackmail, known for more than a century afterward as the Mahratta chout. It amounted to a fourth part of the revenue of the land. So long as the chout was paid, the Mahrattas abstained from all robberies and devastations; but if the chout was withheld, the Mahrattas pillaged the country as before.

The career of Sivaji at this period reveals the continued decay of the Muhammadan powers in India. The Sultan of Bijapur was compelled to recognize Sivaji as the independent sovereign of the Konkan; and in 1674 Sivaji was installed as Maharaja with great pomp and ceremony, which have been duly described by English ambassadors from Bombay who were present on the occasion.

In 1677 Sivaji conducted an army of Mahratta horse in a southeasterly direction through the kingdom of Golkonda, and invaded the eastern Peninsula. On this occasion he passed the neighborhood of Madras, and was duly propitiated with cordials and medicines by the English merchants of Fort St. George. Ultimately he conquered a kingdom of an unknown extent in the country known as the Lower Carnatic, in the eastern Peninsula. This Mahratta empire in the Carnatic was represented down to modern times by the Raj of Tanjore.¹

Sivaji died about 1680, having maintained his independence

¹ The old empire of Karnata corresponded more or less to the Mysore country, the territory occupied by the Kanarese-speaking people. The area of the empire has often changed, while that of the language has remained the same. In the seventeenth century the empire had dwindled into a petty Raj, and then disappeared from history. The name, however, has been preserved to our own times. The whole of the Peninsula, or India south of the Kistna, has been divided between what is known in modern orthography as the Upper and Lower Carnatics; the Upper Carnatic comprising the western tableland, while the Lower Carnatic comprises the eastern plain.

till his death. During the last two or three years of his life, the Moghul army of the Dekhan operated against him under the command of Shah Alam, but nothing was done worthy of note. Sivaji occasionally made extensive raids with his Mahratta horse, and carried off convoys of treasures and supplies, and escaped back safely to his hill fortresses. The Moghul generals did not care to climb the Western Ghats, nor to penetrate the dangerous defiles; nor indeed did they want to bring the wars of the Dekhan to a close. So long as the wars lasted the Moghul commanders made large emoluments by keeping small forces in the field while drawing the pay for large numbers. At the same time they found no difficulty in squeezing presents and supplies out of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda, who were especially anxious to save their kingdoms from invasion by propitiating the officers of the Great Moghul.

About this period, and probably ever since the massacre of the Afghans at Peshawar, Aurangzeb had been bent upon realizing the great dream of his life—the destruction of idolatry throughout India, and the establishment of the religion of the Koran from the Indus to the Ganges, and from the Indian Ocean to the Bay of Bengal.

The policy of Aurangzeb was directly opposed to that of Akbar. Instead of raising the Rajput princes to rank and influence, he sought to degrade them. Instead of permitting the followers of other religions to worship God their own way, he sought to force them into becoming Muhammadans.

In the first instance Aurangzeb confined his operations to his own dominions. He began by destroying idols and pagodas within his own territories, and building up mosques in their room. He burned down a great pagoda near Delhi. He converted a magnificent temple at Mathura into a mosque. He drove religious mendicants of every idolatrous sect out of Hindustan. He ordered the Viceroys of provinces to carry on the same work throughout the empire, in Bengal and the Dekhan as well as in Hindustan. At the

same time he prohibited the celebration of Hindu festivals. He required all Hindu servants of the Moghul government to become Muhammadans under pain of losing their appointments. He imposed the Jezya, or poll-tax on infidels, on all of his subjects who refused to become Muhammadans. Even English and Dutch residents in India were subjected to the same obnoxious impost; but they seem to have escaped payment by tendering presents to the Viceroy of the province in which they had established their respective factories.

It is difficult to ascertain the nature and extent of the resistance which the Hindus offered to these innovations. It is certain that bands of fanatics more than once rose in rebellion. On one occasion there was a dangerous rising near Delhi, which threatened the destruction of Aurangzeb as the enemy of gods and Brahmans. But Hindu fanatics, however numerous, could not withstand the Moghuls. Mobs of Hindus crowded the streets of Delhi between the palace and the mosque, and clamored to Aurangzeb to abolish the Jezya; but they were trampled down and scattered by the elephants of the Padishah, and fled in terror and dismay. At last the Hindus seem to have submitted to their fate in sullen resignation. If the gods themselves could not prevent the destruction of idols and pagodas, why should their worshippers sacrifice their wives and families by refusing to pay Jezya?

Aurangzeb next attempted to introduce the same persecuting measures into Rajputana; and for a while he seemed to carry his point. Jai Singh of Jaipur was dead; he is said to have been poisoned after the sham rebellion of Shah Alam. There was no one to succeed him, for his eldest son was still kept as a hostage at Delhi. Accordingly Jaipur was compelled to submit, and the officers of the Moghul collected Jezya in Jaipur territory.

Marwar (Jodhpore) was at first prepared for resistance. Jaswant Singh was dead, but his widow, a daughter of Shah Jehan, refused to permit the collection of Jezya. The Moghuls threatened to invade Marwar, and the heart of the

princess failed her; and she compounded with Aurangzeb by ceding a frontier district in lieu of Jezya.

The Rana of Udaipur had been left alone for a number of years, and seems to have recovered strength. The demands of Aurangzeb fell upon him like a thunderbolt; indeed they were so arrogant that it was impossible he could comply. He was to allow cows to be slaughtered in his territories; pagodas to be demolished; justice to be administered according to the Koran; and the collection of Jezya from all his subjects who refused to become Muhammadans. Possibly the first three demands were only made in order to bully the Rana into permitting the collection of Jezya; as it was, all four were refused.

The military operations which followed are very suggestive. It was the old story of Moghuls against Greeks; the hordes of High Asia against the Hellas of India. The Rana and his subjects abandoned the plains and took refuge in the Aravulli mountains. Three armies of the Moghul encamped at three different points under the command of three sons of Aurangzeb—Shah Alam, Azam Shah, and Akbar. Not one, however, would venture to enter the dangerous defiles. Aurangzeb stayed at Ajmir with a small force awaiting the surrender of the Rana. In this manner the Moghul armies wasted their strength, energies, and resources before these natural fastnesses; and months and years passed away, while the submission of the Rana was as far off as ever.

At this juncture Aurangzeb was aroused by the tidings that his third son Akbar had broken out in rebellion, and was already on the march to Ajmir. The dowager Rani of Marwar was at the bottom of the mischief; she had repented of her compromise with the Moghul, and sent fifty thousand Rajputs to enable Akbar to rebel against his father. At first Aurangzeb could not believe the story; but the same news reached him from other quarters, and he was at his wits' end. At last he sent a forged letter addressed to Akbar; but the messenger was to allow himself to be taken prisoner,

and the letter was to fall into the hands of the general of the Rajputs in the rebel army.

The artifice was successful. The forged letter was captured and read by the Rajput general. It told him that Aurangzeb and Akbar were in collusion, and that their only object was to destroy the fifty thousand Rajputs. The Rajput general remembered the sham rebellion of Shah Alam, and naturally thought that Akbar was playing the same game. At night he deserted Akbar with the whole of the Rajput army, and hurried back with all haste to the city of Jodhpore. In the morning Akbar saw that all was lost, and fled for his life. After a variety of adventures he found a refuge in the Mahratta country.¹

Aurangzeb was thus compelled to abandon his religious wars in Rajputana, and to pursue Akbar into the Mahratta country, until, by force or craft, he could secure the person of his rebel son and place him in safe custody. The humiliation of Aurangzeb must have been extreme, but there was no remedy. The shame of the retreat from Rajputana was partly veiled by a report that the Rana had sued for terms; but there was no disguising the fact that the Rana had successfully held out against the Moghul; and that Aurangzeb was compelled to leave the Rajputs to worship their gods in peace, and to engage in other wars against the Mahrattas of the Konkan.

Aurangzeb concealed his disgrace from the public eye by a show of pomp and magnificence, which was remembered for generations afterward. The progress of the Moghul army from Hindustan to the Dekhan resembled that of the Persian army under Xerxes. The cavalcade moved in three divisions, and the order of march may be gathered from the following outline.

A body of pioneers walked in front with spades and hods to clear the way. Then followed a vanguard of cannon,

¹ The details of the Rajput war and Akbar's rebellion and flight are told at length in the larger History of India, vol. iv. part ii.

elephants loaded with treasures, carts laden with records and account books, camels carrying drinking water from the Ganges, provisions in abundance, cooks by hundreds, wardrobes of dresses and decorations, and large masses of horsemen.

The approach of the Padishah was heralded by the appearance of smoking caldrons of incense, which were carried on the backs of camels. Aurangzeb was next seen on an elephant, or on horseback, or in a rich palanquin. On either side were the imperial guards on horseback. After him came the ladies of the zenana on elephants with veiled howdahs. They were followed by flocks of other women and eunuchs on horseback, and numerous cannon drawn on wooden rafts.

The division in the rear comprised a motley host of infantry, camp-followers, sutlers, and servants, with spare horses, tents and baggage.

Aurangzeb continued in camp for the remainder of his reign. From the day of his retreat from Rajputana, about 1682, until the day of his death in 1707, a period of twenty-five years, he never returned to Delhi. He was warned by the fate of Shah Jehan never to leave his army and live in a city. He was warned by the rebellion of his son Akbar never to trust any of his sons with a force superior to his own. Henceforth he spent his days in camp, wandering to and fro like his Tartar ancestors in the steppes of Asia.

The details of the protracted wars of Aurangzeb would be distasteful to general readers. They furnish studies of character, but tell little of history, and still less of policy. Aurangzeb had a genius for treachery and intrigue; at the same time he had been zealous to root out all idolatry and establish the Koran as the religion of India. It is hard to reconcile such contradictions. Meanwhile none who knew him would trust his word. He tried to cajole Akbar by vows and promises; but the son refused to believe his father's oaths. The prince knew that if he surrendered himself to Aurangzeb he would be a prisoner for life, and perhaps

might be blinded or poisoned.¹ In the end he escaped to Persia, where he died and was forgotten.

Aurangzeb made no head against the Mahrattas. He was baffled by an enemy whose light horse scoured the open country for plunder, and then escaped to defiles and fastnesses where no one dared to follow them. Sivaji had been succeeded on the throne of the Konkan by a son named Sambhaji. After some years Sambhaji was betrayed to Aurangzeb, and put to a barbarous death. But peace was as far off as ever. The Moghuls could not conquer the Mahrattas, and would not comply with their demands for chout; and thus the Moghul army continued to carry on desultory wars throughout the remainder of the reign.

Between 1686 and 1689 Aurangzeb conquered the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda, and thereby converted their kingdoms into a Muhammadan province. The early Viceroys were called Nawabs and Subahdars, but later on were known as the Nizams of the Dekhan, having their capital at Hyderabad. The conquest is memorable, because it brought the Moghuls into the Peninsula, and into close relations with the English at Madras. Otherwise the acquisition effected no change in the Moghul empire.²

Aurangzeb was a very old man when he died in 1707, but there is some doubt as to his actual age. His life closed in weakness and disaster. His intolerance in matters of religion had brought the Moghul empire to the verge of ruin. Had he followed the policy of his ancestor Akbar, he might have extended his sovereignty over all the Hindu kingdoms of the Peninsula. But he had evoked a national spirit of resistance which he could not subdue; and when his years were ended, the Moghul suzerainty had lost its hold on Rajput and Mahratta.

¹ This had been the unhappy fate of an elder brother, who had been induced to go over to Shah Shuja at the beginning of the reign, and then had surrendered to Aurangzeb. He perished miserably in the fortress of Gwalior.

² Notices of the local history, so far as it affected the English at Madras, will be found set forth in the next chapter.

From a Muhammadan and Sunni point of view, Aurangzeb was a great and good sovereign. He was zealous for the religion of the prophet, and a devoted follower of the Koran. He had no political sympathies for the Hindus; on the contrary, he was violently hostile toward them; and after he was firmly established on the throne he was consistent in the pursuit of this policy. There is reason to believe that, before he engaged in the unhappy war in Rajputana, his administration was far superior to that of any of his predecessors, excepting possibly Akbar. He reserved to himself the sole right of passing capital sentences, and he took care that his orders were implicitly obeyed. Every day he received and studied the reports which he received from the Wakiahnawis, or court writers, as to what was going on in different parts of his dominions; and by these means he often acquired information which enabled him to check the corruption or oppression of the Viceroy of provinces.

One instance will suffice. Among other abuses a strange practice had grown up in preceding reigns of permitting Hindus to acquire religious merit by ransoming condemned criminals. On one occasion some Banians had offered large sums to the Nawab of Surat for the release of certain professed stranglers, known as Thugs. But the arrest of the Thugs had reached the ears of Aurangzeb, and his orders were paramount. The Thugs were condemned to be hanged in the jungle. The Banians accompanied them to the place of execution, and gave them tobacco and sweetmeats on the way. The hardened wretches knew their fate, but walked along as gayly as if going to a wedding. They were hung up by the left hand, their legs were cut off, and they were left to bleed to death in lingering agony.



WARREN HASTINGS

India, vol. one.

CHAPTER VII

MOGHUL EMPIRE—CIVILIZATION

A.D. 1600 TO 1720

THE history of the reigns of Moghul sovereigns throws but little light upon the condition of the people. It brings out the individuality of successive monarchs; it familiarizes the reader with court life in cities and camps; and it tells the story of intrigues, plots and treacheries. But it reveals little or nothing of the state of civilization which prevailed in India during the palmy days of Moghul rule.

This lack of information is calculated to convey false ideas as regards the happiness or otherwise of the people. The character of the administration is confounded with that of the reigning sovereign; and if the Padishah is self-willed, self-indulgent, and vicious, like Jehangir or Shah Jehan, the conclusion is drawn that the administration is equally selfish and tyrannical, and regardless of the welfare of the masses. But this inference would be fallacious. The Padishah was certainly a despot; his will was law; and his influence was great for good or evil. The local Viceroy, especially during the reigns of Jehangir and Shah Jehan, may have been corrupt and grasping to the last degree. But the Moghul administration was not the handiwork of individuals or generations; it was the growth of centuries, kneaded into shape by the experience of ages, hedged around by checks which are not always visible to the historian, and controlled by the latent force of custom, habit, and public opinion, to which the most despotic princes and governors are occasionally compelled to bow.

The first element of civilization is free and easy commu-

nication; and during the greater part of the seventeenth century this was by no means wanting in India. The roads and postal arrangements which prevailed throughout the Moghul empire, during the reigns of Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb, were quite as advanced, if not more so, than those of France during the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, or those of England under Oliver Cromwell and Charles the Second. Whether they were Moghul institutions of Tartar origin, or whether they were inherited from the great Hindu sovereigns of antiquity, such as Asoka or Siladitya, may be open to question; but the fact of the superiority of the means of communication throughout the Moghul empire in the seventeenth century remains the same.

The most famous road in India was that running from Lahore through Delhi to Agra, thus uniting the three great capitals of the Moghul empire. It was shaded with trees on either side, which are said to have been planted by every famous sovereign in turn—Moghul, Afghan, and Hindu. It was a continuation of the land route from Ispahan to Lahore, *via* Kandahar, Kabul, and Atok, which was open to merchants of all countries in the middle of the seventeenth century. Since then it has been closed against travellers generally, or at any rate against European travellers.

Agra was thus the centre of the road system in India. On the northwest it was connected with Delhi, Lahore, Kabul, and Ispahan. On the southeast it ran through Allahabad, Benares, Patna, and Dacca, and thus brought Agra into easy communication with Bihar and Bengal. On the south it was connected with the Dekhan by a road which ran to Golkonda, near the modern Hyderabad, *via* Burhanpur and Deoghur.

Surat, the Moghul port at the mouth of Tapti, was an emporium of trade, and another centre of the road system. It was connected with Agra by two lines of road; one running near the coast, *via* Baroche, Baroda, and western Rajputana; the other running more into the interior, *via* Burhanpur, Sironj, and Gwalior.

These lines of route were not metalled roads like those of modern times. They were little better than rough pathways, often running through jungles, or over rivers and mountains. They were often so uneven that wagons were only kept from overturning by two ropes thrown across each wagon, and held tight by two men walking on either side.

Natives generally travelled in a light coach with two seats, which was drawn by two oxen. Tavernier travelled in this way through the greater part of India. He carried his cloak, bag, mattress, and quilt on the spare seat; and a short supply of provisions and small vessel of wine in a box under the coach. Some travellers rode on oxen; but in that case it was necessary to see that their horns were not more than a foot long; for if the beast was stung by flies, he was apt to toss his horns back and gore the stomach of the rider.

But if the roads of Moghul India were as good as those of France and England, hotel accommodation was infinitely inferior. The excellence of English inns in the seventeenth century is duly extolled by Lord Macaulay. But in Moghul India there were no hotels properly so called; nothing but caravanserais and serais. Caravanserais were large commodious buildings constructed out of charity or ostentation, or for the protection of caravans against refractory Rajas. Here travellers found accommodation and shelter, but were obliged to procure all necessaries from the neighboring bazar. Serais were mere enclosures, in which some fifty or sixty huts of mud and straw were surrounded by a fence or wall. There were men and women at these places, who sold flour, rice, butter, and herbs; and they also made it their business to bake bread, and boil rice. If there happened to be a Muhammadan at a serai, he would go to a neighboring town and buy a piece of mutton or a fowl for a European traveller; but no flesh meat of any kind was procurable from the Hindus. The people who sold bread and boiled rice always cleansed a hut for the traveller to sleep in; and put in a little bedstead or charpoy, on which the traveller laid his mattress and quilt.

But travelling always had its inconveniences and dangers. In the hot weather the caravanserais were like ovens; in the winter nights they were often bitterly cold; while the smell of beasts and their drivers and the biting of ants and mosquitoes were often intolerable. Sometimes the traveller met a caravan of several thousands of oxen, carrying grain or salt; and if the way was narrow he might be detained two or three days until the whole caravan had passed. Sometimes there was scarcity of water or provisions. Sometimes it was necessary to travel during the night, and rest in the day time, on account of the heat. If the traveller halted in a fortified town, he had to be careful to leave it before sunset, or he might find the gates shut for the night, and be detained another day. The best way was to leave the city in the afternoon with the requisite supply of provisions, and rest under a tree, or some other shady spot, until it was cool enough to begin the journey. Again, there was always danger from wild beasts, such as tigers and panthers; and there was danger, especially in travelling through Rajputana or Central India, of being attacked by brigands and highwaymen of various degrees.

Every European traveller found it necessary to hire from twenty to thirty horsemen, who carried bows and arrows, or else swords and bucklers. But robberies in general were compounded for by the payment of blackmail or transit duty, at so much a head, or at so much a wagon. Sometimes there was a wrangle ending in bloodshed; but if the traveller kept his temper the difficulty could generally be arranged. The brigands were not as a rule professed thieves, but Rajput outlaws or rebels, so-called Rajas, who were content to mulct a traveller or a caravan, and then would escort the party in safety through their respective territories. Sometimes Aurangzeb attacked one or other of these petty Rajas, and slaughtered him and his subjects. At one place was to be seen a tower full of windows, and a bleeding head in every window, as trophies of one of these massacres.

There were, however, professional thieves, afterward known as Thugs, who infested Guzerat, and especially haunted the imperial highroad between Agra and Delhi. They went about disguised as peaceful travellers, and made acquaintance with those they found on the way, and beguiled the time with pleasant conversation, until they all rested under a shady tree. Suddenly, at a signal from the chief, every Thug threw his noose round the neck of his allotted victim, and strangled him, rifled him and buried him, with a rapidity which defied detection. Sometimes a handsome damsel, with dishevelled hair, appeared sitting at the wayside, weeping and moaning over her misfortunes. Compassion and admiration might tempt a traveller to speak to her, but if so he was doomed. She soon had the noose round his throat, and either strangled him on the spot, or stunned him until her comrades came up and finished the work of murder.

Native grandees travelled in rich palanquins, lined with silk or velvet, and covered with scarlet or cloth-of-gold. Sometimes they were accompanied by their wives and families, and attended by a large retinue of soldiers and servants, with led horses, elephants, and banners. Sometimes a Muhammadan dervish travelled in great state in like manner, surrounded by a crowd of disciples and followers.

Further south, outside the Moghul frontiers, a traveller might meet a famous Hindu saint or Guru, mounted on an elephant, or carried in a palanquin, surrounded by a host of religious mendicants. Sometimes a traveller met a pair of idols, male and female, going in grand procession on a pilgrimage to Ramisseram, or some other holy place, accompanied by Brahmans and dancing-girls, music, and banners, and a nondescript gathering of worshippers of both sexes and all ages.

Travelling among the Hindu kingdoms of the Peninsula was more difficult than in Moghul India. In the Peninsula there were no roads at all, and all travelling was performed in palanquins, not only in the seventeenth century,

but throughout the eighteenth, and during many years of the nineteenth. The palanquin-bearers of the Peninsula were generally strong men from the Telinga country, and they went at a faster rate than in any other part of India.

The carrying trade of India was monopolized by a hereditary caste of oxen-drivers, known as Manaris and Brinjarries. Their caravans are described by Tavernier as consisting sometimes of oxen, and sometimes of wagons. They were to be found in all parts of India, from Comorin to Surat and Agra. They were a nomad race, dwelling in tents with their wives and families, and going about with their oxen and cattle, whom they loved like their own children.

The Manaris were divided into four tribes, each comprising about a hundred thousand souls, and each distinguished from the other three by a particular caste mark on their foreheads. Each tribe was devoted to the carriage of one or other of the four chief commodities of India; namely, corn, rice, millet, and salt: it carried its own particular commodity to the place where it was most wanted, but never dealt with the other three articles, nor followed any other avocation whatever. A caravan of oxen consisted of several thousand of those animals loaded on the back with the same commodity. A caravan of wagons consisted of one or two hundred large carts, each drawn by ten or twelve oxen, and attended by four soldiers, as already stated, to prevent it from being overturned.

Every caravan had its own chief, who affected as much state as a Raja, and wore a necklace of pearls. If the caravan of corn met the caravan of salt, there were fierce quarrels as to who should give way, which often ended in tumult and bloodshed. Aurangzeb is said to have attempted a reconciliation between the two, but it does not appear whether it was successful.

The women of the Manaris wore calico petticoats folded several times from their waists downward; and they tat-

toed the upper parts of their bodies with flowers. They painted these punctures in various colors made from the juice of grapes, so that their skin appeared to be made of flowers.

Every caravan had its priests and idol. Every morning, while the men were loading their oxen, and the women were folding the tents, the priests set up a serpent in wreaths on a perch six or seven feet high in the most convenient part of the camp. Then all the people proceeded in files to worship this serpent, and the women walked three times round it. After the ceremony the priests took charge of the idol, and placed it on an ox which was set apart for the purpose; and the caravan set out on its daily journey to some new camping-ground.

The foot-post in India was another peculiar institution. Old travellers in India, from Roe downward, make frequent mention of this foot-post. The several news-writers, or Wakiahnawis, sent their reports to the Padishah from the several cities of the empire by these runners. On every road, at an interval of six miles there was a kind of hut or post-office. Every runner that came up threw his letters on the floor of this hut, as it was a bad omen to give them into a man's hand. The runner appointed to go to the next stage picked up the letters, and set off at full speed. At night he was guided by the trees on either side of the road; and where there were no trees, heaps of stones were set up at every five hundred paces, and kept whitewashed by the inhabitants of the nearest village. The result was that the foot-post was swifter than a horseman; for at night the horseman was obliged to go slowly with a man carrying a torch on either side, while the foot-post ran on undeterred by darkness or storm.

The administration of justice was much the same throughout the Moghul empire. It had been rather loose during the reigns of Jehangir and Shah Jehan, but had been kept under strict supervision by Aurangzeb. Every town had a Nawab or governor, who administered all civil justice, but left crim-

inal cases to the Kotwal.¹ The Nawab was assisted by a Kazi, who was supposed to be learned in Muhammadan law; and there was always a Mullah or Mufti, who superintended all matters pertaining to the Muhammadan religion.

The Nawab generally rendered speedy justice. If a man sued another for a debt, he had either to show an obligation, or produce two witnesses, or take an oath. If he was a Christian he swore on the Gospels; if a Muhammadan he swore on the Koran; and if a Hindu he swore on the Cow. Many Hindus, however, preferred to lose their cause rather than swear, as they had a strong aversion to such a ceremony.

The Nawab left all criminal affairs to the Kotwal. This was the most important official next to the Nawab. The Kotwal discharged the functions of magistrate and judge, and was also head of the police and superintendent of the prison. He ordered criminals to be whipped or cudgelled in his presence, either in his own house or at the place where the crime had been committed. He went abroad on horseback, attended by several officers on foot; some carrying batons and great whips; others carrying lances, swords, targets, and iron maces; but every man had a dagger at his side. At night he paraded the streets, and set guards at different places; and any man found abroad in the streets was committed to prison, and rarely released without being whipped or bastinadoed.

While the Kotwal maintained peace and order in the town, an officer known as the Foujdar carried out the same duties in the surrounding country. The Foujdar exercised the same authority in the district that the Kotwal exercised in the town.

Dr. Fryer, a surgeon in the service of the East India Company, travelled in India between 1673 and 1681, and

¹ There is some confusion in the use of Moghul titles. The Viceroy of a province was commonly known as a Subahdar. The Governor of a town or district was properly a Nawab; and such a Nawab was in general subordinate to the Subahdar of the province. Sometimes the Foujdar assumed the title of Nawab, and the Nawab assumed the title of Subahdar.

has left some graphic descriptions of India at a time when Sivaji was harassing the Dekhan, and Aurangzeb was preparing for his persecuting wars in Rajputana.

Dr. Fryer went in the first instance to Masulipatam, a port on the coast of Coromandel, near the mouth of the river Kistna. It was an emporium of trade on the coast of Coromandel, just as Surat was an emporium on the coast of Malabar. But Surat belonged to the Great Moghul, while Masulipatam belonged to the Sultan of Golkonda, who had not as yet been conquered by Aurangzeb.

Masulipatam was a favorable type of a Muhammadan city in India. The principal streets were broad, and the buildings good. The better sort of houses were built of wood and plaster, having balconies with latticed windows, and a stately gateway below leading into a square court with a tank in the middle and a terrace walk all round it. The poorer sort of houses were mere huts, like thatched beehives, walled round with mud.

The Muhammadans at Masulipatam kept a strict hold on the Hindus, intrusting them with no place of importance, but treating them as mechanics and serving-men. The richer sort lived in great splendor, priding themselves upon having a numerous retinue and handsome followers. They were grave and haughty, taking great delight in sitting cross-legged on chairs at their doors, and smoking their hookahs with much pomp and circumstance. They cloistered up their women from the eyes of all men. Sometimes a woman went abroad in a palanquin, but she was always closely veiled, and it would have been death for any man to attempt to see her face.

The Hindus had no such strictness. The Hindu women went abroad in the open air, adorned with chains and earrings, jewels in their noses, and golden rings on their toes.

The people celebrated their festivals, and especially their weddings, with much show and splendor. They were commonly performed at night with the noise of drums, trumpets, and fifes. The poorest Hindu, except among artificers and

low-caste men, had a week's jollity at his marriage; going about in a palanquin, attended by guards carrying swords, targets, and javelins, while others bore ensigns denoting the honor of their caste. But if any low-caste man attempted the like, he was dragged back to his quarters by the hair of his head.

The administration of justice at Masulipatam was barbarous in comparison with that in the Moghul's territories. Capital sentences were carried out immediately after conviction, and the offender was either dismembered or impaled. In cases of murder the nearest kinsman of the murdered person was required to prosecute the offender and to execute him. He began to cut the murderer to pieces, and then the rabble rushed in and finished him.

Dr. Fryer sailed from Masulipatam to Madras, about three hundred miles to the south. In 1639 the English had bought a strip of coast territory from one of the Hindu Rajas of the Peninsula. It was only six miles long and one mile inland, but it is famous as being the first territorial possession which the English acquired in India. Here they built a factory, and raised a wall round it mounted with cannon, and gave it the name of Fort St. George. In a few years two towns had grown up in the neighborhood outside the wall. The one was occupied by Armenians and other foreign merchants, who were glad to live under the protection of the English. The other was a larger village or town of weavers and other artisans who were mostly in the employ of the English merchants. None but Europeans lived in the fort, which was known as White town; while the Armenian and native quarters went by the general name of Black town. The whole settlement was known as Madras, but the origin of this name is unknown.

Some years afterward the Sultan of Golkonda pushed his conquests southward into the Peninsula. The Hindu Raja, who sold the land to the English, fled away to the westward and disappears from history. The generals of the Sultan tried to capture Madras, but were baffled by the guns of

Fort St. George. The English, however, agreed to pay the Sultan the same rent which they had previously paid the Raja, namely, twelve hundred pagodas per annum, or about five hundred pounds sterling.

The generals of the Sultan captured the neighboring Portuguese settlement at St. Thomé, and carried off the guns from the fortifications. The Portuguese fled to Fort St. George, and were welcomed by the English, as adding to the strength and security of their settlement. About this time a French fleet appeared off the coast and took possession of St. Thome. These little wars are forgotten now, but created no little excitement when Fryer visited the place.

Fryer was paddled over the surf at Madras by one of the same kind of native boats that are still in use. It was not fastened by nails, which would have been wrenched out by the surf: but the timbers were sewn or tied together with strings. These strings yielded to the surf, and passengers were carried in safety, but the boats were apt to take in a good deal of water.

Fryer landed in wet clothes, but the beach was so scorching hot that he hurried on to the town. Fort St. George presented an imposing front to the sea. It was oblong, about four hundred yards in length from north to south, and one hundred yards in depth from east to west. At each corner of the walls was a bastion mounted with guns, and the banner of St. George waved bravely over the whole. The streets inside were neat and clean. There were about fifty houses, not very lofty, because it was a garrison town; but every house had an Italian portico, battlements on the roof, and a terrace walk, and there was a row of trees before the doors. There were no public structures, except the Governor's house in the centre, and a small chapel where the Portuguese celebrated mass.

Sir William Langhorn was Governor of Madras, and superintended all the English factories on the coast of Coromandel, as well as those on the Hughli and Ganges as far as Patna.

The English population of White town scarcely numbered three hundred souls. The Portuguese numbered three thousand. The native population of Black town and adjoining villages included thirty thousand Hindus in the service of the Company; but there were hardly forty Muhammadans in the whole settlement. The country round about was sandy, but provisions were plentiful.

Fryer next sailed from Madras to Bombay. He passed by the coast of Malabar, and noted that the Dutch were already ousting the Portuguese from their ports at Cochin and elsewhere; and that Sivaji, a rebel against the Sultan of Bijapur, had conquered the country round about Goa. At last he entered the harbor of Bombay. It was a magnificent bay, capable of holding a thousand of the finest ships of European build.

Bombay had been made over to the English some ten or twelve years before, as part of the dowry of Catherine of Portugal, on her marriage with Charles the Second. The English found a government house, having a pleasant garden with terrace walks and bowers; but the place was so poorly fortified that the Malabar pirates often plundered the native villages and carried off the inhabitants as slaves. The English soon altered this state of things. They loaded the terraces with cannon and built ramparts over the bowers. When Fryer landed, Bombay castle was mounted with a hundred and twenty pieces of ordnance, while sixty field-pieces were kept in readiness. Only a few months before his arrival, the Dutch had tried to capture Bombay, but were forced to retire. The place, however, was very unhealthy. The site was unwholesome and the air was bad; and these evils were aggravated by the intemperance of the English settlers.

From Bombay, Fryer went to Surat. The place was much changed since Della Valle's visit. It swarmed with fakirs, and there were marks on all sides of the intolerant rule of Aurangzeb. No Christian could appear in the streets of Surat in good clothes, or mounted on a proper horse,

without being assailed by Muhammadan beggars. The Muhammadans lived in good houses as at Masulipatam. The Banians, or Hindu brokers, lived in wretched sheds, with three or four families crowded into one hovel, together with goats, cows, and calves. But they had good reason for what they did, for if any one was suspected of being rich he was squeezed by the Nawab of all his effects, unless he had secured the protection of some powerful grandee.

The poorer inhabitants were entirely at the mercy of the Nawab and his soldiers. They were often taken from their occupations and forced to work for the Nawab. Sometimes these seizures led to broils, and artisans were driven to desperation, and murdered their families and then ran "amok."

Aurangzeb had already begun to collect the *Jezya* at Surat. The Hindus were pressed to become Muhammadans. The neighboring Rajas were in rebellion. Many Hindus fled from Surat to Bombay, or to one of the Portuguese settlements. This was all the more remarkable to Fryer, because, as he writes, if the Hindus united against the Muhammadans, they would be as a thousand to one.

In 1675 Fryer left Surat and returned to Bombay. About this time the Nawab of the town of Joonere required a European doctor to attend on one of his wives. The Moghuls had captured the fort and town of Joonere from the Mahrattas, and the place was a bone of contention between the two. Fryer readily undertook the journey to the town of Joonere, although it was one of some danger. The country was desolate; the people were wretched to the last degree, being plundered alike by Moghuls and Mahrattas, and reduced to utter poverty and starvation. Even the coolies from Bombay that carried Fryer's luggage pitied the misery of the inhabitants, and contrasted it with their own prosperous lives under British rule.

Fryer met with some adventures at Joonere. He was not allowed to see the sick lady until the astrologers had fixed on a fortunate day for his visit. At last he was shown

into a room where there was a bed surrounded with a curtain, and the hand of the patient was placed outside the curtain to enable him to feel her pulse. To his great surprise, the pulse was that of a perfectly healthy woman; and he did not fail to say so. No one, however, was disconcerted; in fact, a healthy maidservant had been placed in the bed to test the skill of the English doctor. After due explanation, Fryer was permitted to feel the pulse of the sick lady, and he subsequently effected a cure by bleeding. The consequence was, that other ladies demanded to be bled likewise, but it was doubtful whether they had any other object in view beyond satisfying their curiosity as regards the English doctor.

Meanwhile Fryer had many discourses with the Nawab of the town of Joonere. He discovered that the Moghul generals had no desire to conquer Sivaji, or to put an end to the wars in the Dekhan. So long as the war lasted, they made much money by keeping small bodies of troops in the field while drawing the pay of large numbers.

The Nawab of the fortress of Joonere also desired to see the English doctor. In all Moghul cities the Nawab of the fortress had a separate command from the Nawab of the town. The visit was of little moment beyond revealing the inside of a Moghul fortress. The place was of some historical importance, as Sivaji had been born within the walls, and was anxious to recover possession of the stronghold. There were enough provisions stored within the fortress to support a thousand families during a seven years' siege, but there was no ammunition except stones, and two misshapen brass pieces of Hindu mold.

The Nawab was a Brahman who had been converted to the Muhammadan religion. He secretly agreed to surrender the fortress to Sivaji, and received an enormous bribe as a reward; but when the day arrived and seven thousand Mahrattas ascended the hill, they found themselves cut off by an ambuscade, and were all slaughtered. Such treacheries were by no means uncommon in olden times.

Fryer next visited the town of Karwar, to the south of Goa, where the English had a factory. The town had been recently conquered by Sivaji; but the factory was safe, for the English kept off all assailants by means of the guns which they had planted on their factory walls.

Sivaji's government at Karwar resembled that of the Moghuls. He appointed one governor to the town, and another to the fortress; while a general with a flying army superintended the whole. Sivaji appointed none but Brahmans to places of trust or authority. These men professed to be mightily jealous for their master's dues; but they always managed in a corner to get more for themselves than for their master. Trade was impossible in Sivaji's country unless goods could be carried a long way round as at Karwar. The people bitterly complained of exactions and torture; but that was the same all over India; and even Brahmans were subjected to the same pains and indignities whenever it was supposed that they had buried their wealth or concealed it in some other secret fashion.

Fryer left India in 1681. Nine years afterward, in 1689-90, Aurangzeb conquered Bijapur and Golkonda, and sent his armies into the Peninsula. The English of Madras at once offered to pay the Moghul the same yearly rent of twelve hundred pagodas, which they had paid the Sultan of Golkonda; but the Moghuls threatened to dismantle Fort St. George of all its cannon. The whole country was in a troubled state, and the English at Madras were often disturbed by alarming rumors. At last it appeared that the Nawab of the conquered territories would be satisfied with a money bribe; and a present of ten thousand pagodas, equivalent to about four thousand pounds sterling, was sent to the Nawab Zulfikar Khan. The present was graciously received, and the Nawab was further mollified by timely supplies of provisions and ammunition.

All this while desultory wars were being carried on in the Lower Carnatic between the Moghuls under Nawab Zulfikar Khan and the Mahrattas under Ram Raja, a younger son of

Sivaji.¹ The once celebrated hill fortress of Jinji, about eighty miles to the southwest of Madras, was the bone of contention between Zulfikar Khan and Ram Raja. But the story of the struggle is tedious and bewildering. There were intrigues and treacheries on both sides, and also secret understandings between the two, which excited the suspicion and rage of Aurangzeb, when he was too old and helpless to interfere.

In 1701-2 another Nawab, named Daud Khan, succeeded Zulfikar Khan. He, too, demanded a present of ten thousand pagodas from the English merchants at Madras. Mr. Thomas Pitt, grandfather of the great Earl of Chatham, was Governor of Madras, and he resolutely refused to pay the money. Daud Khan surrounded Fort St. George with a large force, cut off all supplies of provisions, and stopped all trade. Mr. Pitt held out for three months, and then deemed it expedient to pay up the amount. He consoled himself with the idea that the Nawab had expended a great deal more than ten thousand pagodas during the siege of the place, and was never likely to repeat the demand.

After this remarkable siege matters quieted down at Madras. The yearly rent was regularly paid to the Nawab, and presents were occasionally sent to the Nawab and his grandees. The result was that, for a period of thirty years after the death of Aurangzeb, the English at Madras bought and sold, and pursued the even tenor of their way, without interference or hindrance from Mahratta or Moghul.

Meanwhile the English settlements in Bengal, after a hard struggle with the Moghul's officers, had become the most important and profitable in India. As far back as 1640 in the reign of Shah Jehan, the English had been allowed to establish a factory at Hughli, about a hundred miles from the mouth of the Ganges, where they hoped to succeed to the trade which had been erewhile carried on by the Portu-

¹ Ram Raja had taken possession of the Mahratta dominion in the Peninsula, when his eldest brother Sambhaji had succeeded to the kingdom of the Konkan.

guese. They founded branch factories at Patna, Dacca, and other half-forgotten localities. From Patna they procured saltpetre, opium, raw silk, and cotton piece-goods. From Dacca they obtained those fine muslins which were long the wonder and admiration of the civilized world. The result was that the English settlements in Bengal were withdrawn from the control of the Governor of Madras, and placed under a separate governor, a Mr. Job Charnock, who soon became one of the most distinguished Englishmen in India.

But the English traders in Bengal were unable to protect themselves with fortifications and guns as they had done at Madras and Bombay. In Madras they had built Fort St. George and mounted their cannon before the Muhammadans had entered the Peninsula; and consequently they were enabled to set the Moghul generals at defiance. Again; their cannon on Bombay castle sufficed to keep off the Mahrattas. But Bengal had been in the possession of the Moghuls ever since the reign of Akbar, and they had suffered too much from the fortifications and cannon of the Portuguese at Hughli to permit of any such formidable settlements for the future. The English, Dutch, and French all had factories in the neighborhood of Hughli; but neither were allowed to build any walls or semblance of fortifications of any sort or kind. Neither were they allowed to carry on any hostilities against each other within the territories of the Moghul; and thus while wars might be raging between English and Dutch, or English and French, in other parts of the world, the conflicting nationalities were compelled to keep the peace in Bengal.

During the bigoted reign of Aurangzeb, the English in Bengal were subjected to oppressions and exactions, which had been unknown in the tolerant days of Jehangir and Shah Jehan. An attempt was made to collect *Jezya* from the English, but that was warded off by timely presents to the Nawab. In other ways the English were exposed to insults which were beyond all endurance; and at last, as a crowning indignity, Mr. Job Charnock, the Governor of all

the English settlements in Bengal, was arrested and scourged by order of the Nawab.

Under these circumstances the English declared war against the Moghul. In 1685 two squadrons were sent out by James the Second; the one to cut off all Moghul ships trading with Surat, and the other to operate against the Nawab of Bengal. The factory at Surat was removed out of Moghul territory to the new settlement at Bombay. The English in Bengal collected all their goods from their several factories, and prepared to carry them to Chittagong, the frontier port toward Arakan.

The operations of the squadron off Surat were most successful. Cargoes belonging to the subjects of the Moghul were captured to the value of a million sterling. The merchants of Surat would no longer venture on voyages at sea; while native manufactures were at a standstill, and mechanics were thrown out of employment and complaining loudly of famine. Aurangzeb sent officers to listen to the grievances of the English, and mitigate the oppressions to which they had been exposed. A treaty was concluded in 1687, under which the English were permitted to return to their factories, and guaranteed certain rights and privileges which they had hitherto been denied.

The operations in Bengal had been ill-judged and not altogether successful, but still they had sufficed to alarm the Nawab. The war was brought to a close for a while, but Charnock had no faith in the treaty and hesitated to return to Hughli. Meanwhile the commander of the English squadron, a hot-headed captain named Heath, was provoked by the delays and evasions of the Nawab. He opened up a communication with the King of Arakan, and sailed to Chittagong with the view of capturing the port for the king. Finding the fortifications stronger than he expected, he returned to Bengal, and offered to undertake an expedition against Arakan in behalf of the Nawab. Suddenly, however, he took disgust at the proceedings of the Nawab, and sailed away to Madras with all the Company's mer-

chants and goods, declaring that he had been told nothing but lies on all sides.

This conduct, crazy and irregular as it was, brought the Moghul government to reason. It was imagined that the contempt displayed by Heath arose from the determination of the English to abandon the trade of Bengal. A new Nawab was appointed to Bengal, and he sent pressing overtures to Madras for the return of the English to Hughli.

The result was that Charnock and the English went back to Bengal, but they did not return to their factory at Hughli. Ultimately they were allowed to rent three villages about twenty miles nearer the mouth of the river; and all duties and customs of every kind were commuted by the yearly payment of three thousand rupees to the treasury at Hughli. The newly-acquired territory was scarcely half the size of the English territory at Madras. It only extended three miles along the eastern bank of the river Hughli, and one mile inland, and paid a yearly rent of 1,195 rupees. But the three villages have become historical. Their names were Chutanutti, Govindpore, and Kalighât. They were the nucleus of the city of Calcutta, which after the lapse of two centuries is now the capital of the British Empire in India and the greatest European city in the eastern world.

Mr. Job Charnock is still regarded as the patriarch of Bengal. His name still survives in the station of Barrackpore, which is called "Chanuk" by the natives to this day. Many stories have been told of his eccentricities, which were household words in a bygone generation. He saved a young Hindu widow from burning herself with her deceased husband, and subsequently married her; but instead of converting her to Christianity, he relapsed into a kind of paganism. She died before him, and ever afterward he celebrated the anniversary of her death by sacrificing a cock to the goddess Durga over her tomb.

Toward the end of the seventeenth century the persecutions of Aurangzeb, the destruction of pagôdas, and subver-

sion of Hindu worship, drove many of the people of Bengal into rebellion. The Europeans complained to the Nawab of the unprotected state of their factories. He told them to defend themselves, and they took him at his word. They ran up walls and bastions round their respective factories, and planted them with cannon; and this was the origin of the three European forts or towns, namely, the English at Calcutta, the French at Chandernagore, and the Dutch at Chinsura. Both Chandernagore and Chinsura were in the neighborhood of Hughli, and consequently about twenty miles from Calcutta.

A few years after the death of Aurangzeb, a Captain Hamilton visited Calcutta, and has left a description of the houses and English inhabitants. He says that the town was built without order, every one selecting a spot best fitted for a garden; consequently most houses had a garden in front. The English built their houses near the river side; but the natives dwelt more inland. Most gentlemen and ladies in Bengal lived splendidly and pleasantly. They dedicated the forenoon to business; they then took their dinners and retired to rest during the afternoon. In the evening they found recreation in chaises and palanquins in the fields or gardens; or went upon the river in budgerows, and diverted themselves with fishing or fowling. Before night they made friendly visits to one another, when pride and contention did not spoil society; but the Captain adds that much social rivalry often existed among the ladies, just as discord and faction prevailed among the men.

The garrison at Fort William generally consisted of two or three hundred soldiers, but they were not so much employed for the defence of the settlement as to guard the fleet coming from Patna with the Company's saltpetre, piece-goods, raw silk, and opium. Captain Hamilton remarks, that the English Company held their colony direct from the Moghul, and consequently had no reason to be afraid of any enemies coming to dispossess them. At the same time he predicted that if they again declared war against the Mo-

ghul, the Padishah would soon end the quarrel by prohibiting his subjects from trading with them.

But Bengal was only half conquered by the Moghul. There were, says Hamilton, some impertinent and troublesome Rajas on the banks of the Ganges, between the Nawab's capital at Murshedabad and the city of Patna, who pretended to tax all goods passing through their territories, and often raised forces to compel payment. But a detachment of European troops from Fort William generally cleared the passage up the river, although some of the English soldiers were occasionally killed in the skirmishes.

From the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, to the year 1756, Calcutta was occasionally threatened by the Mahrattas or mulcted by the Nawab; but otherwise it enjoyed a profound peace, and was, to all appearance, as secure against foreign aggression as any seaport town in the United Kingdom. The English settlement was like an oasis of European civilization in a desert of Hinduism and Islam. The English factory, with its depots, workshops, offices, and outlying "garden-houses," covered about a hundred acres on the bank of the Hughli. The outward life of the English at Calcutta was altogether of a business type. They bought, sold, kept accounts, wrote letters, and regulated establishments and expenditure. Large ships from Europe brought woollen goods, cutlery, iron, copper, and quicksilver. The same ships carried away cotton piece-goods, fine muslins, silks, indigo, saltpetre, spices, and Indian rarities. A rise or fall in the price of saltpetre in Europe was of more interest to the English merchants at Calcutta than the war between the Moghul and the Mahrattas; and a failure of the silk crop in the up-country stations in Bengal and Behar was of more moment to the Court of Directors in London than the death of a Padishah, or the bloody struggles between his sons for the succession to the Moghul throne.

CHAPTER VIII

MOGHUL EMPIRE—DECLINE AND FALL

A.D. 1707 TO 1748

THE death of Aurangzeb awakened the Moghul empire from its torpor; it sent a thrill through the provinces which might be likened to galvanic life. For years all hopes and aspirations of princes and grandees had been in abeyance under the declining but monotonous rule of the aged Padishah. His sons were waiting for his last breath to begin that fratricidal struggle for the throne which had broken out at the death, or before the death, of every Moghul sovereign of Hindustan from Akbar downward. The Moghul generals were apparently eager to throw off the religious strictness and bigotry, which had so long oppressed the empire; and were looking forward to the death of the old Padishah as a necessary preliminary to the beginning of a new *régime*.

The last years of Aurangzeb were saddened by fears of the catastrophe which would accompany or follow his death. Indeed throughout the latter half of his reign he had been subject to constant alarms lest he should share the fate of his father, Shah Jehan; lest his sons should consign him to hopeless captivity and begin to fight for the throne before death had carried him from the scene. He is said to have formed a plan for averting a fratricidal war by dismembering the empire and dividing it among his three sons. But if so the attempt at pacification must have proved a failure. Scarcely was it known that the old sovereign had expired, than all the armies of the empire were on the move, and his

three sons were each, in turn, prepared to seize the throne by force of arms, or perish upon the fatal field.

A war between brethren may excite the passions of contemporaries, but cannot enlist the sympathies of posterity. The struggle between the sons of Shah Jehan had been more or less associated with religion, but the struggle between the sons of Aurangzeb was only a quarrel for an inheritance. The main struggle was between Shah Alam, the eldest son of Aurangzeb, and Azam Shah, the second son; and the war itself is said to have turned on the ill-timed insolence of Azam Shah, and the consequent disaffection or treachery of his affronted generals. A desperate battle was fought near the river Chambal. It closed in a horrible carnage, in which Azam and his two sons were slain. Shah Alam ascended the throne under the title of Bahadur Shah. There was a third son, the rebel Akbar, who had fled to Persia; but he was dead, or at any rate out of the fray. There was a fourth son named Kam Bakhsh, whose fortunes demand separate consideration.

Kam Bakhsh, whom the Greeks would have called Cambyse, had been nominated by Aurangzeb to rule as an independent Sultan over the newly-conquered kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda. Bahadur Shah was an old man, and would probably have consented to the arrangement; but his sons were ambitious to preserve the integrity of the empire. The mother of Kam Bakhsh was a Christian; her son was supposed to be a Christian likewise. The Mullahs were stirred up to protest against the rule of a Christian Sultan; and Bahadur Shah was driven to work the destruction of his youngest brother.

The course of events had a remote bearing upon the fortunes of the English at Madras. Bahadur Shah ordered letters to be written to Mr. Thomas Pitt, the Governor of Madras, to prevent the young prince from escaping by sea into Persia. At the same time Bahadur Shah confirmed all the rights and privileges which had been granted to the English by his father Aurangzeb. But these precautions

proved unnecessary, for Kam Bakhsh was defeated and slain on the field of battle by Nawab Zulfikar Khan.

Bahadur Shah reigned from 1707 to 1712, but has left no mark in history. He had, in the first instance, to face a rebellion of the Rajputs in Jaipur and Marwar. The persecuted Hindus had taken advantage of the death of Aurangzeb to drive out all the Muhammadan officers who had been appointed to collect *Jezya*, and convert the people to the religion of the Koran. The movement was a revolt of Hinduism against the proselytizing policy of Aurangzeb, and Bahadur Shah was anxious to suppress it; but at this moment alarming news arrived from the northwest. The Sikhs had broken out in revolt in the Punjab, and committed a series of murderous excesses; and Bahadur Shah was compelled to "forgive" the Rajputs, and march with all haste to Lahore.

The Sikhs originally were not a nationality. They were a mixed community of Rajputs, Jats, and other races, who had been formed into a religious brotherhood about the end of the fifteenth century by a famous prophet named Nanuk Guru. Their religious faith was a combination of the tenets of advanced Shiah with those of advanced Hindus; it turned upon the worship of the Supreme Spirit, as the deity alike of Muhammadans and Hindus. At the same time the Sikhs revered Krishna and Rama as incarnations of Vishnu; they recognized the sacred character of Brahmans; and they strictly prohibited the slaughter of cows. Above all, they implicitly obeyed their Guru and his successors, as the representatives of God upon earth; and they regarded the teachings of each in turn as the inspirations of the Supreme Being.

Such a religion was naturally regarded as a detestable heresy by a strict Sunni like Aurangzeb. The Sikhs were persecuted until they betook themselves to the northern mountains, and formed military clans distinguished by a blue dress and peculiar manners. The fires of persecution raged more fiercely than ever. Guru Govind, the tenth in

descent from Nanuk,¹ saw his strongholds taken, his mother and children massacred, and his followers slain, mutilated, or driven into painful exile. At last Guru Govind was taken prisoner by the Moghuls, and executed at Gwalior by the command of Aurangzeb.²

Such severities exalted the fanaticism of the Sikhs to the highest pitch of desperation. A new spiritual leader, known as Bandu Guru, inspired them with a spirit of vengeance against their persecutors. They broke out in revolt, destroyed mosques, butchered Mullahs, and massacred the population of whole towns without regard to sex or age. In a word, they fought to the death for God and their Guru; but they also made their religion a cloak for plunder and outrage of every kind.

Bahadur Shah found it necessary to make Lahore his capital, and to carry on a series of desultory wars against the Sikhs. The details are of no moment; it was impossible to dragoon the Sikhs into submission, and they continued to give trouble down to the death of Bahadur Shah in 1712, and indeed for many years afterward.

Meanwhile the greater part of the Moghul empire had been left in the hands of the Viceroy of provinces. Little or nothing is known of the history, beyond the fact that some kind of understanding seems to have been concluded by the Viceroy of Guzerat and the Dekhan with the Mahrattas of the Konkan. When Sambhaji, son and successor of Sivaji, was arrested and put to death by Aurangzeb, his little son Sahu, or Shao, was carried away prisoner by the conqueror, and brought up in the zenana of the Moghul. After the death of Aurangzeb, this boy was placed on the throne of the Konkan, in the city of Satara, and was supposed to reign over the Mahratta kingdom as a vassal of the Great Moghul.

¹ The secular name of this Guru Govind was Tugh Bahadur. Further particulars of the Sikhs will be furnished hereafter in dealing with the British wars against the Sikhs and final conquest of the Punjab.

² Another story says that Guru Govind was assassinated by an Afghan.

But this arrangement could not possibly satisfy the Mahratta claims to chout or blackmail, which extended indefinitely over a great part of the Dekhan, as well as over a large extent of Guzerat and Malwa to the northward. These claims were of a most vexatious character, and were pressed with a pertinacity which was deaf to all arguments. To admit them involved the loss of one-fourth of the land revenue, while it abandoned large cultivated tracts to the rude collections of Mahratta soldiery. To resist them was as hopeless as an attempt to resist the depredations of locusts. The loose bands of Mahratta horse were here, there, and everywhere. If driven off by the advance of regular troops, they might disappear like a flock of crows; but they soon reappeared elsewhere, ravaging the country with fire and sword to enforce the Mahratta claims to chout over the whole extent of territory.

The constitution of the Mahratta government was such that Maharaja Sahu had little or no voice in the matter. It had been the policy of Sivaji to keep all offices of state, and all collections of revenue, exclusively in the hands of Brahmans; and as all these posts became hereditary according to Hindu custom, Maharaja Sahu found himself surrounded by a Brahmanical hierarchy, ostentatious in its professions of submission and obedience to the grandson of the great Sivaji, while practically retaining all the power of the state in its own hands.

Moreover, the personal character of Maharaja Sahu was favorable to the Brahman ascendancy. He had neither capacity nor energy for breaking through so powerful an aristocracy. His grandfather Sivaji was bred like a mountain eagle amid the rude independence of hills and jungles. But Maharaja Sahu was a tame bird, brought up in the gilded cage of the imperial zenana. He was given to pleasure, with some taste for field sports; somewhat touchy as regards his personal dignity; proud of his vassalage to the Great Moghul, although occasionally indulging his fancy with schemes of conquest and empire. The Brahman ministers and offi-

cials well knew how to deal with these weaknesses. They invariably treated him with every possible respect, and took care that every measure of state should appear to emanate from himself, and be carried out solely in his name as the supreme sovereign of the Mahrattas; but at the same time they molded him to suit their own purposes, and thus prepared the way for that revolution at his death which transferred the Mahratta sovereignty from the grandson of Sivaji to the family of the Brahman minister.

The chief Brahman minister was known as the Peishwa; and during the reign of Maharaja Sahu, the Peishwa for the time being was to all intents and purposes the ruling power. It was the Peishwa who issued commissions to the different Mahratta leaders to collect chout in Guzerat, Malwa, and the Dekhan, in the name of Maharaja Sahu. It was the Peishwa who concluded secret arrangements with the Moghul Viceroy, under which certain yearly payments were made to the Mahrattas on the condition that they made no attempt to collect chout for themselves, and duly kept within a certain line of frontier. The precise terms of this agreement were necessarily kept in the dark; for at this period the Moghul court would have refused to sanction any arrangement which implied the payment of tribute to the Mahrattas.

The death of Bahadur Shah in 1712 was followed by another fratricidal war; but the Moghul princes were men without force of character, and indeed were little better than puppets in the hands of ambitious generals. After the usual round of treachery and carnage, a debauched young prince, named Jehandar Shah, was placed upon the throne at Delhi; but all real power was exercised by Zulfikar Khan, the Moghul general, who had been Viceroy of the Dekhan in the reign of Aurangzeb, and who had defeated and slain the youngest son of Aurangzeb at the accession of Bahadur Shah.

Jehandar Shah was a drunkard, who chose his favorites from the dregs of society. Zulfikar Khan was a respectable grandee, who sought to wield the destinies of the empire under the name of prime minister. There naturally fol-

lowed a struggle for power between the besotted Padishah and the ambitious minister. But the reign was too scandalous to last. The vices of Jehandar Shah were not confined to the recesses of the zenana, but were paraded before the lower orders, and became the common talk of the bazars. Suddenly his headlong career was arrested by the news of a dangerous rebellion in Bengal.

A young prince named Farrukh Siyar, a grandson of Bahadur Shah, had been left in Bengal during the fratricidal war which followed the death of Aurangzeb. By strange good fortune Farrukh Siyar had escaped the massacre of princes which accompanied the rise of Jehandar Shah; but still he was in constant peril of his life, and was thus prepared for any desperate measure. When the reign of Jehandar Shah became a scandal to the empire, the minds of men began to turn toward Farrukh Siyar. Two Moghul brothers, known as the two Saiyids, or descendants of the prophet, resolved to head a righteous rebellion in the name of Farrukh Siyar; to depose the debauched sovereign who disgraced the empire, and to place Farrukh Siyar on the throne of Delhi, and govern the empire in his name.

The two Saiyids were men of some standing. One was the governor of Patna, and the other was governor of Allahabad. By their help, a force was collected, and the two Saiyids began to march to Delhi accompanied by Farrukh Siyar. Numbers joined them on the way. Zulfikar Khan took the field and advanced toward Agra, accompanied by Jehandar Shah; but the young Padishah was an arrant coward, and fled back to Delhi, leaving the imperial forces to be defeated in the neighborhood of Agra. The cause of Farrukh Siyar triumphed; and the two Saiyids conducted him to Delhi amid the acclamations of the multitude.

Zulfikar Khan tendered his submission to the two Saiyids, and was received with every mark of favor, but was treacherously assassinated on leaving the tent. Jehandar Shah was put to death, as well as many others who were likely to interfere with the accession of Farrukh Siyar. The new

Padishah then ascended the throne of Delhi amid the firing of cannon and thunder of kettle-drums, and was at once accepted by all parties as sovereign of the Moghul empire.

Farrukh Siyar reigned from 1713 to 1719. From the first he engaged in a series of intrigues for throwing off the yoke of the two Saiyids, and ruling the empire as irresponsible sovereign without check or hindrance. The elder Saiyid, Abdulla Khan, filled the post of minister at Delhi. The younger Saiyid, Husain Ali Khan, was sent to restore the Moghul supremacy in Rajputana, which had been in a disaffected state ever since the death of Aurangzeb. At the same time it was hoped that by separating the two brothers, by keeping the one at Delhi and sending the other to Rajputana, it might be possible to effect their destruction.

The Moghul court had always been pre-eminent for craft and treachery; but during the struggles between Farrukh Siyar and the two Saiyids, there was an utter absence of scruple or shame. Rajputana had been virtually independent ever since the death of Aurangzeb. Even the border territory of Jaipur, which intervened between the Moghul's territories and the more remote kingdoms of Udaipur and Marwar, had thrown off the Muhammadan yoke, and repudiated all connection with the Moghul court at Delhi. A Rajput prince, a kinsman of the old royal house, ascended the throne as Raja of Jaipur, and was prepared to set the Moghul suzerainty at defiance so long as the Moghul armies refrained from invading his territories.

In the first instance Husain Ali Khan was sent to reduce the Raja of Jaipur to obedience. Meanwhile secret letters were sent by the Padishah to the Raja, encouraging him to hold out against the Moghul troops, and instigating him to do his utmost to effect the destruction of Husain Ali Khan. The Jaipur Raja was bewildered by these contradictory proceedings, but was at last reduced to submission, and induced to give his daughter in marriage to Farrukh Siyar.

Husain Ali Khan discovered the treachery which had been practiced upon him as regards the Jaipur Raja, but

deemed it expedient to become reconciled to Farrukh Siyar. It is said that this reconciliation was brought about by the mother of Farrukh Siyar; but it would be sheer waste of time to inquire too closely into the intrigues which were at work in the Moghul court. Soon afterward Husain Ali Khan encountered still more flagrant treachery. In order to keep him at a distance from his elder brother, he was appointed Viceroy of the Dekhan, and ordered to proceed to his new government. At this time Daud Khan, the same man who besieged Governor Pitt at Madras, was Viceroy of Guzerat. Daud Khan was openly instructed, by letters from the minister Abdulla Khan, to meet Husain Ali Khan on his way to the Dekhan, and pay implicit obedience to his orders. At the same time Daud Khan was secretly told, by private letters from Farrukh Siyar, that if he could effect the destruction of Husain Ali Khan, he would receive the viceroyalty of the Dekhan as his reward. The result was that Daud Khan strengthened his army by enlisting a force of Mahrattas. When Husain Ali Khan came up, instead of a friendly greeting there was an obstinate battle. The Mahrattas did nothing, but scoured about the plain on horseback, and kept aloof from the fighting until the action was over. Meanwhile Daud Khan would have gained the victory, but in the moment of triumph he was shot dead by a musket-ball. His Mahrattas at once went over to the army of Husain Ali Khan, tendered their submission, and then began to plunder the camp of Daud Khan.

A few glimpses of Delhi at this period are to be derived from the correspondence of an English mission which was sent from Calcutta to Delhi in 1715, and remained more than two years at the Moghul capital. The mission was undertaken to secure certain trading privileges from the Great Moghul, and is chiefly remarkable for the delays and evasions of ministers and courtiers. The presents sent by the English merchants at Calcutta were received with great favor by the Padishah and the leading grandees; and the English ambassadors received so many promises of goodwill

and patronage that they wrote cheerful letters to Calcutta, saying that they were sanguine of obtaining all they wanted. When, however, they began to ask for firmans setting forth the privileges to be granted, so many difficulties were raised on all sides that they began to despair of obtaining any firmans at all.

Meanwhile, an English surgeon named Hamilton, who accompanied the mission to Delhi, had been fortunate enough to heal Farrukh Siyar of a troublesome disease; and the Padishah was willing to show his gratitude by granting a firman of privileges. But Farrukh Siyar refused to part with the doctor; and the doctor was thrown into a painful fright; for he had a wife and family in England, and was horrified at the idea of spending the rest of his days in gilded exile at Delhi.

Suddenly, after a delay of two years, all difficulties were removed. The English had found it convenient to remove their old factory at Surat to their more important settlement at Bombay. This trifling event spread a terror through the Moghul court. The older grandees remembered that the factory at Surat had been removed to Bombay just before the disastrous war of 1686; and they were in mortal fear lest the repetition of the measure should be followed by the reappearance of English men-of-war in the eastern seas. The requests of the English ambassadors were granted with surprising promptitude; even the English doctor was permitted to depart after pledging himself to return with a supply of medicines at an early date;¹ and the mission returned to Calcutta with firmans of new rights and privileges duly signed and sealed.

The English mission were impressed with the pomp and power of the Great Moghul, but they saw many signs of disturbance at Delhi. The marriage of Farrukh Siyar with the Jaipur princess was celebrated with illuminations and

¹ Dr. Hamilton died shortly after his return to Calcutta. His tombstone is still to be seen inscribed with a record of his services.

fireworks; but the plots for securing the destruction of Husain Ali Khan were widely known. About the same time a Tartar army broke out in mutiny, and the troops were clamoring for their arrears of pay in the streets of Delhi.

Meanwhile the Sikhs were signally defeated in the Punjab, and Bandu Guru was taken prisoner and conducted to Delhi amid a horrible procession of eight hundred Sikh prisoners doomed to death, and two thousand bleeding heads borne on poles. The executions that followed were ghastly and sickening. The Sikh prisoners were beheaded at the rate of a hundred a day. The captive Guru was clothed in mock robes of state and exhibited with an infant son in an iron cage. The child was butchered before his eyes, and he himself was tortured to death with hot pincers. But Bandu Guru perished in the glory of martyrdom, exulting in the dream that he had been raised up by God to scourge the sins and oppressions of the age.

In 1719, about a year after the English mission left Delhi, the reign of Farrukh Siyar was brought to a tragical close. Abdulla Khan, the minister, found that his life was in danger, and summoned his brother from the Dekhan. Husain Ali Khan marched to Delhi with an army of Mahrattas, and excited a universal terror. Then followed a night of horror. The army of Abdulla Khan surrounded the palace, while the Mahrattas were supposed to keep order in the city. The most alarming reports spread through Delhi. It was said that Abdulla Khan had been murdered in the palace by the Raja of Jaipur. Next it was rumored that the Mahrattas were plundering the city; and the mob of Delhi rose against the Mahrattas, and slaughtered large numbers, and found so much gold in their saddle-bags as to increase the general alarm.

Next morning the uproar was over. The trembling Padishah had been dragged from the zenana amid the screams of women, and thrown into a dungeon and deprived of eyesight; and it was soon known that he had been strangled to death by the bowstring. Meanwhile, an infant prince was

taken out of the state prison of Selimghur, which adjoined the palace, and placed upon the throne of the Moghuls. The firing of cannon and thundering of the imperial kettle-drums at the gate of the palace announced that Farrukh Siyar had ceased to reign, and that another Padishah was sovereign of the Moghul empire.

It soon transpired that the two Saiyids had assumed the supreme direction of affairs in the name of an infant sovereign. Three months afterward the infant died, and another young boy was taken out of the state prison and set upon the throne. But the reign of the new puppet was shorter than that of his ill-starred predecessor. In a few weeks he too was hurried to the grave by some insidious disease.

A healthier youth was now taken out of the prison, and enthroned under the name of Muhammad Shah. He was destined to reign for a period of nearly thirty years; to witness the mortal blow from Persia which shook the Moghul empire to its foundations; and to leave his successors to be the alternate prey of Afghans and Mahrattas.

Muhammad Shah ascended the throne as the puppet of the two Saiyids; but by this time a strong party had been formed against the brothers. The succession of three pag-eant Padishahs within a few brief months had opened the eyes of the leading grandees to the dangerous ambition of the Saiyids, and raised up a host of enemies who were resolved on their downfall.

The two brothers were aware of the secret combinations formed against them, and labored hard to defeat their designs. Abdulla Khan remained at Delhi to carry on the duties of prime minister. Husain Ali Khan returned to his viceroyalty in the Dekhan, and carried the young Padishah with him as a precautionary measure. But there was treachery in the camp, and a savage Kalmuk agreed to strike the fatal blow. He presented a petition to Husain Ali Khan, and while the latter was reading it the Kalmuk stabbed the Viceroy to the heart. The dead body rolled out of the opposite side of the palanquin. The Kalmuk was cut to pieces

by the Viceroy's guards. But Muhammad Shah placed himself at the head of his friends, and his appearance put an end to the confusion and restored order. The army returned to Agra, and thence began the march to Delhi. Abdulla Khan marched out an army to revenge the death of his brother, but found it useless to contend against the revolution. His forces were utterly defeated; his life was spared; but the power of the Saiyids was gone forever.

Muhammad Shah entered Delhi with all the triumph of a conqueror. He was received by his mother and ladies of the zenana with all the pomp and ceremonial that accompanied the installation of Moghul sovereigns. He took his seat upon the great throne; the imperial insignia were displayed on either side; basins of gold coins and jewels were waved around him; and to all outward appearance he began to reign with all the magnificence of a Jehangir or Shah Jehan. But the energies of the imperial rule were already in rapid decay; the life-blood of the empire was ebbing away; and the blaze of splendor which heralded the elevation of Muhammad Shah to the sovereignty was but an empty show to veil the decline of the empire.

The signs of dissolution must have been already evident to those who could see beneath the surface of things. The Moghul court was torn by factions which could no longer be suppressed by the frown of the Padishah, and which not infrequently broke out in open broils. The removal of Viceroys from one province to another, which had been so frequent under the despotic rule of Jehangir, Shah Jehan, and Aurangzeb, had become of rare occurrence; for an order for removal, under a weak sovereign like Farrukh Siyar or Muhammad Shah, might have been met by a formidable rebellion which would have engulfed the empire.

One sign of weakness was more significant than all the others. The imperial camp was no longer to be seen moving from Hindustan to the Punjab, or from Hindustan to the Dekhan, keeping Sikhs and Rajputs in awe, and carrying the prestige of the Great Moghul to every part of his

dominions. During the reigns of Farrukh Siyar and Muhammad Shah, the Padishah was little better than a pageant confined to the palace; and his progresses in camp were little more than hunting expeditions in the immediate neighborhood of Delhi.

Yet still the administration moved on in the well-worn grooves of long-established routine, although much of the vitality of power had passed away. No Viceroy or Subahdar of a province was legally in possession of his post until he had received letters and insignia of investiture from the Moghul court at Delhi; and this simple procedure preserved the prestige of Moghul suzerainty for generations after the authority of the Padishah had dwindled into an empty name.

During the reign of Muhammad Shah a Subahdar might die, and his son might succeed to the post by an assumption of hereditary right, which would have been ruthlessly denied by Aurangzeb or his predecessors; but even during the last years of the empire the succession had no validity or weight in the eyes of the masses until the letters and insignia had been received from Delhi. The same might be said of the subordinate Nawabs of outlying territories. A Nawab might be appointed by a Subahdar, and be succeeded on death by his eldest son; and it will be seen hereafter that this was the case with the Nawab of the Carnatic, under the Nizam or Subahdar of the Dekhan; but neither the original appointment, nor the succession of the son, could be considered legal and secure until letters and insignia had arrived from Delhi with the seals of the empire. The consequence was that a Viceroy never failed to send presents and promises to the Padishah and grandees, to secure the recognized succession of a son or near kinsman; and whenever a Viceroy died every candidate for the government was equally profuse in presents and promises in the hope of securing his own recognition to the exclusion of all others.

All this while the Padishah was still the sole fountain of all honor, rank, and titles throughout the empire. These rewards were so largely coveted that grandees were often

ready to sacrifice the greater part of their wealth in order to obtain them. They were never hereditary, but they elevated the grandee for the time being above his fellows in the eyes of the whole court, and were thus always received with the utmost pride and gladness of heart. Many a Subahdar or Nawab, driven to the verge of rebellion by insult or neglect, has been brought once again within the pale of loyalty and devotion by the receipt of an empty title and a dress of honor from the Great Moghul.

A curious anomaly of the Moghul constitution was the appointment of a Dewan, or financial accountant-general, to every province of the empire. It was the duty of this officer to receive all collections of revenue, to pay all salaries, including that of the Subahdar or Nawab, and to devote his whole attention to the remission of the largest possible yearly balance to the imperial treasury at Delhi. In the reign of Aurangzeb the Dewan had been regarded as the most important officer in the province. The duties of the Subahdar or Nawab had been confined to the maintenance of the public peace and the administration of justice; and all revenue questions had been left to the Dewan. At the same time the Dewan received his appointment direct from the Padishah, and was altogether independent of the Subahdar or Nawab; and by his zeal in the collection of revenue, and remission of the largest possible amount as the Padishah's share, he might hope for promotion or reward.

During the decline of the Moghul empire, the greediness for rank and titles led to a general corruption in the court and provinces. The grandees grew rich while the imperial revenues dwindled year by year. Presents to the ministers, courtiers, and chief ladies of the zenana became of more importance than the remittance of the yearly revenue to the imperial treasury. There were collusions between the Subahdar and the Dewan, and by dint of bribes and presents the two appointments were sometimes given to two different members of the same family, and sometimes were doubled up in the same officer. The result was a growing independ-

ence among the Subahdars and Nawabs of provinces; a growing tendency on the part of those officers to retain their several governments as the hereditary right of their respective families; a growing disregard to the orders received from the court at Delhi, and a determination to govern their respective provinces according to their own irresponsible will.

Strange to say, while there was a general loosening of the tie which bound the Viceroys of provinces to the Moghul court, the tie itself was on all occasions ostentatiously displayed before the multitude. Every Viceroy of a province acted as though he believed that his authority derived its sole lustre and security from its subordination to that of the Great Moghul. Whenever the imperial firmans, orders, or letters of any description arrived from Delhi, the Subahdar or Nawab went out with all his officers in grand array to receive the documents with every demonstration of respect and honor; to place the imperial commands upon his forehead in token of his profound submission to the will of the Padishah; and to announce the coming of the imperial messengers with a salute of artillery, and every mark of devotion and loyalty.

The richest province of the empire, or that which sent the largest yearly revenue to the Padishah, was the one which included the outlying territories of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. But the Nawabs of the Bengal provinces played no part in the history of the empire. They lived to the eastward of the river Carumnasa, and had little or no concern with the Moghul court, beyond remitting the yearly revenue to Delhi.

The two most important officers in the empire were Saadut Ali Khan, who was Subahdar of Oude; and Chin Kulich Khan, better known by his title of Nizam-ul-mulk, who was Subahdar or Nizam of the Dekhan.¹ The history

¹ Chin Kulich Khan subsequently received the honorary title of Asof Jah, which, according to Muhammadan tradition, was the name of the minister of Solomon. But though he is often called Asof Jah he is best known by the title

of these two men is typical of the condition of the Moghul empire during the reign of Muhammad Shah, and thus demands separate consideration.

The province of Oude in those times included not only modern Oude, but the vast area of fertile territory extending from Benares to Agra, which is comprised in the present day under the general term of Northwest Provinces. Saadut Ali Khan was a Persian and a Shiah. He was of low extraction, having been originally a cotton merchant of Khorasan; but by a strange destiny he had become Viceroy and practically sovereign over the greater part of Hindustan, and was the ancestor of the later kings of Oude, who like him professed the religion of the Shiah.

Nizam-ul-mulk was a rival in race and religion, a Turk and a Sunni. He belonged to what was called a Turanian family, as distinguished from the Iranian, or Persian stock. His early history is obscure, but he and his father before him are said to have held important commands in the reign of Aurangzeb.

During the scandalous reign of Jehandar Shah, the proud spirit of Nizam-ul-mulk had nearly worked his own downfall. While proceeding through the streets of Delhi, his way was impeded by one of the worthless parasites of the hour; a woman who had formerly sold fruit and garden stuff in the vegetable market, but had become the sworn friend of a dancing-girl who was the ruling favorite of Jehandar Shah. This woman was proceeding to the palace on an elephant, accompanied by a numerous retinue; and as she passed she poured out a torrent of abuse on Nizam-ul-mulk. It is said that the proud Turk gave a signal to his retainers; but whether he did or no, the men dragged the woman from her elephant and maltreated her in the presence of the mob. The woman threw ashes on her head, and hurried off to the palace to demand vengeance from the favorite dancing-girl.

of Nizam-ul-mulk, or "regulator of the state," given to him on the accession of Farrukh Siyar; and as his successors, the Nizams of Hyderabad, are named after this title, it will be preserved throughout the present volumes.

Meanwhile Nizam-ul-mulk went to the house of the prime minister Zulfikar Khan, and told him the whole story. The two men were not friends, but Zulfikar Khan saw the necessity for supporting his fellow-grandee against the insolence of the favorite. Accordingly he wrote on a slip of paper, "I throw in my lot with that of Nizam-ul-mulk"; and sent the writing to Jehandar Shah. The paper proved to be a sufficient warning for the young Padishah; he saw that revenge was out of the question, and nothing more was heard of the matter.

At the accession of Farrukh Siyar, the two Saiyids made much of Nizam-ul-mulk, gave him the title and appointed him Subahdar of the Dekhan. Subsequently they grew jealous of him and transferred him to the government of Malwa between the Chambal and Nerbudda, while Husain Ali Khan was appointed Subahdar of the Dekhan between the Nerbudda and Kistna.

After the assassination of Husain Ali Khan, Nizam-ul-mulk crossed the Nerbudda with an army, and took possession of the government of the Dekhan, defeating every commander who was secretly sent to overthrow him, while still retaining a paramount influence in Malwa and Guzerat.

All this while the Mahrattas were the pest of the empire, the horror of the Moghul court, the terror of the Moghul Viceroys of provinces, and the especial enemies of Nizam-ul-mulk. The first Peishwa, Balaji Visvanath, died in 1720, and was succeeded in the post of minister by his son Baji Rao, who is always described as the ablest Mahratta Brahman of the time.¹ The policy of both father and son was to secure the continued recognition of Maharaja Sahu as the vassal of the Great Moghul; to enforce the Mahratta claims to chout throughout the Dekhan, Malwa, and Guzerat; and to keep the loose bands of Mahratta horsemen, which might prove dangerous to the Brahman government at Satara, continually employed at a distance from the capital. These

¹ Compare ante, p. 244.

ends both Peishwas in turn had sought to attain by issuing commissions to different Mahratta leaders to collect chout in all directions in the name of Maharaja Sahu.

The policy of the Peishwas throws much light upon the political genius of the Mahratta Brahmans. They did not care to create a Mahratta empire with well-defined frontiers. They preferred exercising the right of interference over a large and undefined part of the Moghul empire, and collecting chout under the plea of affording protection and security in return.

The Peishwa parcelled out the right of collecting chout among different military leaders in every district, in such a way that, while each leader had an interest in increasing the contributions to the general stock, no one had a compact property to render him independent of the Brahman court at Satara. Moreover, by dividing the revenue into innumerable fractions, it threw the military leaders into the hands of Brahman accountants; and thus strengthened the power of the Peishwa by increasing the influence of the caste of Mahratta Brahmans to which he belonged.

Mahratta history has thus an importance which has never been recognized by historians. It illustrates the struggle for political power between the caste of priests and that of soldiers which is the life and soul of ancient history. Glimpses of this struggle are furnished by the annals of Hebrews and Egyptians, but they are obscure and blurred. Mahratta history reveals every secret working in the battle between intellect and brute force, which ended in the triumph of the Brahman. In like manner the after history will tell of the revolt of the military leaders against the Brahman ascendancy, until the power of the Peishwas was reduced to a pageant by Lord Wellesley.

It was during this early period of the Brahman ascendancy that the Mahratta commanders, mostly men of low caste, began to rise to the rank of predatory powers. The family of the Gaekwar of Baroda came to the front in Guzerat; the families of Sindia and Holkar established a

hold in Malwa; and the Bhonsla family, the same clan to which Sivaji belonged, established a dominion in Berar in the Dekhan to the northward of the dominions of the Nizam.

But during the supremacy of the Brahman Peishwas these leaders were little more than military puppets in the hands of the central power at Satara; they were in fact officers of the Peishwa, commanding divisions of his troops, and acting under his commission. It was not until many years afterward, when the power of the Peishwa was on the wane, that these military leaders ventured to exercise political influence and authority as semi-independent princes of the Mahratta empire.

The dealings of an astute Mahratta Brahman, like Baji Rao, with Nizam-ul-mulk, and Muhammad Shah, are too obscure and complicated to be dealt with except in the most general terms. Baji Rao was ever ready to take advantage of the jealousies and rivalries in the Moghul empire to further his own political schemes for power and aggrandizement. He saw the jealous antagonism between the Padishah and Nizam-ul-mulk, and labored hard to profit by it. He helped the imperial forces to drive the power and influence of Nizam-ul-mulk out of Guzerat and Malwa; and in return he obtained from the Moghul court a grant of chout for the whole of the Dekhan. He carried on a series of desultory wars against Nizam-ul-mulk, until he forced him into a kind of recognition of the Mahratta claims. At the same time there was some sort of compromise between the two. Nizam-ul-mulk obtained better terms from Baji Rao by engaging not to interfere in the Mahratta collections in Guzerat and Malwa. All this while Baji Rao was seeking to obtain from the Moghul court a formal grant of the chout for Guzerat and Malwa.

The Moghul court vainly attempted to resist these demands. Their unwieldy masses of regular troops could make no impression on loose hands of Mahratta horsemen, whose home was in the saddle, and who disappeared from the scene one day only to reappear in an unexpected quarter

on the morrow. Muhammad Shah made certain concessions to the Peishwa, but only with the view of embroiling him with other powers. He ceded to the Peishwa the right of collecting chout from the Rajputs; a measure which certainly led to endless predatory wars between Rajputs and Mahrattas when both ought to have been united in a strong national confederacy of Hindus against the Moghuls. Muhammad Shah also made some additions to the Mahratta claims on the territories of Nizam-ul-mulk. This last measure recalled the Nizam to a sense of his dependence on the Padishah. Henceforth he seems to have resolved on supporting the Padishah against the Mahrattas. At the same time Baji Rao resolved on marching a Mahratta army toward Delhi, and driving Muhammad Shah into making a formal grant of chout for Guzerat and Malwa.

Such was the general progress of affairs from the beginning of the reign of Muhammad Shah in 1719 down to the year 1736. In the latter year Baji Rao advanced a Mahratta army toward Agra; while his light troops, under the command of Mulhar Rao Holkar, began to ravage the surrounding country beyond the Jumna. Suddenly Holkar was attacked and driven back by a force under Saadut Ali Khan, Subahdar of Oude. This check was magnified into a great victory; but Baji Rao retrieved his disgrace by appearing with a Mahratta army at the very gates of Delhi.

This movement of Baji Rao took place in the beginning of 1737, and threw the Moghul capital into the utmost consternation. But the object of Baji Rao was not to provoke, but to intimidate the Padishah. He made no attempt to enter Delhi, and he tried to prevent his troops from devastating the suburbs. Meanwhile Saadut Ali Khan joined his forces to the imperial army; and Baji Rao deemed it expedient to return to the Dekhan. During this retreat of the Mahrattas, Nizam-ul-mulk marched an army to Delhi, and was received at the capital with every mark of favor.

These movements of rival armies become intelligible by bearing in mind the secret relations between the Moghul

court and the Peishwa. The Moghul court was playing off the Mahrattas as a check upon the growing and dangerous power of Saadut Ali Khan and Nizam-ul-mulk. At the same time the Moghul court was in mortal fear of the Mahrattas. It shrunk from the ignominy of making a formal grant of the chout for Malwa and Guzerat; but according to current reports it secretly paid chout for all its own territories round about Delhi, with the view of keeping the Mahrattas at a distance from the Moghul capital. Thus Baji Rao advanced to Agra and Delhi with the view of securing the formal grant of chout for Malwa and Guzerat; but he kept his Mahratta army from plundering the surrounding country lest he should thereby forfeit his claim to chout from the Delhi territories.

In 1738 the Nizam was returning from Delhi to the Dehkan, when he came into collision with Baji Rao on the banks of the Nerbudda. There was no actual battle, but the Mahrattas surrounded the Nizam, cut off his supplies, and reduced him to sore distress. In this extremity Nizam-ul-mulk engaged to procure from the Padishah a cession of the chout for Malwa and Guzerat to the Peishwa. The Nizam then returned to Delhi, and Baji Rao took possession of Malwa. At this crisis political affairs were brought to a standstill by a sudden and unexpected blow from the side of Persia, which shook the Moghul empire to its foundations.

The modern history of Persia begins with the year 1500, when it was formed into an independent kingdom by a dynasty of Shiah fanatics, known as the Sufi Shahs. The rise of the Sufi empire preceded that of the Moghul empire of Hindustan by a quarter of a century, and its downfall preceded that of the Moghul empire about the same period.

The rule of the Shahs of Persia differed little from that of the Moghul sovereigns of Hindustan. There were no fratricidal wars at the death of a Shah, but the princes were treated with greater cruelty during the lifetime of their father, often kept in state prisons, and blinded or strangled to prevent rebellion. On the death of a Shah a son or a grandson was taken out of a prison and placed upon the

throne; and all his brothers, and all other possible rivals, were butchered wholesale. Each Shah in succession seemed to be more weak, more cruel, and more depraved than his predecessor; and it is difficult to understand how the empire could have been kept together, threatened as it was by the Turks on the west, the Russians on the north, and Afghans and Uzbegs to the eastward.

The dynasty was at last overthrown by an invasion of Afghans. About 1710 the Afghans of Kandahar and Herat threw off the Persian yoke, and established their independence under a chieftain of their own race. In 1722 the Afghans marched to Ispahan, and besieged the city until it was starved into unconditional surrender. Shah Husain, the last of the Sufi dynasty, abdicated his throne in favor of Mahmud, the Afghan conqueror; and for a period of eight years, from 1722 to 1730, the people of Persia were subjected to the indescribable atrocities and outrages of Afghan rule.

Meanwhile Shah Tahmasp, a son of Shah Husain, made feeble efforts to recover his father's kingdom. In 1727 he was joined by a freebooting chieftain named Nadir Kuli, or Nadir the slave. This man was a born general, endowed with an instinct for creating armies and founding empires. He waged such successful wars against the Afghans that, by the year 1730, he had driven them out of Persia and placed Shah Tahmasp on the throne of Ispahan.

But Nadir Kuli Khan, as he was now called, was only making a stepping-stone of Shah Tahmasp. He went off to Khorasan to complete the subjugation of the Afghans. Meanwhile Shah Tahmasp engaged in war against the Turks, met with some disasters, and concluded a peace by yielding up his right to Armenia, Erivan, and Georgia, which had long been in the possession of Persia. Nadir Kuli Khan affected the utmost indignation at this ignominious peace. He returned to Ispahan, threw Shah Tahmasp into confinement, and placed the Shah's infant son upon the throne. He then carried on a war with Turkey until she

was compelled to restore the disputed provinces; and Russia was also induced to restore certain territories bordering on the Caspian which had been seized by Peter the Great. Nadir Kuli Khan was thus all-powerful in Persia. In 1736 the infant sovereign died, and Nadir the slave assumed the full sovereignty under the title of Nadir Shah, or Nadir the king.

In 1737 Nadir Shah was engaged in besieging Kandahar, when he sent two successive embassies to the Great Moghul at Delhi. The Moghul court took no notice of these embassies, it did not even dismiss them and permit them to return to their master. Probably the haughty Moghul was prepared to dispute the title of Nadir Shah to the throne of Persia, and to treat him as an upstart and usurper. The result was that Nadir Shah captured Kandahar and Kabul, and then prepared to march an army to Delhi *viâ* Peshawar and Lahore.

The Moghul court at this crisis was feeble to the last degree. It had been recently threatened by the Mahrattas, and it was torn to pieces by the dissensions and jealousies of the leading grandees. There was hot rivalry between Saadut Ali Khan and Nizam-ul-mulk, and one or both were at daggers drawn with Khan-dauran, the minister. Indeed it was currently reported that both Saadut Ali Khan and Nizam-ul-mulk had been for some time in secret correspondence with Nadir Shah, and had invited him to invade Hindustan.

Nadir Shah was certainly familiar with the progress of affairs in India. He charged Muhammad Shah with having failed to collect the Jezya from the unbelieving Hindus, and with having paid a fourth of his revenue to the idolatrous Mahrattas.

Nadir Shah reached Peshawar without difficulty. The Moghul court had been accustomed to pay a yearly subsidy to the hill tribes for the defence of the frontier passes; but for some years previously the money had been appropriated by the corrupt and unscrupulous minister. Consequently

the garrisons had been withdrawn, and the disbanded troops not only left the passes open to Nadir Shah, but eagerly joined his army in the hope of sharing in the spoils of Hindustan. The Persian invader met with little or no resistance on his way through the Punjab. The Moghul Viceroy of the province was in communication with Nizam-ul-mulk; and he deemed it more to his interest to permit Nadir Shah to continue his march than to sacrifice his troops and himself in vain efforts to repel the invasion.

At last the Moghul court was awakened from its lethargy. A large army marched from Delhi to Kurnal, about sixty-five miles to the northward, under the joint command of Nizam-ul-mulk and Khan-dauran, and accompanied by Muhammad Shah. Shortly afterward the army of Nadir Shah approached Kurnal, and encamped in the neighborhood.

At this crisis Saadut Ali Khan arrived at Delhi with reinforcements, and proposed giving the enemy battle. But the old rivalries were still at work. Saadut Ali Khan and Khan-dauran went out to engage the enemy, but Nizam-ul-mulk stood aloof and refused to join in the fighting. The Moghul army was utterly defeated; Saadut Ali Khan was taken prisoner, and Khan-dauran received a mortal wound.

Muhammad Shah was now at the mercy of Nadir Shah. Nizam-ul-mulk was sent to offer terms to the conqueror; he is said to have agreed to pay two crores of rupees, or two millions sterling, provided Nadir Shah returned to Persia without advancing on Delhi. The terms were accepted, and Nizam-ul-mulk returned to the camp of the Padishah with the joyful news, and was rewarded with the coveted rank of Amir of Amirs, or chief of all the Amirs.

Saadut Ali Khan was stung with jealousy at the honor conferred on his rival. He told Nadir Shah that two crores were only a flea-bite in comparison with the treasures of Delhi; and he persuaded the invader to pursue his march to the Moghul capital, by promising to collect a subsidy of twenty crores. The offer was accepted, and Saadut Ali Khan hastened back to Delhi.

Nadir Shah set out on his march to Delhi with the expectation of receiving a subsidy of twenty millions sterling. He ordered Muhammad Shah to go on before him and prepare the city and palace for his reception. He received a visit from Saadut Ali Khan in the suburbs, but treated him with harshness, and asked why he had not begun to collect the subsidy. Saadut saw that his ruin was at hand. He left the presence of Nadir Shah in abject terror, swallowed a dose of poison, and passed away from the scene.

Next day Nadir Shah entered the city of Delhi with twenty thousand men. All houses and shops were closed; not a soul appeared in the streets. Amid this portentous gloom, Nadir Shah posted his troops in various quarters of the city, and proceeded to the palace, where he was duly entertained by Muhammad Shah.

The soldiers of Nadir Shah were known as the Persian army, but they chiefly consisted of Tartars, Afghans, and Uzbegs; and were naturally regarded with disgust and hatred by the proud Moghuls. Nadir Shah promulgated stringent orders that none of the inhabitants of Delhi should be injured; indeed all that he wanted was to collect the subsidy as thoroughly and rapidly as possible, and this could be best achieved by abstaining from all alarms. But the people of Delhi were driven by terror and shame into acts of madness. On the day after the entry of Nadir Shah, being the 10th of March, 1739, a turmoil arose in the city. Many of the strangers were cut down and slaughtered. A rumor spread through the streets and bazars that Nadir Shah had been slain within the palace. The mob arose in overwhelming force and began to massacre the foreign soldiery in the same way that they had massacred the Mahrattas some twenty years before. The approach of night increased the uproar. The troops of Nadir Shah retreated to their quarters in the caravanserais and houses of the grandees, and stood under arms throughout the night, while all stragglers were butchered by the infuriated multitude.

At early morning Nadir Shah left the palace with a strong

force, and began riding through the streets of Delhi. The sight of the dead bodies of his troops aroused his terrible wrath. At the same moment he was assailed with stones, arrows, and firearms, from the houses, and one of his chiefs was slain by his side. He determined on a deed of vengeance, which has no parallel in modern history. He ordered an indiscriminate massacre of the inhabitants without regard to age or sex. No city taken by storm could have presented greater horrors. The Persian army, maddened by the sight of their bleeding comrades, spread over the city like demons, breaking open shops, houses, and palaces, slaughtering, plundering, burning, destroying, and committing every kind of outrage with an unbridled fury which knew not how to pity nor how to spare.

The sack and carnage of Delhi lasted from eight o'clock in the morning until three o'clock in the afternoon. The streets were filled with the shouts of the brutal soldiery and the shrieks of their helpless victims. The atmosphere was reeking with the blood and butchery of thousands of human beings. Houses were set on fire, and numbers perished in the flames. Husbands killed their wives and then murdered themselves. Women threw themselves into wells. Children were slaughtered without mercy, and infants were cut to pieces at their mothers' breasts.

All this while Nadir Shah sat in a little mosque in the principal street, which is still pointed out to modern travellers. His presence in his milder moods was sufficient to strike beholders with awe. Six feet high, with swarthy countenance, large eyes, and a voice of thunder, his commanding aspect compelled all men to bend before him. But now as he sat in the mosque, his features were lighted up by a stern ferocity, as if he exulted in the greatness of his revenge. Nizam-ul-mulk, stung by remorse, threw himself at the feet of the conqueror, and prayed for mercy toward the innocent inhabitants; but he was received with torrents of abuse that must have added to his terrors. Muhammad Shah followed his example, and begged that his subjects

might be spared from further slaughter. At last the blood-thirsty warrior began to relent; he sent out orders that the butchery should end, and he was promptly and implicitly obeyed. But the sun set upon a scene of horror and devastation which has rarely been equalled in the annals of Tartar revenge.

Next morning the survivors were ordered under terrible penalties to dispose of the dead. The corpses of Hindus and Muhammadans were thrown promiscuously together. Many were buried in vast pits; many were cast on piles of timber taken from the falling houses, and burned in huge holocausts. The number of slain can never be known. According to one wild estimate, more than a hundred thousand souls perished in the massacre; but if the number is reduced to one-fifth or one-tenth, it is sufficient to strike men with terror until the end of time.

When the slaughter was over and the murdered heaps had been cleared away, the work of plunder and exaction was carried out with relentless barbarity. The peacock throne and all the jewels of the imperial palace became the spoil of the conqueror; so did the best of the cannon and warlike stores, and the choicest of the elephants, horses, and camels. Contributions were levied from every grandee, and from every dwelling-house in the capital; and any show of reluctance or attempt at concealment was met by threats and tortures. Many who were unable to meet the demand committed suicide rather than fall into the hands of their tormentors. A body of Persian horse was sent to Oude, and confiscated the treasures of Saadut Ali Khan to the value of one or two millions sterling. A like sum was demanded of Nizam-ul-mulk, and a large amount seems to have been obtained; but the treasury of the Dekhan was out of the reach of Nadir Shah; and any force despatched in that direction might have been cut off in the passes of the Vindhya mountains, or exposed to the assaults of the Mahrattas. An attempt was made to secure a subsidy from Bengal; but the treasury of Murshedabad was too remote

from Delhi; and not even the avarice of Nadir Shah would induce him to send an army into the defiles of Bihar.

The total value of the gold, silver, jewels, weapons, stuffs, stores, and money carried off by Nadir Shah has been variously estimated at from eight to eighty millions; but all such conjectures are the sport of the imagination. Nothing is known beyond the fact that the invader carried off vast and untold treasures; that he gave three months' pay to every soldier in his army, and remitted a year's taxation throughout the whole Persian empire.

Nadir Shah demanded the niece of Muhammad Shah in marriage for his second son. He also demanded the cession to Persia of all territories to the westward of the Indus which had previously belonged to the Moghul. Indeed he might have made any demand he thought proper, for Muhammad Shah was far too prostrate to attempt any refusal. The marriage of his son to the Moghul princess was solemnized with some show of rejoicing; and the cession of territory was embodied in a formal grant, which was couched in terms of abject submission to the will of the conqueror.

Nadir Shah reinstated the fallen Moghul in the possession of his throne and empire. He exhorted every vassal and feudatory to be loyal in their devotion to Muhammad Shah; and he threatened to wreak his vengeance on any that should attempt to rebel. He then returned to Persia after a stay of two months in Hindustan.

Nadir Shah never reappeared in India. He lived nine years longer, during which he was engaged in wars with the Turks, or in putting down rebellions in his own territories. Unfortunately for him, he interfered with the national religion of Persia. He sought to put an end to the antagonism between Shiah and Sunnis by declaring the Sunni faith to be the one state religion of the empire. He thus raised a storm of fanaticism against his rule, which no force could allay. In 1747, at the age of sixty, he was cut off by assassins, after a troubled reign of eleven years.

The invasion of Nadir Shah inflicted a mortal blow on

the Moghul empire. Muhammad Shah was reseated on the throne of his fathers, but his sovereignty was little better than a name. The Viceroys of the provinces had become independent princes. The death of a Subahdar or Nawab was followed by fratricidal wars like those which attended the demise of a Padishah; and not infrequently by the elevation of a usurper with no other authority than that derived from the sword. The Mahrattas were no longer to be quieted by payments from the imperial treasury, for the treasury had been emptied by Nadir Shah; and the Mahratta leaders led their hosts of horsemen to the remotest quarters of India, plundering and devastating the two Carnatics in the southern Peninsula, and at the same time spreading like destroying locusts over the fertile plains of Bengal.

Baji Rao died in 1740, and was succeeded in the post of Peishwa by his son Balaji Rao. Maharaja Sahu died in 1748, the year after the assassination of Nadir Shah, and was succeeded on the throne of Satara by a nominal sovereign named Raja Ram. At the same time a noiseless revolution was carried out, under which the real sovereignty was transferred from the Maharaja to the Peishwa. Raja Ram reigned as a state pageant in the fortress or prison at Satara; while Balaji Rao removed the Mahratta court to Poona, and reigned at the old capital of Sivaji as the independent sovereign of the Mahratta empire, but under the old name of Peishwa or minister.

Muhammad Shah died in 1748, the same year that saw the death of Maharaja Sahu. At this moment a new enemy appeared in Hindustan to contest with the Mahrattas for supremacy. The assassination of Nadir Shah in the previous year had delivered the Afghans from the Persian yoke. Another Asiatic conqueror rose to the front under the name of Ahmad Shah Abdali. He extended the independent empire of the Afghans over the greater part of Central Asia, including the Punjab and Kashmir. He invaded Hindustan for the purpose of re-establishing the old Afghan supremacy in India. The consequence was that the successors of Mu-

hammad Shah were mere pageants in the hands of rival ministers, who in their turn were alternately under the influence of Mahrattas and Afghans.

At this turning-point in the downward career of the once Great Moghul, the history of India underwent an entire revolution. The Moghul empire was broken up never to be restored. The foundations of a new empire were laid by English settlers, which was destined to extend its paramount influence over the whole of India from sea to sea. The centre of political interest is thus transferred from the old Moghul capital of Delhi to the English settlements of Madras and Calcutta. The Hindu nationalities of India, after centuries of repression, were to be educated by British administrators in a knowledge of that civilization which has regenerated the western world and established the reign of order and of law. In this manner the people of India are being trained and disciplined by British rule for a new career of national life, which can only be revealed in the unknown world of the future.

PART III — BRITISH INDIA

CHAPTER I

ENGLISH AT MADRAS

A.D. 1700 TO 1756

DURING the early half of the eighteenth century, the English town of Madras grew into an important settlement. It was enlarged by the addition of out villages, which still give their names to different quarters of the modern city.¹ It carried on a profitable trade with Burma and Siam, Sumatra and China. It employed more weavers and manufactured more cotton piece goods than at any previous period; and no settlement in the eastern seas was regarded by the English Company with more pride and complacency than Madras and Fort St. George.

The government of Madras was the natural outcome of a trading agency. The establishment of every English factory in India originally consisted of a certain number of European servants, graded as writers, factors and merchants, who were paid small salaries, but were lodged and boarded at the Company's expense. In the seventeenth century a writer only drew ten pounds per annum, a factor only twenty pounds, and a merchant only forty pounds; while the yearly salary of the president or governor was only three or four hundred pounds. In the eighteenth century salaries were

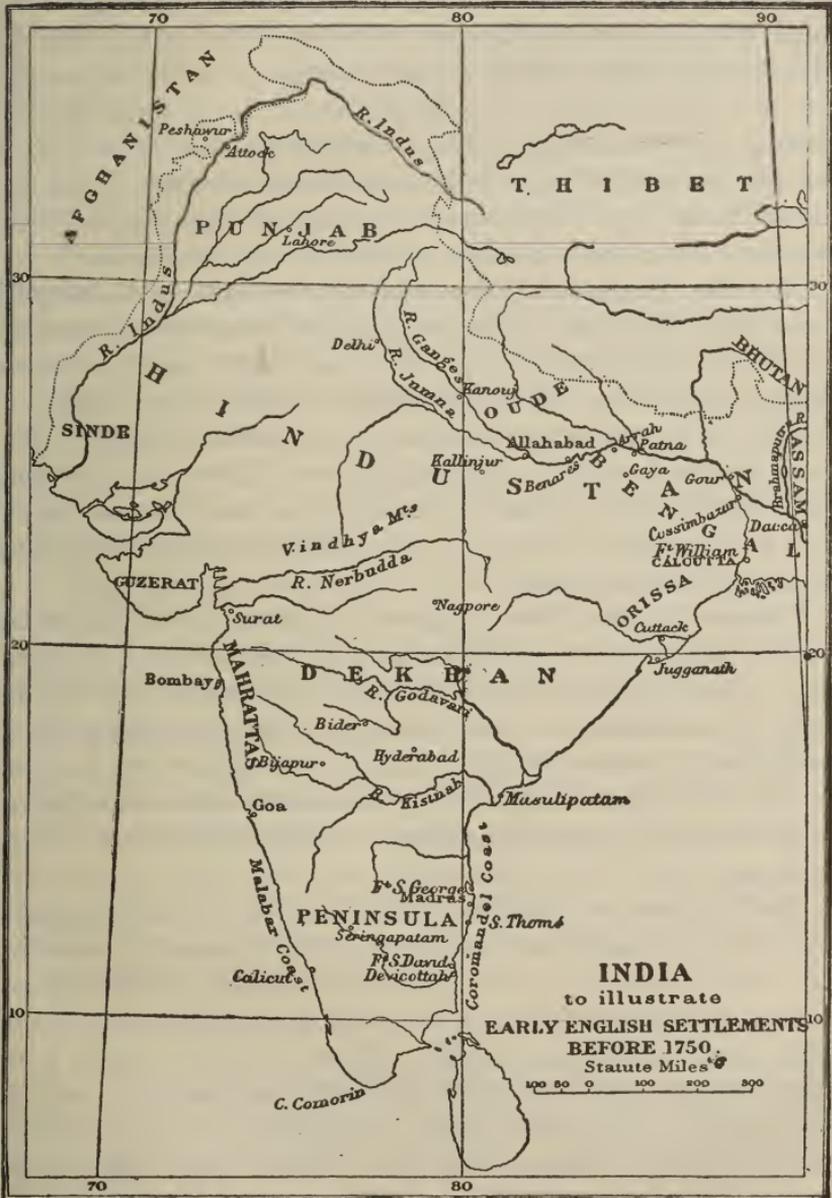
¹ In the seventeenth century, Nunkumbaukum, Vepery, Egmore, Royapoorum, and other localities familiar to modern residents in Madras, were native villages outside the Company's grounds.

considerably raised, but were still absurdly small to modern eyes. Every servant of the Company, however, was allowed the privilege of engaging in private trade, so long as he confined it to the ports in the eastern seas, and did not meddle in the Company's monopoly of trade with Europe.

The governor of Madras exercised supreme control over the White town, but was helped by a council of selected merchants; and so indeed were the governors of Bombay and Calcutta. Such was the simple origin of the governors in council for Madras and Bombay, and the Viceroy in council for the whole of India. The governor and council at Madras, during the seventeenth and nearly half of the eighteenth centuries, were chiefly engaged in superintending the Company's trade; in selling English manufactures and commodities in Indian markets, and providing Indian products and manufactures for the home markets. They also regulated all matters connected with revenue and expenditure; and investigated and punished all offences committed by Europeans. Besides the governor and council, a court, consisting of a mayor and aldermen, was established by royal charter for the trial of all civil cases in which Europeans were concerned; but there always seems to have been an appeal to the governor and council.

The administration of justice among the natives in Black town was more simple and Oriental. English justices of the peace sat in certain courts or choultries, and promptly disposed of all cases, civil and criminal, by fine, imprisonment, or whipping; and appeals to the governor and council were very rare, except in capital cases, or where there was some doubt about jurisdiction. The duties of the police were carried out by a Hindu official, known as the Pedda Naik, who was bound to make good all stolen property. He was remunerated, Hindu fashion, by a grant of hereditary lands, and small *octroi* duties levied on certain classes of commodities admitted into the town.

The English at Madras had always been jealous of the Dutch, but only as rivals in the Indian trade. The Dutch



had a fort and town at Pulicat, about twenty-four miles to the northward of Madras; and occasionally civilities and hospitalities were exchanged between the authorities of Pulicat and those of Fort St. George. The Dutch also had a fort and town at Sadras, about forty miles to the southward of Madras; and the ruins of well-ordered towers and ramparts, prim gardens, neat water channels, and secluded bowers will still meet the eye of the pilgrim who seeks to recall the old days of Dutch rule in India.

But the English of the eighteenth century hated the French as their natural enemies; and this hatred was intensified in India by the fact that the natural enemies were commercial rivals. The French had built a town and fort at Pondicherry, about a hundred miles to the south of Madras; and whenever a difference arose between the two governments, it was accompanied by a warm correspondence which plainly revealed the hostile feeling which was burning on either side.

Besides Madras, the English had founded a settlement at Fort St. David, near the mouth of the southern Pennar river. It was only twelve miles to the south of Pondicherry; and seems to have been a rival establishment to Pondicherry. Fort St. David plays an important part in the after history; for the English at that settlement hated the French with as much warmth as their brethren at Fort St. George.

The English at Madras and Fort St. David were also troubled by so-called interlopers; a name applied to all English adventurers who were not in the service of the Company, and who were not licensed to dwell as free merchants within the Company's bounds. These interlopers were generally roving captains, who persisted in carrying on an illicit trade in the eastern seas, in defiance of the monopoly granted to the Company by the charter; and who often combined the pursuits of trade with those of slave-dealing and piracy.

The political outlook at Madras was confined to the Car-

natic.¹ Since the death of Aurangzeb this province had been an appanage of the Nizam of the Dekhan; in other words, it was governed by a Nawab, who was appointed by the Nizam subject to confirmation and investiture by the Great Moghul.

The Moghul province of the Carnatic was supposed to extend north and south from the neighborhood of the river Kistna to Cape Cormorin, and east and west from the coast of Coromandel to the Eastern Ghats, which cut it off from Mysore and Malabar.² Politically, however, it was divided into a northern and a southern region by the river Koleroon; and this distinction is the key to the after history.

The region to the north of the Koleroon might be termed the Moghul Carnatic. It had been conquered by the Moghuls, and brought under Moghul rule; and all the towns, districts and more important fortresses were under the command of Moghul officers.

The region to the south of the Koleroon might be termed the Hindu Carnatic. It was for the most part under the dominion of the Hindu Rajas of Trichinopoly and Tanjore. Both these Rajas had been conquered by the Moghul, so far as to pay a subsidy or tribute; but nevertheless they maintained an independent rule in their respective kingdoms; and no Nawab had ever annexed their territories to his own province. These Rajas had been Naiks, or governors of provinces, under the old Hindu empire of Vijayanagar; and they might be described as the relics of the empire, half conquered by the Moghul, but rarely paying tribute unless compelled by force of arms.

¹ Properly speaking, this Carnatic should be termed "Lower Carnatic," or Carnatic below the Eastern Ghats, to distinguish it from Mysore and other Hindu countries to the westward, which are sometimes included under the name of "Upper Carnatic," or Carnatic above the Ghats. The term Carnatic is so often applied to the Lower Carnatic only that it may be used for the future in its latter application.

² The real boundary of the Carnatic province on the north was the little river Gundlacama, half-way between the Kistna and the northern Pennar. The tract between the Gundlacama and the Kistna was at one time of some importance in a quarrel about the Northern Circars.

Besides the two Rajas there was a class of minor chiefs, known as Poligars. They were to be found both north and south of the Koleroon. They had been feudal barons under the old Hindu rule of Vijayanagar, holding their lands by military tenure; but, like the old chiefs of Highland clans, they refused to accept the Moghul régime, and indeed were often disaffected toward the Hindu Rajas. Sometimes they were forced to pay tribute or allegiance; but often they maintained a rude independence in some remote stronghold.

The Moghul conquest was hurtful to the people of the northern region. The revenue was mostly derived from the land, and the Moghul Nawabs were harder task-masters than Hindu Rajas. The Hindu kingdoms descended from father to son, and were regarded as family property; and self-interest led successive Rajas to encourage cultivators, and keep tanks and irrigation works in repair.¹ But the earlier Nawabs were removed at will by the Nizam or the Great Moghul. They cared only to make money, and paid no heed to the future. They doubled the land assessments, and let the tanks and irrigation works go to rack and ruin; and for some years many lands fell out of cultivation, and grain rose to famine prices.

Meanwhile the inland trade of the English had fallen off. The ravages of the Mahrattas in the Upper Carnatic prevented the Canarese merchants of Mysore and elsewhere from bringing their cotton-yarn to Madras. The removal of the imperial camp from the Dekhan to Delhi, after the death of Aurangzeb, had ruined the trade in scarlet and green broadcloths. The outbreaks of Poligars and freebooters, as well as threatened invasions of Mahrattas, created general alarm; and wealthy natives hoarded their treasures in strongholds, or sent them to Madras or Pondicherry for security.

But the prosperity of Madras was increasing. The de-

¹ The comparative merits of Hindu and Moghul rule are open to question. The Catholic missionaries in Southern India during the seventeenth century are loud in their denunciations of the cruelties and oppressions of the Hindu Rajas.

mand from Europe for cotton piece goods was greater than ever. The English founded two new towns for the exclusive accommodation of spinners, weavers, dyers, washers, and other Hindus engaged in the manufacture. They also planted trees for the accommodation of this class of people, who were accustomed to work in the open air. Hindus of other castes were not allowed to dwell in these towns, always excepting betel sellers, dancing-girls, and Brahmans.¹

The English at Madras and Fort St. David were mere traders, and cared but little about the country powers. They were industrious and respectable, but curious only as regards products and manufactures. The Moghuls on their part had grown jealous of Europeans, and were anxious to keep them ignorant of all that was going on. The Nawab kept his court at Arcot, which was only seventy miles from Madras; but the English knew as little of Arcot as they did of Delhi. They paid their yearly rent to the Nawab, and sent him complimentary letters and presents, and that was all.²

In 1732 a Nawab died at Arcot. He had been appointed by a Nizam of the Dekhan as far back as 1712, but on his death, in 1732, he was succeeded by an adopted son, named Dost Ali, without any reference to the Nizam. This assumption of hereditary right by the Nawab of the Carnatic was very gruvelling to Nizam-ul-mulk. To make matters worse, Dost Ali withheld the revenge or tribute which previous Nawabs had paid to the Nizam.³ But Nizam-ul-mulk was obliged to pocket the affront. He was too much harassed by the Mahrattas, and worried by Delhi intrigues, to interfere

¹ These two towns are well known to residents in Madras. Collet's petta was founded in 1720; Chindadree petta in 1734. Betel sellers, dancing-girls, and Brahmans are necessities of Hindu life, and no Hindu village is complete without them.

² This ignorance of the surrounding country was peculiar to the English at Madras. It will be seen hereafter that the English at Calcutta were far better acquainted with Bengal.

³ By this time the office of Dewan, or accountant-general in behalf of the Great Moghul, had become a farce. Dost Ali appointed one Chunder Sahib to be Dewan, and gave him a daughter in marriage. Subsequently this Chunder Sahib became an important personage.

with Arcot affairs. Accordingly he nursed his wrath and bided his time.

In 1736 there was a revolution in the Hindu Carnatic. The two kingdoms of Trichinopoly and Tanjore were situated, as already described, immediately to the south of the Koleroon; and they stretched over an unknown tract of country toward Comorin. Trichinopoly was an inland territory, and included the three important towns of Trichinopoly, Dindigul, and Madura. Tanjore lay to the eastward, and stretched to the coast of Coromandel. It was the more fertile territory of the two, for it included the rich delta of the Koleroon and Kaveri; and to this day Tanjore is regarded as the granary of southern India. But Tanjore was at the mercy of Trichinopoly. The rivers Koleroon and Kaveri were only kept asunder by an embankment; and by breaking down that embankment the Kaveri rushed into the Koleroon and Tanjore was robbed of her water supply.

In 1736 the Raja of Trichinopoly died, leaving no children. Consequently there was a war for the succession between the brothers of the Raja and the brothers of the Rani; while the Rani herself claimed to be regent until the son of her eldest brother should attain his majority.

The possession of Trichinopoly had long been coveted by the Nawabs of the Carnatic; it was in fact the key to the Peninsula. Accordingly the Nawab Dost Ali interfered in the affairs of Trichinopoly as the pretended friend of the Rani. He sent an army to Trichinopoly under his son Subder Ali and his son-in-law Chunder Sahib.¹

The son-in-law was a much sharper man than the son. Chunder Sahib gulled the Rani; pretended to be in love with her; swore on the Koran to be faithful to her cause; and finally deluded her into admitting him and his troops into the walls of Trichinopoly. The Rani soon found that she was betrayed; she was thrown into prison, and is said to have taken poison.

¹ Chunder Sahib was the man who married a daughter of the Nawab, and was appointed Dewan.

Chunder Sahib soon took possession of the city and the Raj. He sent one of his kinsmen to command at Dindigul, and another to command at Madura. The people of Trichinopoly bent as usual to their fate: it was the will of the gods. Subder Ali was enraged at finding that Chunder Sahib was holding Trichinopoly and could not be ousted. Accordingly he nursed his vengeance and returned to Arcot. In like manner the Rajas of Tanjore and Mysore were bitterly incensed against Chunder Sahib for putting an end to the Hindu dynasty of Trichinopoly, and bringing the country under Muhammadan rule. But, like Subder Ali, they did nothing and patiently abided their time.

In 1740 the Mahrattas invaded the Carnatic, plundering and destroying according to their wont. Some said that the Nizam had invited them in order to punish the Nawab. Others said that the Rajas of Tanjore and Mysore had invited them to punish Chunder Sahib. Others, again, said that the Great Moghul was unable to pay the chout after the invasion of Nadir Shah, and therefore told them to collect it in the Carnatic and Bengal. Such conflicting rumors are always noised abroad in India on like occasions, and it is often impossible to say whether any of them are false or true.

Nawab Dost Ali had tried to keep out the Mahrattas by marching an army to the Eastern Ghats, and blocking up the passes which led from Mysore into the Carnatic, until he could assemble the whole of his forces from different parts of the province. But there was treachery in his camp. One of his own officers admitted the Mahrattas by a secret pass. The Mahrattas took him by surprise, and assailed his army with the utmost fury. He was slain in the midst of the action; and his troops, seeing that their Nawab was dead, fled in confusion after the manner of Oriental armies.

The Mahratta invasion spread universal terror. Subder Ali, the son of the deceased Nawab, fled to the strong fort of Vellore, about twelve miles from Arcot. Chunder Sahib sent his wife and treasures to Pondicherry, and collected

vast stores of grain within the city of Trichinopoly in order to stand a lengthy siege. The English at Madras began to look after their defences, and shared in the general alarm.

The Mahrattas were disappointed of the spoil. All the gold and jewels in the country had been hoarded up in strongholds. The Mahrattas had no guns or battering train of any kind; and it was impossible for loose bands of horsemen to capture fortresses, except by bribery, stratagem, or starvation. Accordingly they accepted an offer of rupees to the value of a million sterling from Subder Ali, to be paid by instalments; they then left the Carnatic, giving out that they were going to plunder some other part of India.

The departure of the Mahrattas was a *ruse*. Subder Ali had secretly engaged to let them take possession of Trichinopoly, provided they carried off his ambitious brother-in-law, Chunder Sahib, and kept him prisoner at Satara. Their object in leaving the Carnatic was to blind Chunder Sahib, and in this they fully succeeded. Chunder Sahib thought that the Mahrattas would never return, and foolishly sold off all the grain he had stored in Trichinopoly. Suddenly, to his surprise and mortification, the Mahrattas returned to Trichinopoly, and closely besieged the city. Chunder Sahib was helpless; and was soon compelled by sheer starvation to surrender the city. He was then carried off to Satara, and languished in a Mahratta prison for more than six years. Meanwhile the Mahrattas held possession of Trichinopoly. The bulk of the Mahratta army returned to the Konkan; but a general, named Morari Rao, remained in command of Trichinopoly and kept a watchful eye on the progress of affairs in the Carnatic.

For a brief interval Subder Ali was at ease. He had purchased the imprisonment of his dangerous brother-in-law, Chunder Sahib, by permitting the Mahrattas to occupy Trichinopoly. He was still pledged to pay the Mahrattas a subsidy of a million sterling; and this was a matter that required prompt attention. Meanwhile he proceeded to

Arcot, and was proclaimed Nawab of the Carnatic in succession to his father, who had been slain in the passes.

At this juncture Subder Ali was threatened by a new danger from Hyderabad. Nizam-ul-mulk had been for a long time exasperated at the unauthorized succession of Dost Ali to the Nawabship of the Carnatic and the non-payment of tribute. Since then the occupation of Trichinopoly by Chunder Sahib had added fuel to his anger; for in spite of domestic dissensions, the acquisition of Trichinopoly had added to the material resources of the Nawab's family, and would doubtless encourage the Nawab himself to persist in disregarding the superior authority of the Nizam. The invasion of Nadir Shah had compelled Nizam-ul-mulk to bottle up his wrath; but the progress of affairs during the interval had not improved his temper. The Mahrattas had secured a dangerous footing in the Carnatic by the occupation of Trichinopoly. Worse than all, Subder Ali had followed the contumacious example set by his deceased father, by assuming the Nawabship of the Carnatic without any reference to Hyderabad or Delhi.

Under these circumstances Nizam-ul-mulk demanded the immediate payment of all arrears of tribute from the new Nawab. Subder Ali was at his wits' end. He was firmly resolved not to pay the demand. Meanwhile he sent his family and treasures to Madras. He shut himself up in the strong fortress of Vellore, which was commanded by another brother-in-law, named Mortiz Ali.¹ He vowed that the Mahrattas had emptied his treasury of his last rupee. He feigned a pious intention of abdicating his throne, and going on pilgrimage to Mecca. He even made one or two journeys to Madras to induce the Nizam to believe that he was going to embark there for Mecca.

All this while Subder Ali knew that he must pay the Mahrattas. The Nizam might be deceived for a while by

¹ Chunder Sahib and Mortiz Ali had each married daughters of Dost Ali, and were consequently brothers-in-law of the reigning Nawab. Both men played important parts in the after history.

protestations of poverty, or threats of going to Mecca; but the Mahrattas were the most pertinacious people in all India, and were deaf to all vows and prayers that were not backed up by rupees. Any attempt on the part of Subder Ali to delay payment would be followed by another Mahratta invasion of the Carnatic, and the probable release of Chunder Sahib. Accordingly Subder Ali levied contributions from all commanders of towns and forts throughout the province, in order to pay the subsidy promised to the Mahrattas. Mortiz Ali refused payment of his quota. The Nawab was excessively angry, for Mortiz Ali was the richest man in the province, and unless he was made to pay, other commanders would refuse to pay in like manner.

Accordingly the Nawab peremptorily demanded the money. The story of what followed was told with horror at Madras for generations afterward. The Nawab was quartered in the fortress of Vellore, where his brother-in-law Mortiz Ali was commandant; but there was no suspicion of danger; for although the money quarrel was bitter, there was no lack of outward courtesy and politeness on either side.

The great festival of the Muharram approached, when all Sunni Muhammadans devote themselves to feasting and rejoicing, while the Shiahs lament and beat their breasts over the martyrdom of Ali and his two sons, Hasan and Husain. The Nawab permitted his officers to leave the fortress in order to keep the festival with their wives and families. At midnight an Afghan broke into his chamber, followed by black Abyssinian slaves. The unfortunate Nawab raised a cry of alarm, and rushed to the window; but was soon cut down and stabbed to death by the poniards of the assassins.

Next morning the Nawab's army, which was encamped outside the fortress, raised a tumult. They cried out that the Nawab had been assassinated by Mortiz Ali; and they prepared to storm the fortress sword in hand, and avenge the murder. But the soldiery were quieted after Oriental

fashion. Large arrears of pay were due from the dead Nawab; and the men were promised early payment of the whole by instalments, if they would only accept Mortiz Ali as his successor. Accordingly, Mortiz Ali was proclaimed Nawab, and then marched in triumph from Vellore to Arcot, and took up his quarters at the palace.

But the leading men in the Carnatic detested the crime of Mortiz Ali. They applied to Morari Rao at Trichinopoly, who foresaw a new complication, and openly declared against Mortiz Ali. They sent messengers to the English at Madras, begging that the governor would protect the family and treasures of the murdered Nawab. Lastly, they stirred up the army against Mortiz Ali; and the question of the succession seemed to turn upon a matter of pay. The soldiery demanded the immediate payment of all the arrears in full, which they had previously agreed to receive by instalments. Had Mortiz Ali produced the money at once, he might possibly have secured himself in the post of Nawab; but he was seized with a panic, and would not stand the storm. He put on a woman's dress, and entered a covered palanquin, and fled at night time from Arcot to Vellore, accompanied by several female attendants. The result was that the young son of Subder Ali, who had been under the protection of the English at Madras, was proclaimed Nawab of the Carnatic in the room of his father.

By this time Nizam-ul-mulk resolved to march to Arcot, and settle the affairs of the Carnatic. He had arranged matters at Delhi, where his eldest son had been appointed minister; and he had made his peace with the Mahrattas. Accordingly he left Hyderabad in the beginning of 1743, and in March the same year he encamped at Arcot with an overwhelming army.

At Arcot the Nizam found the Carnatic at his feet. Every grandee was anxious to pay submission and homage to the great Nizam-ul-mulk, the pillar of the Moghul empire. But he himself was struck with the anarchy which prevailed throughout the Carnatic. Every petty comman-

dant of a fort or district assumed the title of Nawab; and no less than eighteen of these little Nawabs were introduced to the Nizam in one day. The old grandee of the court of Aurangzeb lost his temper at this enormity. He declared that there was but one Nawab of the Carnatic; and he threatened to scourge the first person who should venture for the future to usurp such a title. He appointed a new Nawab of the Carnatic, named Anwar-ud-din; but he gave out that Anwar-ud-din would be the guardian of the son of Subder Ali; and that when the boy prince became of age, he would be made Nawab of the Carnatic.

The Nizam next proceeded to Trichinopoly, and recovered the city from the Mahrattas. The governor of Madras sent a deputation to Trichinopoly to wait on the great man with a letter and presents. The Nizam received the English gentlemen with much state, but with singular courtesy. He praised the presents sent to him, and promised to forward some to the Great Moghul at Delhi, and to say that they came from the English governor of Madras. He said he wanted guns, powder, mortars, and shells, and, above all, the services of an experienced gunner; but he added that he would take nothing unless he was permitted to pay for it.

In March, 1744, the Nizam left the Carnatic and returned to Hyderabad. In June the same year the boy Nawab was murdered at a wedding-feast. The details were most tragical. On the morning of the ceremony some Afghans had clamored for arrears of pay, but apologized for their insolence and retired. Their captain especially appeared to be very repentant. At night while the guests were sitting in the hall, the coming of Anwar-ud-din was announced, and the boy Nawab went out to the vestibule at the head of the stairs to receive his guardian. The Afghan captain ascended the steps with a respectful air as if to repeat his regrets, when he suddenly drew his dagger and stabbed the prince to the heart. In a moment he was cut to pieces, and his Afghans below met with the same fate.

The assassination of the young prince sent a thrill through

the Carnatic. He was representative of a family who had ruled the Carnatic for thirty years. No member of the family was eligible to succeed except Chunder Sahib and Mortiz Ali. But Chunder Sahib was in a Mahratta prison, while Mortiz Ali was more hated than ever. Meanwhile it was everywhere believed that the murder was instigated by Anwar-ud-din and Mortiz Ali. But the general opinion had no effect upon Nizam-ul-mulk, and he confirmed Anwar-ud-din in his post of Nawab of the Carnatic.

The English at Madras were horrified at the assassinations of two Nawabs in succession; but their attention was soon distracted by more important affairs. War was declared between Great Britain and France. In 1745 an English squadron appeared off the coast of Coromandel, for the purpose of destroying the French settlements in the eastern seas.

M. Dupleix, the governor of Pondicherry, was in great alarm. He sent large presents to the new Nawab, and begged for protection. Anwar-ud-din replied by prohibiting the English from engaging in hostilities within any part of his dominions; but at the same time he assured the English that if the French appeared in superior force, he would prohibit them in like manner.

In 1746 the English fleet left the Coromandel coast, and a French squadron, under the command of Labourdonnais, entered the Bay of Bengal, and threatened Madras. The defences of Fort St. George were sufficient to strike the natives with awe and wonder, but they were ill fitted to stand a bombardment from European ships. The governor and council of Madras requested the Nawab to fulfil his promise of restraining the French; but they neglected to send a present. Accordingly the Nawab seems to have done nothing. Madras was compelled to surrender to Labourdonnais, under a pledge that it should be restored on payment of ransom. Dupleix, however, refused to recognize the pledge; he rejected all offers of ransom. He was a fervid Frenchman, bent on the ruin of the English in India as the enemies of

the French nation. He ordered that all the Company's effects, and all private property except clothes and jewels, should be confiscated as prize. Madras thus became a French settlement, and its inhabitants were sent to Pondicherry as prisoners of war.¹

The Nawab was very wroth at seeing the French in possession of Madras. Dupleix tried to quiet him by promising to give him the town; but the Nawab soon saw that the Frenchman was deceiving him with false promises in order to divert him from protecting the English. Accordingly he resolved to deprive the French of their new conquest, and sent an army of ten thousand men and numerous cannon to capture Madras.

To the utter surprise and mortification of the Nawab, the Moghul army was routed by a French force of four hundred men and two guns, and compelled to fly back to Arcot. The disaster was most humiliating to the Moghul grandees. Up to this time they had proudly imagined that it was their own superior military prowess which induced Europeans to treat them with so much respect and deference. The spell was broken by the French at Madras, who defeated a Moghul army with half a battalion.

The war between the English and French in the Carnatic lasted from 1746 to 1748. It has lost much of its interest since the two nations have become friends, but it was an oft-told story in the last century. The English removed their seat of government from Madras to Fort St. David, near the mouth of the southern Pennar; it was only twelve miles to the south of Pondicherry, and consequently there was much smart fighting between the two settlements; and the Nawab alternately helped the English and the French, according as either appeared to be getting the upper hand.

In 1748 Major Stringer Lawrence arrived from England,

¹ Labourdonnais afterward returned to France, and was thrown into the Bastille. He had rendered great service to France, but was charged by his enemies with collusion with the English at Madras. After three years he was liberated, but died shortly afterward.

and took the command of all the Company's forces in India. Another fleet arrived from England under the command of Admiral Boscawen. A grand attack was made on Pondicherry by land and sea; but after a siege of two months, and the loss of more than a thousand Europeans, the English were compelled to retire. A few weeks afterward peace was proclaimed between Great Britain and France, and Madras was ultimately restored to the English East India Company by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The year 1748 is an epoch in Indian history—Muhammadan, Hindu, and English. The Afghans, delivered by the death of Nadir Shah from the Persian yoke, were beginning to invade the Punjab and Hindustan. Muhammad Shah, the last of the Moghuls of any note, died at Delhi. The aged Nizam-ul-mulk died at Hyderabad, and left his sons to fight for the possession of his throne. Maharaja Sahu died at Satara, and the sovereignty of the Peishwas began at Pooná. Robert Clive gained his first laurels in the defence of the advanced trench before the walls of Pondicherry. Finally, the war between Great Britain and France was brought to a close by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The name of Robert Clive first appeared in the story of the unsuccessful siege of Pondicherry; but in the course of a few years more it was a household word throughout the British Empire. Robert Clive was born in 1725. He grew up a bold and wayward boy, impatient of control, neglecting his studies, but firm and dauntless in all his ways, and especially cool and self-possessed in the face of danger. In 1744, at the age of nineteen, he landed at Madras as a writer in the mercantile service of the Company. When the war broke out with France, he entered the military service of the Company, and obtained a commission as ensign. Subsequently he received the praises of the Court of Directors for his gallantry at Pondicherry.

In the beginning of 1749 the English interfered in the affairs of Tanjore, in the delta of the Koleroon and Kaveri. They had long wanted to establish a settlement at Devicotta,

about twenty miles to the south of Fort St. David, near the mouth of the Koleroon. At last an opportunity presented itself. An exiled member of the reigning family of Tanjore applied to the English for help. He persuaded the governor and council at Fort St. David that he was the rightful Raja, and that the people of Tanjore would join him the moment he appeared at the head of a small force. He also promised to cede Devicotta, and pay all the expenses of the war.

The English sent an expedition against Tanjore, but it was a blunder from the beginning. They had no possible excuse for interfering in the Tanjore succession; and would not have made the attempt, had they not wanted Devicotta, and had not the unexpected peace with France placed a small military force at their disposal. To make matters worse, the people of Tanjore would not receive back the pretender, and boldly resisted the English. All at once the Raja agreed to cede Devicotta; to give a pension to the pretender, and to pay all the cost of the English expedition. It turned out that the Raja was anxious for an alliance with the English. Chunder Sahib, the enemy of Hindu Rajas, had been liberated from his Mahratta prison, and proclaimed Nawab at Arcot; and the Raja of Tanjore saw that no one but the English could protect him in the coming struggle.

Dupleix, the French governor of Pondicherry, was at the bottom of this revolution. While the English were at war for a trading settlement, Dupleix was scheming for an empire. The Frenchman had grown disgusted with trade; the profits of the Indian trade had so diminished as to be, in his opinion, unworthy of the French nation. He turned his attention to the politics of India. He saw that the grandees of the Carnatic were hostile to the Nawab appointed by Nizam-ul-mulk, and hankering after the old hereditary family. He procured the liberation of Chunder Sahib by guaranteeing the payment of a large ransom to the Mahrattas. He was alive to the vast superiority of Europeans over the Moghuls, and he sent a French force to help Chunder Sahib to attack Anwar-ud-din. He hoped to make Chunder Sahib Nawab of

the Carnatic; to establish the French nation as the dominant power in the Peninsula; and to drive the English out of India in the name of the new Nawab.

All this machinery had been set in motion by the death of Nizam-ul-mulk in 1748. Anwar-ud-din, the Nawab of the Carnatic, had thereby lost his patron and supporter; and was left to contend as he best could against the disaffected officers of the Carnatic who were yearning for the restoration of the old dynasty of Nawabs. At the same time Chunder Sahib was no longer in fear of the interference of the Nizam, and had everything to hope from the enemies of Anwar-ud-din.

Meanwhile the death of Nizam-ul-mulk was opening out new fields of ambition to Dupleix. The struggle between two rival Nawabs for the throne of the Carnatic was soon overshadowed by a far grander struggle between two rival Nizams for the throne of the Dekhan; and the attention of Dupleix, which had originally centred at Arcot, began to alternate like a pendulum between Arcot and Hyderabad, until the greater part of India to the south of the Nerbudda river was brought within the sphere of his ambitious designs.

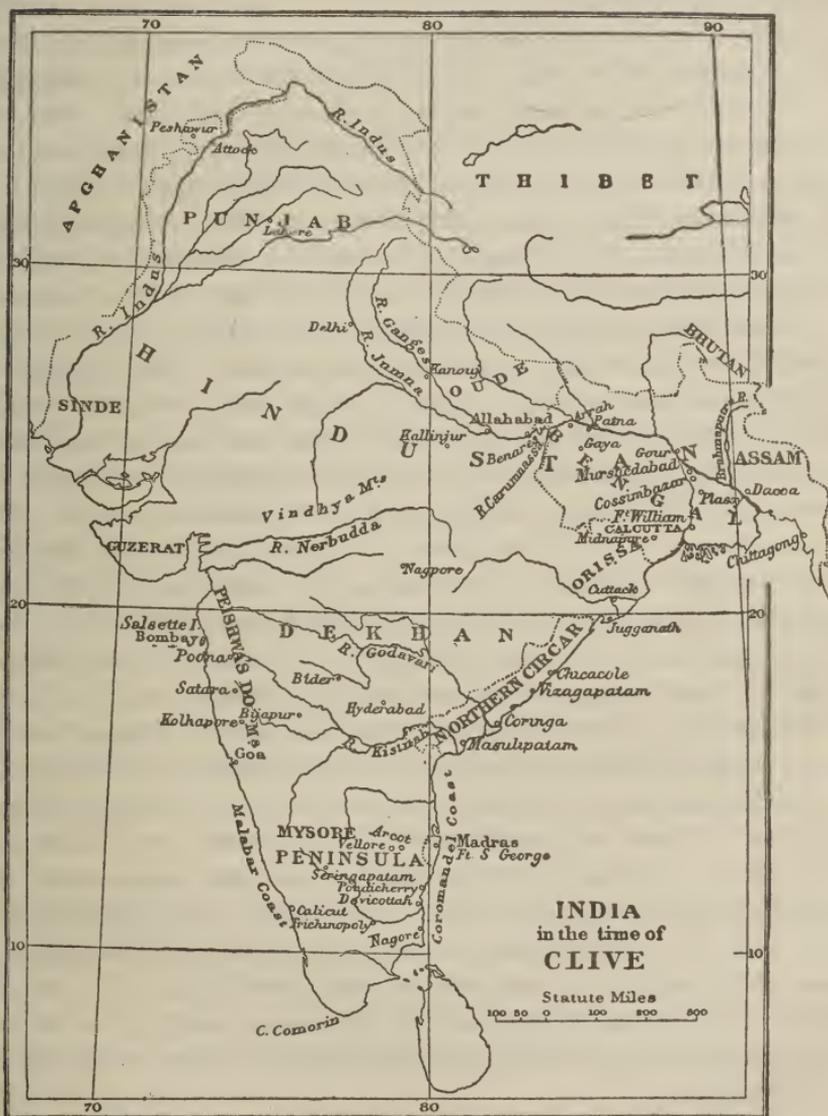
The death of Nizam-ul-mulk had been followed by distractions in his family. His eldest son was at Delhi, but his second son, Nasir Jung, seized the treasures, and pacified the army by a timely distribution of money. This prince had rebelled during the lifetime of his father. The crafty Nizam feigned to be in mortal sickness; he wished, he said, to forgive and embrace his son before he died. Nasir Jung was thus lured to his father's camp, and was then put into chains. After the Nizam's death Nasir Jung proved as unscrupulous as his father. He threw his three younger brothers into confinement, and carried them with him wherever he moved his army.

Oriental princes love their sons while they are children, but grow jealous of them as they approach manhood. Subsequently they often have an affection for grandsons. Nizam-ul-mulk had a favorite grandson known as Muzaffir Jung.

After his death this young prince produced a will by which the Nizam bequeathed his treasures and dominions to his favorite grandson. The will was probably a forgery; at any rate, Nizam ul-mulk could not bequeath territories which nominally belonged to the Great Moghul. To add to the absurdity, both the son and grandson affected to receive delegates from the Great Moghul, with insignia and letters of investiture for the government of the Dekhan. Both could not have been real; probably in both cases the delegates were hired and the letters were forged. Such mock ceremonials were soon common in India, and imposed on no one but the credulous mob.

At this crisis the grandson, Muzaffir Jung, received a proposal from Chunder Sahib that they should unite their forces, conquer the Carnatic, and then conquer the Dekhan. The scheme recommended itself to all parties, to Dupleix as well as to Muzaffir Jung. The would-be Nizam joined his forces to those of the would-be Nawab, and the two allies began a career of brilliant successes which took the Carnatic by surprise. They marched through the passes of the Eastern Ghats, defeated Anwar-ud-din at Amboor, and left him dead upon the field. They next proceeded to Arcot and proclaimed Chunder Sahib as Nawab of the Carnatic. Finally they went to Pondicherry, and were received with open arms by Dupleix.

Meanwhile a son of the slain Nawab, named Muhammad Ali, had fled to Trichinopoly. It was the last stronghold remaining to the family of Anwar-ud-din, and Muhammad Ali was the last representative of the family. It was obvious to Dupleix that the capture of Trichinopoly, and surrender of Muhammad Ali, would bring the war in the Carnatic to a triumphant close, and enable the allies to bring all their forces to bear against Nasir Jung. Accordingly he urged Chunder Sahib and Muzaffir Jung to march with all speed to Trichinopoly, and waste no time in the reduction of the place; as it would not only establish Chunder Sahib on the throne of the Carnatic without a rival, but prepare the way



for ousting Nasir Jung from Hyderabad, and enthroning Muzaffir Jung as Nizam of the Dekhan in the room of his uncle.

But Dupleix had to deal with Asiatic princes, on whom it is dangerous to rely. Both Chunder Sahib and Muzaffir Jung were in pressing want of money, but both were too proud to mention their poverty to Dupleix, lest it should lower them in the eyes of their French ally. They left Pondicherry with music and banners, but without funds; and they halted at Tanjore to demand a subsidy from the Raja, as arrears of tribute due to the Nawab of the Carnatic.

The Tanjore Raja had been in mortal fear of Chunder Sahib ever since the treacherous capture of Trichinopoly in 1736. He had rejoiced when his Mahratta brethren carried off Chunder Sahib as a prisoner to Satara; and he had hastened to form an alliance with the English the moment he heard of the escape and successes of Chunder Sahib. He knew that he was powerless to contend against a demand for a subsidy which was backed up by the French. He shut himself up in his capital and prepared to stand a siege; but then lost heart and offered to pay a ransom. His sole object was to gain time; and he resorted to all those evasions, procrastinations, hesitations, and vexatious alternations of resistance and submission, by which native potentates often prolong a settlement long after they are convinced of the hopelessness of war. Days and weeks were then frittered away in fixing the gross amount of the subsidy, and the instalments by which it was to be paid. All this while Chunder Sahib and Muzaffir Jung were most anxious to advance to Trichinopoly, but could not move without money; while letters from Dupleix were constantly reaching the camp, urging the allies to raise the siege of Tanjore and hasten to the reduction of Trichinopoly.

At last the amount of subsidy was fixed; also the amount of the first instalment, which was to be paid down on the spot. Then the Tanjore Raja had recourse to other artifices. He feigned the utmost anxiety to pay the money, but he had

no rupees. One day he sent a package of gold and silver plate; and his officers wrangled like pedlers over the valuation. Another day he sent a lot of old and obsolete coins, which entailed more wrangling. Lastily, he sent jewels and precious stones of dubious or fluctuating value, which led to endless altercations.

Suddenly the uproar ceased and the Raja was relieved. During the quarrels about the subsidy, Nasir Jung had left Hyderabad with an overwhelming army, and begun to invade the Carnatic. The allies were thrown into a panic. Muzaffir Jung was induced to surrender himself to his uncle by promises of pardon and promotion, and was then chained and imprisoned, as his uncle had been before him. Chunder Sahib fled to Pondicherry. Nasir Jung entered Arcot, and found, like Nizam-ul-mulk, that the Carnatic was at his feet. He appointed Muhammad Ali to be Nawab of the Carnatic, and thus seemed to have brought the ambitious schemes of Dupleix to a final ending.

Dupleix, however, was not a man to be cast down by reverses. He was not a soldier like Clive. "Battles," he said, "confused his genius." But he knew how to plan campaigns, and he was anxious to intimidate the English and frighten Nasir Jung. One detachment of the French army surprised the fort of Masulipatam at the mouth of the Kistna. Another French army routed the army of Muhammad Ali at Trivadi, only sixteen miles from Fort St. David. But the crowning exploit was carried out by M. Bussy, a Frenchman destined to win a name in India. Bussy captured the fortress of Jinji, the strongest in the Carnatic. It was only thirty-five miles from Pondicherry, and was supposed to command the whole country. In the previous century it had been the great bone of contention between the Moghul and the Mahratta.¹

¹ The fortress of Jinji, formerly spelled Ginge, was a natural stronghold improved by art; it had been famous for centuries as the citadel of the Carnatic. It consisted of three precipitous rocks or mountains, from four hundred to six hundred feet in height, forming very nearly an equilateral triangle. They were covered with redoubts, one above each other, and were connected by lines of

All this while Nasir Jung was wasting his time in a round of pleasures at Arcot. He was unmoved by the capture of Masulipatam, or the defeat of his Nawab, Muhammad Ali; but the capture of Jinji opened his eyes to the dangerous prowess of the French. He offered to treat with the French, but the demands of Dupleix were preposterous. Muzaffir Jung was to be liberated; Chunder Sahib was to be Nawab of the Carnatic; Masulipatam was to be formally ceded to the French East India Company; and Jinji was to be left in the hands of the French. Nasir Jung was so enraged at these demands that he marched his army toward Jinji, with the view of overwhelming the French, and recovering the ancient citadel of the Carnatic which had slipped out of his hands.

Dupleix was playing a deep game, which requires some explanation. He was naturally a man of energy and resources, but he now displayed a mixture of audacity and craft which was more Oriental than European. These Asiatic proclivities were due to the influence of his wife; a lady of mixed parentage, who was born and bred in India, and whom he had married in Bengal. Madame Dupleix was familiar with the native languages, and well versed in native ways. She carried on a large correspondence with personages at different courts; and was widely known in India as Jan Begum.¹

works. They thus enclosed a plain in which the town was situated. The night attack of Bussy and his Frenchmen was one of the most brilliant operations in the war. They blew up a gate with a petard, and climbed up all three mountains at once, carrying each redoubt sword in hand, and storming the fortifications on the summits, which were the strongest of all. The modern traveller, who gazes on this rock fortress, may well wonder at the success of the French; but probably no one was more astonished than the French themselves.

¹ Jeanne was the Christian name of Madame Dupleix, but she signed herself Jan Begum. As a specimen of her intrigues it may suffice to mention that Jan Begum carried on a secret correspondence with the native interpreter of the Madras governor; and that this interpreter not only reported to her all that occurred at Fort St. David, but induced the native commanders of the Sepoys in the British service to pledge themselves to desert to the French in the next general action. The plot was discovered in time; the native interpreter was hanged, the native commanders were banished for life to St. Helena, but Jan Begum continued to be as busy as ever at Pondicherry.

There was disaffection and treachery in the army of Nasir Jung; and Dupleix and his half native wife were corresponding with the rebel commanders. A small French force was sent out from Pondicherry, nominally to fight the overwhelming army of Nasir, but really to co-operate with the traitors. Some of the disaffected officers of the Nizam's army were ordered to charge the French, but refused to stir. Nasir Jung rode up to the rebels, and called them a set of cowards, who were afraid to withstand a mad attempt of a few drunken Europeans. At that moment he was shot dead by a carbine. His death was followed by a complete revolution of affairs. Muzaffir Jung was taken out of his prison, and hailed by the whole army as Nizam of the Dekhan in the room of his dead uncle.

The news was received at Pondicherry with the wildest joy. Chunder Sahib and Dupleix embraced each other like friends escaped from shipwreck. Salutes were fired, and a "Te Deum" was sung in the cathedral. Muzaffir Jung proceeded from Jinji to Pondicherry, and was solemnly installed in the French settlement as ruler of the Dekhan. Dupleix appeared at the ceremony in the dress of a Muhammadan grandee, and was the first to pay homage to Muzaffir Jung.

Meanwhile the gratitude of Muzaffir Jung was unbounded. He appointed Dupleix to be governor for the Great Moghul of all the countries to the south of the Kistna. He appointed Chunder Sahib to be Nawab of the Carnatic, but under the authority of Dupleix. He ceded enough territories to the French East India Company to yield a yearly revenue to the value of nearly forty thousand pounds sterling. He distributed money to the value of fifty thousand pounds among the French officers and troops, and presented Dupleix with a sum equal to two hundred thousand pounds.

Another revolution was impending. The new Nizam returned to the Dekhan with a French force under Bussy. The rebel commanders were dissatisfied with the rewards they had received for the part they had played in the conspiracy against Nasir Jung. Again they broke out in tumult. It

was suppressed by the fire of the French artillery, but Muzaffir Jung pursued the fugitives, and received a mortal stroke from a javelin.

The sudden death of the new Nizam threw the whole camp into horrible confusion. The army was greatly in arrears of pay. The grandees were afraid that the troops would break out in mutiny and plunder. The French would have fared worse than all, for the jealousy of their influence was universal. But the coolness of Bussy averted the crisis. The three younger brothers of Nasir Jung were still in confinement. Bussy released the eldest and proclaimed him ruler of the Dekhan under the name of Salabut Jung, amid the general acclamations of the whole army.

Such was the state of affairs in the early part of 1751. Dupleix had realized his wildest dreams of French supremacy in India. The Nizam and the Nawab owed their thrones to Dupleix and his Frenchmen. Not a single rival remained to the French candidates except Muhammad Ali, who had been appointed Nawab of the Carnatic by Nasir Jung; and Muhammad Ali was closely besieged by Chunder Sahib and the French at Trichinopoly, and was already offering terms.

Meanwhile the English at Madras and Fort St. David had been utterly bewildered by revolutions which were contrary to the precedents and institutions of the Moghul empire. Muhammad Ali had been appointed Nawab of the Carnatic by the Nizam; and the English had recognized and supported him as the legitimate Nawab, and sent small detachments from time to time to Trichinopoly. But they were afraid of being drawn into hostilities with the French, in violation of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. They had even allowed Admiral Boscawen and Major Lawrence to return to England on the ground that the war with France was over. In a word, they seemed resigned to a fate which they could not avert, and anxiously awaited fresh instructions from the Directors in England.

The news that Muhammad Ali was capitulating with

Dupleix aroused the English from their torpor. The instinct of self-preservation drove them to action. If Muhammad Ali submitted to the French, the ruin of Madras and Fort St. David was assured; for Dupleix could issue his own orders for their destruction through his creature, Chunder Sahib. Accordingly, the English sent larger detachments to Trichinopoly, and appointed Captain Cope, and afterward Captain De Gingen, to take the command.

The military operations at Trichinopoly are forgotten now. Fighting the French is no longer a master passion with the English nation; and the exploits of Cope, De Gingen, and Dalton, with absurdly small parties of English soldiers, have died out of the national memory. But Clive, who was now a captain, performed a feat which thrilled through the British empire. He had gone to Trichinopoly, and studied the whole situation. The succession of the Nizams of the Dekhan was practically settled in favor of the French. Nasir Jung and Muzaffir Jung had both been slain; and Salabut Jung had been placed by Bussy on the throne at Hyderabad. The question as regards the succession of a Nawab of the Carnatic turned upon the fate of Trichinopoly. If Chunder Sahib, the French Nawab, captured Trichinopoly, the English would be driven out of the Carnatic. If Muhammad Ali, the English Nawab, held out at Trichinopoly, he might yet be restored to the throne of his father Anwar-ud-din, and the English settlements would be saved from destruction.

The English were terribly outnumbered at Trichinopoly. The Hindu Rajas, especially Mysore and Tanjore, were holding aloof from the contest; they hated Chunder Sahib, but they would not commit themselves by sending forces to help Muhammad Ali. In a word, they were trembling in the balance between the English and French; waiting to see who would get the upper hand in order that they might join the winning side.

The relief of Trichinopoly was of the first importance to the English; it was almost a question of life or death.

The problem was solved by Captain Clive. In July, 1751, Captain Clive returned from Trichinopoly to Madras. The road runs due north to Arcot, a distance of some hundred and eighty miles from Trichinopoly; it then runs eastward from Arcot to Madras, a distance of scarcely seventy miles. During the march, Captain Clive saw that the garrisons in the Carnatic, and especially the force at Arcot, had been drawn away to the siege of Trichinopoly; that Arcot was consequently open to attack; and that the capture of Arcot might prove the salvation of Trichinopoly. On reaching Madras he proposed sending an expedition against Arcot. He urged that the capture of the capital of the Carnatic in the name of Muhammad Ali would revive the spirits of the Hindu Rajas, and induce them to rally round his standard at Trichinopoly. At the same time it would weaken the besieging force at Trichinopoly, by compelling Chunder Sahib and the French to send a large detachment far away to the northward for the recovery of Arcot.

The proposition was approved, and the expedition from Madras to Arcot proved to be the turning-point in the war. The detachment consisted of only two hundred Europeans and three hundred sepoys. Captain Clive took the command, and had eight European officers under him; but of these only two had been in action, while four of the remainder were commercial clerks who had been fired by his example to draw the sword.

With this handful of men, and three field-pieces for artillery, Clive marched from Madras. On the way he heard that the fort of Arcot was garrisoned by eleven hundred men, or more than double his force; and he wrote back to Madras for two eighteen-pounders. Spies from Arcot soon announced his approach to the garrison. They reported that the English had marched through a storm of thunder, lightning, and rain without the slightest concern. The garrison at Arcot was so frightened at this astounding audacity that they fled from the fort and encamped at a distance, leaving fort and town open to the invaders.

The English force entered the city, and took possession of the fort, while a hundred thousand spectators looked helplessly on. Clive found lead, gunpowder, and eight pieces of cannon. He stored the fort with provisions sufficient to stand a siege. Meanwhile the fugitive garrison from Arcot was reinforced by large numbers, and threatened to storm the fort; but were dispersed by the sallies of Clive.

The forecast of Clive was fulfilled to the letter. Chunder Sahib and the French were taken aback by the English occupation of Arcot; and were compelled to divide their besieging force at Trichinopoly by sending an overwhelming native army, accompanied by a hundred and fifty Europeans, for the recovery of Arcot. For the space of fifty days Clive not only repulsed all attacks, but filled the enemy with constant alarm. Bribes were offered him in vain. His exploits created such an impression on the Hindus that a body of Mahrattas joined him from Mysore. Other reinforcements were approaching from Madras, when the enemy threw all its force into one final attack. The assault was made at early morning on the festival of the Muharram. The Muhammadan army was drunk with enthusiasm and bhang, and rushed on to the trenches with their ladders in their hands. But Clive had been prepared for the attack and repulsed it at all points, until the energy of the storming parties was exhausted and the fire of musketry and cannon died away. At night the enemy raised the siege and fled in confusion.

Captain Clive then took the field, and not only routed and dispersed the retreating enemy, but captured several strongholds in the Carnatic in behalf of Muhammad Ali. In January, 1752, the enemy tried to create a diversion by invading the Company's territory of Poonamallee, and plundering the country-houses of the English in the neighborhood of Madras. Clive again attacked and defeated them, but was suddenly recalled to Fort St. David. His career of individual conquest had been brought to a close. In March,

1752, Major Lawrence returned from England and resumed the command of all the Company's forces.

All this while Muhammad Ali and the English still held out at Trichinopoly against Chunder Sahib and the French. Accordingly Major Lawrence marched to Trichinopoly with reinforcements for the besieged, while Clive served under him as the second in command. The tide of fortune had turned in favor of Muhammad Ali, and there was consequently no lack of native allies. One force had already come from Tanjore to assist in the defence of Trichinopoly. A still larger army was brought by the regent of Mysore, who had also hired a body of Mahrattas under Morari Rao.¹ Other bands of barbarians were brought up from the southern jungles by a chief known as Tondiman Poligar. But Major Lawrence was worried by his native allies. Splendid opportunities were lost because the stars were not favorable; and he often found that he must either act alone, or be tied down by feasts or fasts, or by lucky or unlucky days.

Still the operations of the English under Lawrence and Clive were crowned with success. In May, 1752, Chunder Sahib surrendered himself a prisoner to the Tanjore general, by whom he was barbarously murdered. At the same time the French force at Trichinopoly capitulated. The officers gave their parole not to serve against Muhammad Ali or his allies; while the private soldiers, to the number of four hundred, were sent to Fort St. David as prisoners.

The year 1752 thus saw the English triumphant at Trichinopoly. French interests seemed to be ruined. Major Lawrence prepared to leave Trichinopoly with his native allies; to recover the fortresses in the Carnatic which had not been surrendered; and to conduct Muhammad Ali to Arcot, and install him as Nawab.

At this crisis a dangerous quarrel, which must have been

¹ The Raja of Mysore was at this time an infant, and the country was governed by his uncle Nunjiraj as regent during his minority. It was at this period that Hyder Naik, the founder of the Muhammadan kingdom of Mysore, was rising to power as an officer in the service of Nunjiraj.

secretly brewing for weeks, suddenly broke out between the native allies. Major Lawrence discovered, to his utter surprise and discomfiture, that Muhammad Ali had bought the help of Mysore by promising to make over Trichinopoly to the regent; and the Mysore regent refused to stir from Trichinopoly, or to take any part in the restoration of Muhammad Ali to the throne of the Carnatic, until the city of Trichinopoly was placed in his possession.

The dispute about Trichinopoly has long been obsolete, but in 1752 it involved serious consequences. It was the key to the Hindu Carnatic, and as such had long been coveted by successive Nawabs; and its occupation by Mysore, or the Mahrattas, or by any other Hindu power, would have been justly regarded as a perpetual menace to the Nawab.

Major Lawrence tried to effect a compromise, but soon found that it was impossible. Muhammad Ali was full of excuses and evasions. He confessed that he had pledged himself to make over Trichinopoly; but he urged that the promise had been extorted from him by his extreme distress, and that the Mysore regent was fully aware that he could not fulfil it. Trichinopoly, he said, belonged to the Great Moghul; and if it was given to a Hindu Raja, the Great Moghul would make war, not only upon him, but upon his English allies. He privately proposed to Major Lawrence to amuse the regent by promising to deliver up Trichinopoly at the end of two months. Meanwhile, he added, he hoped to collect enough arrears of revenue to defray the expenses of the regent, and prevent the necessity of parting with Trichinopoly.

Major Lawrence thus found himself involved in a web of deceit and intrigue which rendered action impracticable. The Mysore regent professed himself willing to accept payment of his expenses in lieu of Trichinopoly, if the money was paid at once; but he demanded such an enormous sum that money was out of the question. It was thought that Morari Rao could mediate between the two parties, but he made matters worse. Publicly he decided that the Nawab

was to make over Trichinopoly at the end of two months. Privately he counselled the Nawab not to surrender Trichinopoly at all. Privately also he counselled the Mysore regent to insist on the immediate surrender of the city under pain of making war on the Nawab, or deserting to the French. By so doing the wily Mahratta secretly made friends with both sides, and obtained large presents from both the Nawab and the regent, who were each anxious for his support. At the same time Morari Rao fomented the rupture between the two, and tried to cajole the Nawab into allowing the Mahratta troops to hold Trichinopoly during the interval, on the treacherous understanding that at the end of the two months he was not to make it over to the Mysore regent, but to give it back to Muhammad Ali. Had Morari Rao succeeded in getting inside Trichinopoly he would undoubtedly have kept possession of the place, just as Chunder Sahib had done some fifteen years before.

This wretched quarrel robbed the English of all the pleasure of their triumph. Moreover, it was followed by plots and intrigues for the seizure of Trichinopoly, which volumes would fail to describe. Meanwhile the fortunes of the French were becoming brilliant in the Dekhan. Dupleix and his wife took advantage of these successes to send letters and presents to all parties at Trichinopoly, representing that the English were a plodding mercantile people, unacquainted with war, and unable to oppose the French, and who owed all their victories to the valor and activity of the Mahratta cavalry. The consequence was that the Mysore regent went over to the French together with the Mahrattas; while the contingents of the Tanjore Raja and Tondiman Poligar returned to their own homes, incensed alike against the Nawab and the Mysore regent, and resolved to do nothing more until they could find whether the English or French were likely to win the day.

All this while Dupleix had never despaired. The death of Chunder Sahib, and surrender of the French force at Trichinopoly, had excited consternation at Pondicherry.

But Bussy's successes in the Dekhan more than counter-balanced the disasters in the Carnatic. Salabut Jung owed his throne to the French; and would have been deprived of it at any moment by one rival or another, but for the support of Bussy and the French army. Accordingly he ceded a large and valuable territory on the Coromandel coast for the permanent maintenance of the French forces. The French thus acquired a larger territory in India than had ever before been possessed by any European power, not excepting the Portuguese. It stretched along six hundred miles of seaboard, from the Carnatic frontier at the river Gundlacama, northward to the pagoda of Jagganath. It yielded a yearly revenue of more than half a million sterling; and possessed commercial advantages which were vastly improved by the possession of the port of Masulipatam. This territory was afterward known as the Northern Circars.

At the same time Dupleix professed to have been confirmed by Salabut Jung in the post of ruler of all India to the south of the Kistna. He even feigned to have received insignia and letters of investiture from the Great Moghul. By virtue of this authority he arrogated to himself all the powers of a Nawab.

In 1753 the English were anxious for a peace. They were worn out by the expense of a war which was in reality a national affair, and ought not to have fallen on the East India Company. Captain Clive had returned to England on the score of ill-health; and the operations of Lawrence were indecisive. The English were willing to leave the French in possession of the Northern Circars, and to acknowledge Salabut Jung as Nizam of the Dekhan; but they required the French to acknowledge Muhammad Ali as Nawab of the Carnatic. But Dupleix was impracticable, and rejected the offer with disdain. He claimed to be Nawab of the Carnatic, and unless his authority as Nawab was recognized by the English he would make no terms whatever.

In this dilemma the Court of Directors in London called

on the British ministry to put an end to the war in the Carnatic, or to carry it on at the charge of the British nation. The question had become of vital importance. Great Britain and France were at peace in Europe, and had been at peace ever since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. The war between the two nations in the Carnatic was thus not only an anomaly, but a complication which few in Europe could comprehend. London and Paris were confused by dynastic stories of rival Nawabs and rival Nizams setting the Great Moghul at defiance, and fighting for the mastery with the English Company on one side and the French Company on the other. Meanwhile the Directors of both Companies found themselves drawn into hopeless contests, which exhausted their treasuries and obstructed their trade.

Under such circumstances all parties began to throw the blame upon Dupleix. The English charged him with beginning the war by the liberation of Chunder Sahib from his Mahratta prison at Satara. The French denounced his ambitious schemes for his own aggrandizement, which devoured the profits of the French East India Company without adding to the glory of the French nation. Dupleix was sacrificed to the necessities of both nations, to prevent a war between Great Britain and France, and to enable the English and French Companies to escape from political responsibilities which were destructive to the interests of trade.

The finale is soon told. A French commissary was sent to Pondicherry with full powers to conclude a peace with the English authorities at Madras. Both sides pledged themselves for the future to renounce all native government and dignity, and to abandon all interference with native powers. The French also agreed to relinquish all territories they had acquired in excess of those acquired by the English. But these conditions were never carried out. Dupleix, however, was removed from the government of Pondicherry, and returned to France a ruined and broken-hearted man.¹

¹ Dupleix lived for nine years longer. He died at Paris in the utmost poverty, on the 10th of November, 1764.

The treaty was signed at Pondicherry in January, 1755. It was only provisional, and awaited the confirmation of the English and French governments in Europe; and within eighteen months it was cast to the winds. The English excited the jealousy of the French by helping Muhammad Ali to establish his authority in the Carnatic over rebellious Poligars. At the same time the French occupation of the Northern Circars, and the continued presence of Bussy and his forces in the Dekhan, excited the bitterest animosity of the English.

Meanwhile Clive, who had embarked for England in 1753 on the score of ill-health, had returned to Bombay with the commission of a lieutenant-colonel in the service of the Crown. He was to have led a European force from Bombay toward Hyderabad, with the view of co-operating with the Peishwa of the Mahrattas against the Nizam, and compelling Salabut Jung to dismiss Bussy and his Frenchmen. But the expedition was stopped by the treaty of Pondicherry. Accordingly he joined the fleet of Admiral Watson in an expedition against a noted pirate named Angria.

About the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the Moghul power was beginning to decline, a rebel of the name of Angria founded a piratical empire on the Malabar coast between Bombay and Goa. During the fifty years which followed, the name of Angria had been as great a terror on the sea as that of Sivaji had been on land. A succession of Angrias had pushed their aggressions along the Mahratta coast, until they possessed a seaboard of a hundred and twenty miles in length, with a fort at every creek. Their fleets consisted of fast-sailing vessels of small burden, and rowing-boats of forty or fifty oars, armed with guns and crowded with men. No vessel could pass this coast without paying chout for a pass from Angria, or running the chance of capture. The East India Company alone expended fifty thousand pounds yearly on the maintenance of an armed convoy for the protection of their merchant ships against these dangerous corsairs.

The capital of Angria was at Gheria, which was supposed to be another Gibraltar, but Clive and Watson made short work of capturing it. The place was bombarded and stormed in February, 1756, and its fortifications and shipping were destroyed. Angria's people were so alarmed that they surrendered all their other forts to the Mahrattas without resistance, and abandoned most of their territory.

Clive and Watson next proceeded to Madras. Meanwhile there had been a rupture between Salabut Jung and Bussy, brought about by a powerful Muhammadan party at the court of Hyderabad. In July, 1756, Bussy marched his force to Hyderabad, and took up a strong position; while Salabut Jung sent urgent messages to Madras imploring the help of the English against the French.

Nothing could have been more acceptable to the English authorities. All mention of the Dekhan and the Nizam had been intentionally excluded from the treaty of Pondicherry. At the same time Europe was on the eve of the "Seven Years' War," and a declaration of hostilities between Great Britain and France was expected to arrive in India by every ship. Accordingly, an English force was prepared to take the field for the support of Salabut Jung against the French; but suddenly the march was countermanded. In August terrible news arrived from Bengal. Calcutta had been captured by the Nawab of Bengal, Behar,¹ and Orissa, and a hundred and twenty-three English prisoners had been stifled to death in the Black Hole.

¹ In the previous chapters Behar has been spelled "Bihar" in conformity with the spelling ordered by the British government. But in dealing with the history of British India, it is not worth while to change the spelling of a geographical term which has been in general use for more than a century.

CHAPTER II

ENGLISH IN BENGAL

A.D. 1700 TO 1761

THE position of the English in Calcutta during the early half of the eighteenth century bore a general resemblance to that of the English at Madras. They had a governor and council, and a mayor's court. They had an English officer, who collected revenue and administered justice among their native subjects under the name of Zemindar. They had a head policeman, who kept the peace by day and night, under the name of Kotwal. They had Dutch and French neighbors, whose factories were situated some twenty miles off at Chinsura and Chandernagore. They paid rent and customs to the Moghul officer, who commanded the surrounding district under the name of Foujdar, and made Hughli his headquarters.¹

The Nawab of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, was a grandee of the first water, who kept his court at Murshedabad, about a hundred and twenty miles to the north of Calcutta. The English had few transactions with the great man; they generally carried on all their political negotiations through the Moghul commander at Hughli.

The English at Calcutta knew more of the interior than the English at Madras. There was no waterway at Madras to open up the country; and no great roads in the Peninsula like those which traversed Hindustan and the Dekhan. Before the war, Arcot was as remote at Delhi, while Madura

¹ The Dutch factory at Chinsura, the French factory at Chandernagore, and the Moghul town of Hughli, are some three or four miles distant from each other.

was a mystery like Peking or Timbuctoo. But the position of the English at Calcutta was altogether different, for they had established factories at a considerable distance inland. On the north they had a factory at Cossimbazar, the trading suburb of Murshedabad. On the east they had a factory at Dacca, near the Brahmaputra river, whence they procured Dacca muslins. On the west they had the great waterway of the Ganges, and had established a factory at Patna, four hundred miles from Calcutta, for the purchase of saltpetre, raw silk, and opium.

The old Nawabs of Bengal were thus better known to the English than the Nawabs of the Carnatic. The founder of the first hereditary dynasty was Murshed Kuli Khan, a man who flourished between 1700 and 1725, and was a type of the rulers formed in the school of Aurangzeb. He rose from some minor post to be Nawab of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa; a territory extending north and south from the mountains of Nipal to the jungles of Gondwana, and east and west from the river Brahmaputra and Bay of Bengal to the little river Carumnassa.¹ He moved his capital from Dacca to Murshedabad, which was so called after his own name.²

The secret of the rise of Murshed Kuli Khan lay in his sending a large yearly tribute to the imperial treasury at Delhi, together with large presents for ministers, favorites, and influential *grandees*. In return he was allowed to fill the two posts of Nawab and Dewan; in other words, to command the three provinces while acting as accountant-general for the Great Moghul. He was thus necessarily a strict financier, and many stories are told by native writers of his cruelty and oppression. He imprisoned the leading

¹ The Carumnassa is an insignificant stream, flowing into the Jumna near Buxar, which is not always shown in the map. Its importance as a frontier between Behar and the territory of Benares continued until the administration of Warren Hastings, when Benares was annexed to British territory.

² Murshed Kuli Khan is known in some histories by the name of Jafir Khan, and must be distinguished from the Nawab Mir Jafir, who appears in the later history.

landholders, known as Zemindars and Rajas, and appointed Bengali Hindus of his own selection to collect the rents from the farmers. He placed other Zemindars on subsistence allowances, while his Bengali officers, known as Aumils, collected the rents in like manner. He remeasured estates, and brought fallow and waste lands under cultivation by making advances to the lower class of husbandmen. In a word, he dispossessed most of the Zemindars from their holdings, except a few whom he ventured to trust, and a few powerful Rajas, such as Birbhum and Kishenghur, who were able to resent or defy any interference with their hereditary estates or territories.

Murshed Kuli Khan, like all the Moghul officers of the school of Aurangzeb, was very harsh toward Hindus. He allowed no Hindu, not even Zemindars or Rajas, to sit or speak to each other in his presence. He prohibited even the wealthiest Hindus from riding in a palanquin, and required them to use inferior conveyances. He preferred Bengali Hindus to collect the revenue because they were more amenable to threats and punishments, and were too timid to rebel or plot against him. It was a common saying that the Muhammadans squandered their ill-gotten gains on pomp and pleasure, and left no wealth to be confiscated; while the Hindus hoarded their gains, and then, like sponges, could be squeezed of all their riches. If a district collector was in arrears the Hindu defaulter was tormented, bastinadoed, hung up by the feet, placed in the hot sun, or subjected to some other exquisite torture. But if there was any fraud, or any failure to make good a deficiency, the Hindu culprit was compelled to turn Muhammadan, together with his wife and family.¹

Murshed Kuli Khan had no son. He had given a daughter in marriage to an officer named Shuja Khan, who was deputy-governor of Orissa. But Shuja Khan was so utterly

¹ The original authorities for these statements will be found translated in Stewart's History of Bengal.

bad and profligate that his wife left him in Orissa and went back to her father at Murshedabad, accompanied by a son named Sarfaraz Khan.

The old Nawab hated his son-in-law but took a great liking to his grandson. He set aside Shuja Khan and used all his influence at Delhi to secure the appointment of his grandson, Sarfaraz, as his heir and successor to the Nawabship of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. But he died in 1725, before his intentions were carried into effect, and thus left the throne at Murshedabad to be a bone of contention between a father and a son.

Meantime Shuja Khan, by means of lavish presents at Delhi, had procured the insignia and letters of investiture from Delhi for his own appointment as Nawab of the three provinces; and shortly after the death of his father-in-law he suddenly produced them at the city of Murshedabad, and was at once proclaimed successor to the throne. His son, Sarfaraz Khan, was totally ignorant of his father's design. He was sitting at a country house near the city, hourly expecting the arrival of his own credentials from Delhi, when he suddenly heard the fire of salutes and roll of kettle-drums at the palace. He had been outwitted by his father, but there was no redress. He submitted to his fate, and set off to offer the customary present and congratulations to the new Nawab.

Shuja Khan was a good-natured man who cared for nothing but pleasure. He released all the imprisoned Zemindars and Rajas, and thereby made himself popular. But he had two favorites, named Haji Ahmad and Alivardi Khan. The former, by secret services of a questionable character, obtained the post of minister and remained at Murshedabad. His brother, Alivardi Khan, a man of bravery and audacity, was appointed deputy-governor of Behar, and left Murshedabad and took up his quarters at Patna.

In Behar, Alivardi Khan devoted himself to the reduction of all the Hindu Rajas under his government. This he accomplished by the most consummate treachery and craft;

ensnaring them by vows and promises, and then putting them to death. These Rajas were often little better than freebooters, and their suppression was indispensable to the tranquillity of the province; but the wholesale destruction carried out by Alivardi Khan was characterized by barbarities which were most revolting.

The English had some experience of the atrocities committed by Alivardi Khan. In those days the English boats carried goods and treasure between Calcutta and Patna under the guard of European soldiers. In 1735 a convoy went as usual in charge of an English civilian named Holwell and a Captain Holcombe. Near Monghyr the two gentlemen saw a boat going by with baskets, which they took to contain fish. They hailed the boat, and on its coming alongside they opened the baskets, and found thirty heads of men who had just been murdered.

The story was not a pleasant one. There was an old Hindu Raja near Monghyr who had sturdily held out against the Moghul. Captain Holcombe knew him well; for the Raja, like others of his stamp, claimed a right to levy duties on all goods coming up or down the Ganges; a point which was generally settled by the sword. This aged warrior died in 1730, and was succeeded by a son, who submitted to Alivardi Khan, and agreed to pay a yearly tribute. To prevent treachery, the young Raja brought his tribute every year to a certain spot accompanied by only thirty followers. In like manner Alivardi Khan was pledged to send an officer with only thirty followers to receive the money. This year the payment had been made the very morning that Holwell and Holcombe hailed the boat. Alivardi Khan had ordered an ambush and a massacre; and the three baskets contained the heads of the Raja and his followers. One man escaped and told the tidings to the young Raja's wife, who thereupon set the palace on fire, and perished in the flames with an infant son and all her female attendants. That same night the Raja's city was attacked, plundered, and burned by the forces of Alivardi Khan; and the two Englishmen saw

the fire and smoke from the place where they lay at anchor.

Nawab Shuja Khan died in 1739, the same year that Nadir Shah attacked Delhi. His son Sarfaraz Khan succeeded to the throne, and turned out a worse profligate than his father.¹ He was insolent and tyrannical, and at last gave mortal offence to a Hindu family of great wealth, who had long exercised a commanding influence at Murshedabad.

Jagat Seth, the patriarch of the family, was the wealthiest banker in the Moghul empire, the Rothschild of Hindustan. The wildest stories are told of the riches of his house. The Mahrattas carried off two millions sterling from his family, and the loss was no more felt than that of two trusses of straw. He knew all that was going on under every court in India; was security for most of the renters in the Bengal provinces; and always had vast sums at his command. His grandson, a mere boy, was married to a girl of tender years. Out of mere caprice the Nawab insisted on seeing the girl without a veil. This matter, so trifling in European eyes, was regarded by Bengalis as an insult and disgrace which abrogated the marriage tie, and for which nothing but death could atone.

The result was that a plot was formed by Hindus and Moghuls for the destruction of Sarfaraz Khan. The conspirators invited Alivardi Khan to undertake the task, and engaged to make him Nawab of the three provinces in the room of the doomed prince. It would be tedious to rake up the story of deceit, treachery, and bribery. Sarfaraz Khan was lulled in security, while Alivardi Khan was hurrying an army through the narrow pass which leads from Behar into Bengal. At last Sarfaraz Khan was suddenly aroused by the news that a rebel force was at his gates. He marched out with a large army and a train of artillery; but his officers were disaffected, and the guns were loaded with powder only,

¹ The old Nawabs of Bengal were so abominably wicked that there is not much to choose between them. Their vices were indescribable.

without ball. The battle was a sham; but Sarfaraz Khan was slain, and Alivardi Khan was proclaimed Nawab in his room.

Alivardi Khan has been styled a usurper. He subsequently displayed the insignia and letters of investiture; but whether they were forged, or were bought from the Delhi Vizier, is a question of no moment. The day was fast approaching when no rights existed in India save those of the sword.

Scarcely had Alivardi Khan secured himself as Nawab, when the three provinces were invaded by Mahrattas. It was said that the Great Moghul was so disgusted at receiving little or no tribute from the Nawab that he told the Mahrattas to collect chout in Bengal. For eight years in succession, from 1742 to 1750, these merciless hordes of miscreants devastated the country to the southward of the Ganges, from October till June, and never retired until the approach of the rainy season. All this was done under pretence of collecting chout; for by this time the Mahrattas began to consider that they possessed an inherent right to collect chout from the whole of India.

In the first instance, Alivardi Khan tried to get rid of the Mahrattas by treachery and massacre. The commanders on either side were to meet in a tent and arrange the terms of chout. The bait was swallowed. A tent was prepared, and the Nawab posted an ambush between a double lining. The meeting took place; the signal was given; the men in ambush rushed out with drawn swords, and the Mahratta general and most of his chief officers were slaughtered on the spot.

The Mahratta army was paralyzed for a moment at this horrible murder of their leaders, and then wreaked their vengeance upon the unoffending inhabitants. They ravaged the country with fire and sword, cutting off ears, noses, and hands, and committing countless barbarities in the search of spoil. The wretched Bengalis fled in shoals across the Ganges, to take refuge, or perchance to perish,

in the hills and jungles to the northward of the river. It was at this juncture that the native inhabitants of Calcutta began to dig the once famous Mahratta ditch, to keep the enemy's horsemen out of the Company's bounds.¹

Alivardi Khan found himself powerless to act against the loose bands of Mahrattas. They evaded a general action, and if dispersed from one place, they soon reappeared elsewhere. At the same time there was treachery in his own camp. He relied much on a force of Afghan mercenaries commanded by an officer named Mustafa Khan; but his brother, Haji Ahmad, grew jealous of Mustafa Khan, and charged the Afghan with being in secret communication with the Mahrattas. Mustafa Khan suddenly fled with his Afghans toward Patna, but was pursued and slain; and Haji Ahmad cut off his head, and carried it in derision three times through the streets of Patna.

The atrocity was soon avenged. Haji Ahmad fell into the hands of the Afghans, and was put to a cruel death. He was scourged, insulted, and exposed to the derision of the mob, and then tied to the leg of an elephant, and dragged through the streets until death put an end to his agonies.

Such details are revolting to all; but it is necessary at times to lift the curtain from a few of the horrors of anarchy and misrule. It will suffice to add that in 1750 Alivardi Khan came to terms with the Mahrattas. The whole province of Orissa was ceded to the Bhonsla Raja of Berar or Nagpore; and the Nawab agreed to pay a yearly sum of twelve lakhs of rupees, or a hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling, as chout for Bengal and Behar.

Alivardi Khan was now an old man, but the remainder of his days were spent in comparative peace. There were horrible scandals in his household at Murshedabad, as well as revolts and plots on the part of members of his family; but with all his crimes, he himself was free from vices. It

¹ Every vestige of this once famous ditch has disappeared from Calcutta. It is supposed to have run along the site at present known as the Circular Road.

is said that he was never a drunkard nor a profligate; and that in this respect his private life differed from that of most Muhammadan princes in India. A few details of his daily occupations have been preserved by a native writer who enjoyed his patronage.¹ The picture may be somewhat overdrawn, but it serves to illustrate the domestic life of an aged and respectable Muhammadan grandee:

“The Nawab Alivardi Khan always rose two hours before daylight, said his prayers at daybreak, and then drank coffee with his chosen friends. From seven o’clock till nine he sat in the hall of audience, where he listened to the representations of those of his officers and grandees who had anything to say. At nine o’clock he retired and amused himself with the company of particular friends, in listening to verses of poetry or pleasant stories, or in superintending the preparation of different dishes, which were cooked in his presence and under his directions. At ten o’clock he partook of the chief meal of the day, but always in company; and when it was over his guests washed their hands and withdrew, and he retired to his couch and was lulled to sleep by the story-tellers. At one o’clock he awoke and drank a cup of water cooled with ice or saltpetre, and performed his midday prayers. He next read a chapter of the Koran with a loud voice, according to the rule, and performed his afternoon prayers. Pious and learned men were then introduced, and regaled with coffee and hookahs; and the Nawab drank coffee with them but never smoked.² A Koran was set up, and conferences, readings and explanations would occupy two hours. Next the chiefs of offices were in attendance, and among others the wealthy Jagat Seth made his appearance; and these men read or told him the news from all

¹ *Siyar-ul-Mutaqherin*, by Gholam Husain Ali, Calcutta, 1786. Large use has been made of this valuable work in dealing with the rise of the British empire in India; but the author was a bigoted Shiah, and has strong likings and bitter dislikings, which must always be taken into consideration.

² It is a curious fact that Alivardi Khan never smoked. Originally he is said to have been “hookah bearer” to Shuja Khan. His brother Haji Ahmad is said to have been originally a khitmutgar, or table-servant.

parts of India. Wits and buffoons followed, with whom he cracked jokes for another two hours. By this time it would be dusk, and the Nawab said his evening prayers. Then the audience hall was cleared of men, and the ladies of the family came to see him. A supper was served of fresh and dried fruits and sweetmeats, and the Nawab generally distributed them among the ladies with his own hands. After supper the ladies retired to rest, and the hall was opened to officers of the guard, bed-watchers, and story-tellers; and the Nawab again retired to his couch, and was lulled to sleep by stories. He generally awoke three or four times in the course of the night, but was always awake about two hours before dawn.

“The Nawab was troubled by the progress of affairs in the Dekhan; by the assassination of Nasir Jung during his march against the French at Pondicherry, and by the accession of Muzaffir Jung, who was supported by the French. He was troubled still more when Muzaffir Jung was slain, and Salabut Jung was made Nizam of the Dekhan, and supported on the throne by the French foreigners. At the same time he received a pompous letter from Bussy, recommending the French at Chandernagore to his care and protection. He sent no reply to the letter, but he was amazed and perplexed. ‘Those hat-men,’ he exclaimed, ‘will soon possess all the seaboard of India.’”

Alivardi Khan had nominated a grandson to succeed him, named Suraj-ud-daula. This young man was insolent and vindictive, as well as cruel and profligate. He was very bitter against the English at Calcutta and complained to his grandfather of their hostile designs; but the old Nawab was on his dying bed, and was deaf to all such representations. Meanwhile news arrived at Murshedabad that the English had captured the great fortress of Gheria, the stronghold of Angria. About the same time, it was reported that the English at Calcutta were strengthening their fortifications in order to fight the French at Chandernagore.

The old Nawab died in April, 1756. Suraj-ud-daula suc-

ceeded to the throne at Murshedabad, in spite of hostile intrigues and plots in favor of other claimants.¹ He was told that one of his enemies had found refuge in Calcutta, and demanded his immediate surrender; but his messenger was regarded with suspicion at Calcutta, and no reply was sent. Next he ordered Mr. Drake, the governor of Calcutta, to demolish his new fortifications. Mr. Drake replied that no new fortifications had been constructed; that nothing had been done beyond repairing a line of guns to prevent the French from capturing Calcutta in the same way that they had captured Madras ten years before. The young Nawab was furious at the idea of the English fighting the French within his dominions. He sent a body of horsemen to surround the factory of Cossimbazar, in the suburbs of his capital, and to bring away the English there as his prisoners. He then assembled an army of fifty thousand men, and a train of artillery, and marched to Calcutta with such haste in the month of June that many of his troops died of fatigue and sunstroke on the way.

The English at Calcutta were bewildered by these tidings. They expected some demand for money, but were taken aback by the capture of Cossimbazar. The Mahrattas had caused an occasional scare at Calcutta, but many years had passed away since the English had the slightest grounds for expecting an attack from the Nawab. The defences had been neglected; warehouses had been built adjoining the fort; while the fort itself was overlooked by numerous buildings. The English at Calcutta were a mere handful. There were not five hundred men in all Calcutta, including Englishmen and mixed races. There were only a hundred and seventy European soldiers, and of these scarcely ten had seen any service beyond parade. Still, had Clive been there, he would have defied the Nawab and all his rabble host. All tall houses would have been demolished; all inconvenient

¹ One of these claimants had actually secured letters of investiture from Delhi for the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, by promising to send a yearly tribute to the Moghul treasury of one million sterling.

walls would have been thrown down; and any enemy encamped in the neighborhood would have been kept in constant alarm, by shells during the day, and by sallies at night, until the besiegers thought proper to disappear from the scene.

But instead of standing a siege in Fort William, as Clive had done in the citadel at Arcot, the English madly attempted to defend the town of Calcutta by isolated outposts at a distance from the fort. The fighting began on Wednesday, the 16th of June. During Thursday and Friday the outposts were driven in by sheer force of numbers; and after much desperate fighting in the streets and avenues the English fell back on the fort. On Saturday, the 19th of June, the enemy opened a cannonade. The women were carried to the ships, and Mr. Drake and some others escaped with them; and then, to the utter disgust of those left in the fort, the ships moved down the river.

Next morning was Sunday the 20th of June. The enemy tried to escalade the walls, but the rabble soldiery were easily driven back, and there was a lull in the fighting. By this time, heat and fatigue had told on the English garrison. The European soldiers broke into the arrack stores and got drunk. There was a flag of truce and a parley. Meanwhile the native soldiers climbed over the walls, and broke in at different openings, and there was a general surrender.

The Nawab entered Fort William in great pomp, but found only fifty thousand rupees in the treasury. He sent for Mr. Holwell, who represented the governor in the absence of Mr. Drake. He swore that no harm should befall the prisoners, but he was very angry at the small amount in the treasury. Mr. Holwell was soon dismissed, and returned to his fellow-prisoners, who were assembled under a strong guard in a low veranda in front of a line of barracks. For some time the Nawab's officers could find no place fitted for the confinement of the prisoners. At last, at the end of the chambers, they found the strong-room of the garrison, known as the Black Hole. It was not twenty feet square. There

was no air except what came through the veranda and two little gratings in the door. Into this close dungeon, on one of the hottest nights in a Calcutta June, a hundred and forty-six prisoners were thrust by swords and clubs. The door was then shut, and the shrieking captives were left to die. Next morning, twenty-three fainting wretches were dragged out alive; the remaining hundred and twenty-three were corpses.

The question of who was to blame for this catastrophe has often been argued, but has long ceased to be of any moment. Suraj-ud-daula may have been free of blame. He left the custody of the prisoners to his officers, and then retired to rest, and no one dared to wake him. But next morning he was utterly callous to all that had happened, and only anxious to know where the English had secreted their vast treasures. The native inhabitants of Bengal were equally callous. The tale of horror thrilled through the British empire; and would have excited the same indignation had it occurred in the remotest village in England or Ireland. But in India it excited no horror at all; it fell on the listless ears of Asiatics and was forgotten, if indeed it was ever known. Muhammadan historians tell the story of the capture of Calcutta, but they say nothing of the Black Hole.¹

The terrible tidings of the capture of Calcutta and catastrophe of the Black Hole reached Madras in August. It created a stir in the settlement which is perhaps without a parallel in Madras history. Bussy and the French were forgotten; and it was speedily resolved that the force intended for the Dekhan should be despatched with all speed to Bengal.

The fleet left Madras in October, 1756, under the command of Admiral Watson; the land forces were commanded

¹ This utter want of political ties among the masses of natives of India is the cause of their depression. Individually they are the kindest and most compassionate people in the world, but outside their own little circle of family or caste they are utterly heedless of what is going on. Within the last few years there has been a change for the better; the famines have enlarged their sympathies, and the political future of the Hindu people is more hopeful now than at any former period of their history.

by Colonel Clive. The expedition reached Calcutta on the 1st of January, 1757. There was very little fighting. The Moghul commander at Hughli had been appointed governor of Calcutta, and he fled in a panic on the arrival of the English. On the 2d of January the English flag was hoisted on Fort William. On the 10th the English advanced to the native town of Hughli, and speedily took possession of the place.¹

All this while the Nawab had been puffed up by the capture of the European fortress at Calcutta. He threatened to punish the French and Dutch in like manner; but they professed implicit obedience, and sent him large sums of money. He released his English prisoners, and thought

¹ Some of the details of the fighting are valuable as illustrations of Asiatic warfare. The approach to Calcutta was guarded by the fort of Budge-budge, now spelled Baj-baj. Colonel Clive, over-confident and contemptuous of the natives, expected to capture the place without much resistance; and laid an ambuscade to cut off the retreat of the Muhammadan garrison. The enemy, however, attacked the ambuscade by surprise; and nothing but the cool intrepidity of Clive saved it from destruction. Meanwhile the artillery in the fort played upon the English squadron, and was only silenced by a heavy fire from the shipping.

Under these circumstances Clive prepared to storm the place on the following morning. At night, while the storming party was resting on the ground, and all on board the shipping were retiring to rest, a roar of acclamation was heard from the shore, and news was brought to Admiral Watson that Baj-baj had been captured. It appeared that a drunken sailor named Strahan, having a cutlass in one hand and a pistol in the other, had scaled a breach single-handed, fired his pistol, and rushed on the Muhammadan sentinels with wild huzzas. Two or three other sailors heard the uproar, and followed their comrade with shouts and yells. The garrison fled in a panic. The storming party of soldiers burst in pell-mell, without order or discipline, and found themselves in possession of the fort, with eighteen cannon and forty barrels of powder.

Admiral Watson thought it necessary for the sake of discipline to be very angry with Strahan; but the fellow said that he meant no harm, and promised never to take a fort again without orders. Subsequently the admiral would have made the man a boatswain, but his habits were against him. It was afterward discovered that Strahan's ambition was to be appointed cook on board one of the ships, but whether his ambition was gratified is unknown to history.

Another absurd occurrence took place after the capture of Hughli. Three English sailors were missing, and were supposed to have been killed or seriously wounded. At night the officers on board the ships saw that several villages were in flames. Next morning the three sailors appeared floating on a raft. They had found themselves deserted by their companions, and had set the villages on fire to make the inhabitants believe that the English forces were still on shore. Subsequently they had found the raft, and escaped in safety before the natives had recovered from their panic.

that hostilities were at an end. It never crossed his mind that the English would return in force and demand compensation and revenge. But the recovery of Calcutta and capture of Hughli filled him with alarm. He marched a large army toward Calcutta, but professed a desire for peace and friendship, and promised to compensate the English for all their losses.

At the same time Clive himself was anxious for peace. All his thoughts were occupied by the coming war with France. He would have abandoned all ideas of punishment or revenge, provided that the Nawab compensated the English for their losses, and permitted him to capture the French settlement at Chandernagore.

The Nawab agreed to everything that Clive proposed, but he was resolved in his own heart to do nothing. A treaty was concluded without the slightest difficulty; but Clive soon found that the Nawab had only made peace in order to gain time and procure help from the French. The Nawab promised to compensate the English for their losses at the capture of Calcutta, but he evaded every demand for a settlement. He sent letters and presents to Bussy, requesting him to march up from the Dekhan and drive the English out of Bengal. He forbade the English to attack the French; but news arrived that the Afghans had captured Delhi, and intended conquering Bengal. In his terror he implored Clive to help him against the Afghans. Under the influence of this terror he permitted the English to attack Chandernagore, but then withdrew his permission. Both Clive and Watson considered the withdrawal as an indignity, and sailed against Chandernagore and captured it. The Nawab then sent letters of congratulation to Clive and Watson; and actually offered to make over the territory of Chandernagore to the English on the same terms that it had been held by the French.

Meanwhile the dissimulation of the Nawab reached a climax. He harbored the French refugees from Chandernagore; and then supplied them with funds, and sent them

up country. He posted a force at Plassy, on the way to Calcutta, under the command of an officer named Mir Jafir; and when Clive remonstrated with him on this hostile demonstration, he joined Mir Jafir at Plassy with the whole of his army.

At this juncture there was a widely spread disaffection against the Nawab. Mir Jafir at Plassy and Jagat Seth, the Hindu banker at Murshedabad, were deeply implicated, and they invited Clive to join in the general conspiracy. It was agreed that Clive should march an army to Plassy, and that Mir Jafir should desert the Nawab and join the English army with all his forces; and a treaty was concluded under which Suraj-ud-daula was to be dethroned, and Mir Jafir was to be proclaimed Nawab in his room.

Unfortunately the communication between the head conspirators and Clive was carried on through a Hindu named Omichund. This man threatened to divulge the whole plot to Suraj-ud-daula unless an article was inserted in the treaty pledging Mir Jafir to pay him three hundred thousand pounds sterling as the price of his silence. There is no doubt that Omichund was a consummate rascal without honor or shame; but the mode adopted for keeping him quiet was a slur upon the English character. Omichund was duped with a sham treaty containing the desired clause, which was omitted from the real treaty. Clive and others signed the sham treaty, but Watson refused to sign any treaty but the real one. Clive added the name of Watson to the sham treaty with the full knowledge of the admiral; and he invariably urged to the day of his death that he was fully justified in all he had done.¹

Clive advanced from Calcutta to Plassy with a small force

¹ This sham treaty is the one blot on Clive's public character. He did not personally derive any advantage from it; he thought himself justified in taking such a step for defeating the perfidy of a villain like Omichund. He would not have been condemned by the public opinion of Orientals, who regard all such fabrications as justifiable against an enemy. But it has been universally condemned by the public opinion of Europe, and will stain the memory of Clive until the end of time.

of three thousand men and nine pieces of artillery. The army of the Nawab consisted of fifty thousand foot, eighteen thousand horse, and fifty pieces of artillery.¹ The famous battle was fought on the 23d of June, 1757. It was little better than a cannonade. Mir Jafir did nothing, and the whole brunt of the fighting fell upon the English. At last the English advanced to storm the camp of the Nawab, and Suraj-ud-daula was seized with a panic and fled from the field.

Clive next went to Murshedabad and placed Mir Jafir on the throne. The new Nawab was profuse with his presents and promises, but his resources are supposed to have been greatly exaggerated. The treasures of Suraj-ud-daula had been estimated at forty millions sterling, but only a million and a half was realized. Mir Jafir engaged to pay a million to the East India Company; three-quarters of a million to the inhabitants of Calcutta, natives as well as Europeans; and vast presents to Clive and other members of government. As a first instalment, a hundred boatloads of silver, to the value of eight hundred thousand pounds, were sent down the river to Calcutta, and the whole population of the English settlement was wild with joy.

Besides money the new Nawab ceded a large tract on the river Hughli, which had long been coveted by the East India Company. It was given as a jaghir according to Moghul fashion; the Company collected the yearly revenue, valued at a hundred thousand pounds sterling, but was required to pay a quit-rent of thirty thousand pounds, nominally to the Great Moghul.

Clive was a great stickler for Moghul forms. It will be seen hereafter that the recognition of the effete sovereignty of the Great Moghul was the keystone of his policy. Mir Jafir was virtually created a Nawab by Clive; for all practical purposes he was an independent sovereign; yet he

¹ No reliance whatever can be placed upon the estimated numbers of any native army. It is mere guess work. Clive himself reckoned the army of the Nawab to consist of thirty-five thousand foot, fifteen thousand horse, and forty pieces of cannon.

deemed it necessary to procure letters of investiture from the Moghul court for the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. At the same time Clive was created an Amir of the Moghul empire, with the honorary rank or command of six thousand foot and five thousand horse. Of course the force only existed on paper, but Clive asked for the jaghir supposed to be given for its maintenance. Mir Jafir was perplexed at the demand, but finally made over the quit-rent of the jaghir previously granted to the Company. Thus Clive came into possession of thirty thousand a year payable by the East India Company, who were supposed to be his honorable masters.

The revolution effected by the battle of Plassy involved the English in endless difficulties which no one had foreseen. The process of dethroning Suraj-ud-daula and setting up Mir Jafir in his room was a simple affair; but Mir Jafir had no hold upon the grandees, and was soon regarded with jealousy and hatred, especially when they saw the boats loaded with silver going down to Calcutta. It was soon evident that as the English alone had placed Mir Jafir on the throne of Bengal and Behar, so the English alone would be able to keep him there.

To make matters worse, it was discovered that Mir Jafir was unfit for the dignity. He had served with credit as a commander in the field, but he had no administrative ability, civil or military. He idled away most of his time under the influence of bhang, or in the company of singing and dancing girls. He complained of an empty treasury, and his army was mutinous for want of pay; but he always appeared loaded with costly jewels, with five or six bracelets of different gems on his arms, and three or four chaplets of pearls hanging from his neck.¹ His son Miran rendered himself

¹ There is reason to believe that the English were duped as regards the treasures of Murshedabad, and that enormous wealth to the value of many millions sterling was concealed in the recesses of the Nawab's palace, and shared by Mir Jafir and some others. The author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutaqherin* says that the English only knew of the outer treasury. "Those renowned English," says Gholam Husain Khan, "who looked down with contempt on the intellects and

detestable by murders and assassinations. Ten days after the battle of Plassy, Suraj-ud-daula was taken prisoner and cruelly murdered in the palace at Murshedabad. Other members or partisans of the family, male and female, were put to death in like manner. Mir Jafir threw all the blame upon his son Miran.

The English were anxious to maintain the dignity of the new Nawab by showing him every kind of deference; but his dependence on the "hat wallahs," and his morbid terror of Clive, rendered him the laughing-stock of his courtiers. Within a few months of his accession he was nicknamed "Colonel Clive's Jackass," and he retained the title till his death. The story is told of a fray between the followers of a Moghul grandee and the servants of Clive. The Nawab warned the grandee against any rupture. The grandee replied with a sneer: "My lord Nawab, I am not likely to quarrel with the Colonel. I never rise in the morning without making three salams to his Jackass, and am the last man to fall out with the rider." Such stories tell more of the current feeling at Murshedabad than pages of description.¹

In truth the change of Nawabs had revolutionized the political ideas of all the great men at court. Before the capture of Calcutta, the English had only appeared at Murshedabad as supplicants for trading privileges. After the battle of Plassy they were lords and masters, to be propitiated as the representatives of a new and paramount power. Under such circumstances it was only natural that they should be

abilities of the Bengalis, and yet are perpetually baffled and duped by them, did not know anything of the inner treasury, said to contain money and jewels to the value of eight millions sterling, and which, pursuant to a custom well known in India, was kept in the Zenana, or women's apartments. This inner treasury was shared by Mir Jafir and three natives." The author adds that two of the natives were writers in the service of Clive, whose respective salaries were only sixty rupees a month, or about four shillings per diem; yet ten years afterward one of these men died worth a million and a quarter sterling, while the other spent ninety thousand pounds on his mother's funeral alone.—Siyar-ul-Mutaqherin, vol. i., p. 773.

¹ Mill tells the story in his *History of India*, and Macaulay copies it in his *Essay on Clive*; but both missed the point from ignorance of Mir Jafir's nickname. See Stewart's *History of Bengal*. Also Scott's *Dekhan*, vol. ii., p. 376.

feared and hated; and those Moghuls who were loudest in their praises of the English would gladly have seen them at the bottom of the sea.

Another circumstance was calculated to exasperate Mir Jafir and the Moghuls against the English. Alivardi Khan had filled all the higher offices and commands with Hindus, who were raised to the rank of Rajas, and thus served as checks upon the Zemindars, who were mostly Muhammdans. His prime minister was a Hindu, and a so-called Raja; so were the governors of most of the towns and districts. Such nominal Rajas were more amenable to orders, and less likely to rebel, than turbulent Muhammdans. Mir Jafir wanted to remove them from their posts, and replace them by his own kinsmen and dependents. The result was that plots and intrigues were seething in all directions. Some of the Hindu Rajas were in fear of their lives, and implored the protection of the English. Clive guaranteed the lives of some of these Hindus, but he could not keep them in their posts; and thus disaffection was spreading over the province, while the English were more feared and hated than ever.

But this fear and hate were only felt by the grandees. The general complaint of the natives was that the English did not interfere to protect the people. A native contemporary observes that the presence of mind, firmness of temper, and undaunted bravery of the English were beyond all question; but they took no heed of the husbandmen, and were apathetic and indifferent to the suffering masses.

Suddenly Mir Jafir was threatened with new dangers. The Mahrattas demanded arrears of chout for Bengal and Behar, and it was difficult to evade the claim.¹ They had compelled Alivardi Khan to pay chout; and they consequently claimed it as their right from his successors. They did not enforce the payment by the actual invasion of Ben-

¹ The chout for Behar and Bengal was claimed by the Bhonsla Raja of Berar or Nagpore. At this time Janoji Bhonsla was the reigning Raja. The history of the Mahratta empire and its feudatories will be given hereafter in Chapter V.

gal; but it is evident that they were only restrained by a wholesome fear of Clive.

In 1758 the eldest son of the Great Moghul, known as the Shahzada, appeared in force near the Behar frontier at the river Carumnassa, proclaiming that he had been appointed to the government of Bengal, Behar and Orissa by the Great Moghul. His cause was supported by Shuja-ud-daula, the Nawab of Oude; and also by a body of Frenchmen under M. Law, the ex-governor of Chandernagore. At the same time the Hindu deputy-governor of Behar, who had been threatened by Mir Jafir, was naturally intriguing with the Shahzada, and inclined to open the way to the invaders.

The appearance of the Shahzada brings the Great Moghul upon the stage, and necessitates a glance at the progress of affairs at Delhi. Ever since the death of Muhammad Shah in 1748, the Moghul capital had been torn by distractions. Muhammad Shah had been succeeded by his son Ahmad Shah. The new Padishah found himself threatened by the Afghans on one side, and the Mahrattas on the other. At the same time the post of Vizier was a bone of contention between the Sunnis and the Shiahhs: the Sunnis as represented by a grandson of Nizam-ul-mulk, named Ghazi-ud-din; and the Shiahhs as represented by the Nawab of Oude.¹ In the end the Sunnis triumphed, and Ghazi-ud-din became Vizier.

Ghazi-ud-din aspired to exercise the sovereign power under the name of Vizier, just as the Saiyids had done in a previous generation. He found Ahmad Shah restive and dangerous, and consequently dethroned him, blinded him, and consigned him to the state prison of Salimghur. He next placed an imbecile old prince on the throne of Delhi, under the name

¹ The Nawab of Oude at this time was Sufdar Jung. He had married a daughter of Saadut Ali Khan, and succeeded to the government of Oude on the death of his father in 1739. (See ante, p. 265.) He obtained the post of Vizier during the reign of Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah; but was subsequently forced to leave Delhi through the intrigues of Ghazi-ud-din. In 1753 Sufdar Jung collected a large force, and besieged Delhi; and ultimately compelled the Moghul court to give him a formal grant of the provinces of Oude and Allahabad for himself and his heirs. He died shortly afterward, and was succeeded by his son, the celebrated Shuja-ud-daula. His tomb is one of the sights at Delhi.

of Alamghir. He then treated the Padishah as a pageant, and usurped the sovereign authority, selling titles and letters of investiture to Nawabs in remote provinces, and raising money in every possible way.

In 1757, the year of the battle of Plassy, matters were brought to a terrible standstill. Ahmad Shah Abdali, the founder of the Afghan empire, appeared at Delhi with a large army, and levied contributions from the inhabitants, with all the merciless ferocity of an old officer of Nadir Shah. He next marched down the valley of the Jumna to the sacred city of Mathura, plundering and destroying after the manner of Mahmud of Ghazni. He seems however to have had some respect for the sovereignty of the Great Moghul. He allied himself with the family of the Moghul by marrying a daughter of the deceased Muhammad Shah. He appointed an Afghan, named Najib-ud-daula to be Amir of Amirs, and to act as guardian for Alamghir in the room of Ghazi-ud-din, the Vizier, who had fled into exile. Having thus arranged matters to his satisfaction, Ahmad Shah Abdali left Delhi and returned with the bulk of his army to Kandahar.

The Afghans at this period were threatening to become a formidable power in India. They already occupied the Punjab, and neither Sikhs, Moghuls, nor Mahrattas could drive them out. They had long founded a powerful principality in Hindustan to the northeast of Delhi, in a region known as the Rohilla country; it has disappeared from modern maps, but the principality is represented to this day by the little state of Rampore. Najib-ud-daula, the new guardian of the Moghul sovereign, was an Afghan of the Rohilla country. In a word the Afghans were in a fair way of supplanting the Moghuls, and once again becoming the dominant power in Hindustan.

No sooner, however, had Ahmad Shah Abdali gone off to Kandahar, than Ghazi-ud-din, the ex-Vizier, subverted the Afghan power at Delhi. He raised a vast body of Mahratta mercenaries; drove out Najib-ud-daula; murdered or

imprisoned all the grandees who had opposed him; reduced Alamghir to the condition of a puppet, and sought to murder the Shahzada, or eldest son and heir of Alamghir.

Thus it was that the Shahzada fled from Delhi in terror of his life. For a year the imperial exile fished in troubled waters, seeking in turns the protection of the Rohilla Afghans and the Mahrattas. At last he took refuge with Shuja-ud-daula, Nawab of Oude, the hereditary Shiah and mortal enemy of Ghazi-ud-din.¹ But the Nawab of Oude was in no hurry to commit himself. He cared nothing for the Shahzada, but was very anxious to get the Bengal provinces into his own hands. He sent a force to accompany the Shahzada to the Behar frontier, and then waited for events.

Meanwhile Clive and Mir Jafir were drawn into an extraordinary correspondence with the Shahzada, and also with the Moghul court at Delhi. Clive received friendly letters from the Shahzada, who was anxious to win the support of the ever-victorious English general. Mir Jafir, however, received orders from the Vizier, and also from the Great Moghul, to arrest the Shahzada, and send him prisoner to Delhi. So Clive wrote back to the Shahzada that he had been created an Amir of the empire, and was consequently bound to support Mir Jafir, who had been invested by the Great Moghul with the government of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

The military operations that followed are of no interest. Mir Jafir was in a helpless state of terror, and wanted to bribe the Shahzada to go away. Clive vehemently remonstrated against this ruinous proceeding, and marched an English force to Patna, and soon disposed of the Shahzada. The helpless prince fled into obscurity, but was reduced to such distress that Clive sent him a present of five hundred

¹ Ghazi-ud-din was, as already said, the grandson of Nizam-ul-mulk, and consequently the hereditary Turk and Sunni. The race difference between Moghul and Turk, and the religious antagonism between Shiah and Sunni, will clear up much of the confusion that has prevailed in the history of Muhammadan India.

gold mohurs, or about eight hundred pounds sterling, which was gladly accepted.

M. Law and his Frenchmen, who had accompanied the Shahzada through all his troubles, were again thrown upon their own resources. Law remarked to an intelligent native that he had travelled over the whole country from Bengal to Delhi, and witnessed nothing but oppression. The grandees of Hindustan thought only of their own aggrandizement, and let the world go to ruin. He had proposed to both the Vizier at Delhi and the Nawab of Oude to restore order to the Moghul empire, as the re-establishment of the authority of the Moghul throughout Hindustan would render it easy to drive the English out of Bengal; but no one paid the slightest heed to his representations. Law failed to perceive that the order which he proposed to restore would have been destructive alike to the Delhi Vizier and the Nawab of Oude.

Meanwhile the successes of the French in the Dekhan and Peninsula were forced upon the attention of Clive. In 1756 the collision between the English and French in the Dekhan had been averted for a while by the disaster at Calcutta, which called away the English force from Madras on the eve of its march to Hyderabad. In 1757 Bussy made his peace with Salabut Jung, and returned to the Northern Circars, where he came into collision with Hindu Poligars of the old Rajput type. Amid all the vicissitudes of Moghul rule these Poligars had maintained a secure independence in hills and jungles; they were nominally pledged to pay tribute to the Nizam, but they withheld payment whenever they had an opportunity. Had they been united they might have resisted the demands of the French; but they were at deadly feud with each other; and one of them, known as the Raja of Vizianagram, managed to turn the wrath of Bussy against his neighbor of Bobili, who for generations had been his mortal enemy. The Raja of Bobili claimed to be a Rajput of high descent, whose ancestors had fought under the ancient Maharajas of Jagganath in the old mythical wars

against the south. He affected to scorn his Vizianagram neighbor as a low-born chieftain of a new creation; and his retainers wreaked their spite, by turning off the rivulets which ran into Vizianagram territory. Bussy was induced to take a part in the rivalry; and ultimately to revenge some unexplained outrage by driving the Bobili Raja out of his hereditary territories.

The catastrophe that followed is a terrible story of Rajput desperation and revenge. The Bobili Raja retired to a remote stronghold in a deep jungle. Bussy broke down the battlements with his cannon, but for a long time failed to capture the place. The Rajput garrison was exposed to a withering fire, but resisted the escalating parties with the ferocity of wild beasts defending their dens and families. At last resistance was in vain. The garrison gathered all the women and children into the habitations in the centre of the fort, and set the whole on fire, stabbing or cutting down any one who attempted to escape. They then returned, like frantic demons, to die upon the walls. Quarter was refused, and the Raja perished with all his retainers, sword in hand. The French entered the fort in triumph, but there was no joy in the victory, and the sight of the horrible slaughter moved them to tears. Presently an old man appeared with a little boy; he had saved the son of the Raja contrary to the will of the father.

The death of the Bobili Raja was followed by speedy retribution. Four retainers had seen him fall, and had escaped to the jungle and sworn to be revenged. One night two of them crept to the quarters of the Raja of Vizianagram and stabbed him to death; they were cut to pieces by the guards, but died exulting in their crime. Had they failed, the other two remaining in the jungle were bound by the same oath to avenge the death of their Raja or perish in the attempt.¹

¹ Rajput revenge is the same in all ages. The revenge of the men of Bobili is paralleled by the revenge of Aswatthama and his comrades on the sons of the Pandavas, after the war of the Maha Bharata.

The other Poligars in the Northern Circars were so terrified by the fate of Bobili that they hastened to settle all arrears of tribute. The Poligar of Gumsur alone held out, but was compelled in the end to submit in like manner.

During this expedition Bussy received letters from Surajud-daula, inviting him to Bengal; and he would have marched to the relief of the Nawab, but was stopped by the news of the fall of Chandernagore. In revenge for that capture he drove the English out of Vizagapatam, and took possession of three other factories which they had established further south on the coast of the delta of the Godavari.

A native contemporary writer contrasts the personal appearance of Bussy with that of Clive, and treats each in turn as a type of the French and English nations. Bussy wore embroidered clothes or brocade. He and his officers rode on elephants, preceded by "chopdars," or mace-bearers with silver sticks, while musicians and eulogists were singing his praises. He received state visits while sitting on a throne embroidered with the arms of the King of France. His table was served with plate, and with three or four services. Clive always wore his regimentals in the field, and never wore silk except in town. He always rode on horseback. He kept a plentiful table, but in no way delicate, and never with more than two services.¹

In 1758 the fortunes of the French in India underwent an entire change. In April a French fleet arrived at Pondicherry. It brought a large force under the command of Count de Lally, who had been appointed Governor-General of the French possessions in India. Lally was imbued with a bitter hatred against the English, and a profound distrust in the honesty or patriotism of his own countrymen in India. No sooner had he landed at Pondicherry than he organized an expedition against Fort St. David; but he found that no

¹ Gholam Husain Ali in the *Siyar-ul-Mutaqherin*. He adds that Warren Hastings, who plays a part in the after history, always wore a plain coat of English broadcloth, and never anything like lace or embroidery. His throne was a plain chair of mahogany. He was sparing in his diet, and his table was sometimes neglected. His address showed little of pride and still less of familiarity.

preparations had been made by the French authorities. There was a want alike of coolies, draught cattle, provisions, and ready money. But the energy of Lally overcame all obstacles. The French authorities at Pondicherry accused him of pressing natives and cattle; but Lally retorted by declaring that the oppressions and rapacity of the French government, and the extortions of its native servants, had alone prevented his obtaining all that he required.

In June, 1758, Lally captured Fort St. David. He then prepared to capture Madras as a preliminary to an advance on Bengal. He recalled Bussy from the Dekhan to help him with his Indian experiences; and he sent the Marquis de Conflans to succeed Bussy in the command of the Northern Circars.

Bussy left the Dekhan with the utmost reluctance. He had secured a paramount influence in the Northern Circars, and was anxious to remain and protect Salabut Jung against the designs of his younger brother Nizam Ali. Lally, however, was deaf to all remonstrances. He believed that Bussy was either deluded by others or desirous of deceiving him; and he was confirmed in this belief when he found that Bussy, notwithstanding his alleged conquests and commanding position, had no funds at his disposal, and was unable to raise any money for the prosecution of the war against the English.

The departure of Bussy from the Northern Circars was disastrous to the French. The Raja of Vizianagram revolted against the French and sent to Calcutta for help. Clive despatched an English force to the Northern Circars, under the command of Colonel Forde; and in December, 1758, Colonel Forde defeated the French under Conflans, and prepared to recover all the English factories on the coast which had been captured by Bussy.

Meanwhile Count de Lally was actively engaged at Pondicherry in preparations for the siege of Madras. He hoped to capture Madras, and complete the destruction of the English in the Carnatic; and then to march northward, capture Cal-

cutta, and expel the English from Bengal. But he was without resources; there was no money to be had in Pondicherry. At last he raised a small sum, chiefly out of his own funds, and began the march to Madras; his officers preferring to risk death before the walls of Madras to certain starvation within the walls of Pondicherry.

Lally reached Madras on the 12th of December, 1758, and at once took possession of Black town. He then began the siege of Fort St. George with a vigor and activity which commanded the respect of his enemies. His difficulties were enormous. For six weeks his officers and soldiers were on half pay; for another six weeks they received no pay at all. During the last fifteen days they had no provisions except rice and butter. Even the gunpowder was nearly exhausted. At last on the 16th of February, 1759, an English fleet arrived at Madras under Admiral Pocock, and Lally was compelled to raise the siege. Such was the state of party feeling among the French in India that the retreat of Lally from Madras was received at Pondicherry with every demonstration of joy.

The career of Lally in India lasted for two years longer, namely from February, 1759, to February, 1761; it is a series of hopeless struggles and wearying misfortunes. In the Dekhan, Salabut Jung had been thrown into the utmost alarm by the departure of Bussy and defeat of Conflans. He was exposed to the intrigues and plots of his younger brother Nizam Ali, and he despaired of obtaining further help from the French. Accordingly he opened up negotiations with Colonel Forde and the English. Forde on his part recovered all the captured factories, and drove the French out of the Northern Circars. He could not, however, interfere in the domestic affairs of the Dekhan, by helping Salabut Jung against Nizam Ali. In 1761 Salabut Jung was dethroned and placed in confinement; and Nizam Ali ascended the throne at Hyderabad as ruler of the Dekhan.¹

¹ Two years afterward Salabut Jung was murdered. By the treaty of Paris, concluded between Great Britain and France in 1763, both nations agreed to rec-

In the Carnatic the French were in despair. In January, 1760, Lally was defeated by Colonel Coote at Wandiwash, between Madras and Pondicherry. Lally opened up negotiations with Hyder Ali, who was rising to power in Mysore; but Hyder Ali as yet could do little or nothing.

At the end of 1760 Colonel Coote began the siege of Pondicherry. Lally still held out at Pondicherry, but he was ill in health, and worn out with vexation and fatigue. The settlement was torn by dissensions. In January, 1761, the garrison was starved into a capitulation, and the town and fortifications were levelled with the ground. A few weeks afterward the French were compelled to surrender the strong hill-fortress of Jinji, and their military power in the Carnatic was brought to a close.

The fatè of Lally is more to be pitied than that of Dupleix. He had not sought his own aggrandizement, but the honor and glory of the French nation; and he had been thwarted by the apathy of selfish traders who cared only for themselves. On his return to France he was sacrificed to save the reputation of the French ministers. France was furious at the loss of her possessions in India, and the enemies of Lally combined to make him the victim. The unfortunate Count, after an honorable service of forty-five years, was thrown into the Bastile; and a number of vague or frivolous charges were trumped up against him. He was tried by the parliament of Paris, but backbiting and detraction had poisoned the mind of the nation against him, and Lally was a ruined man. In May, 1766, he was condemned not only to death, but to immediate execution. The suddenness of the doom drove him frantic. He took a pair of compasses with which he had been sketching a map of the coast of Coromandel and tried to drive them to his heart. His hand was

ognize Salabut Jung as the rightful ruler of Hyderabad territory, although at that moment Salabut Jung was confined in a fortress, and Nizam Ali occupied the throne of Hyderabad. Nizam Ali, however, removed all diplomatic difficulties by putting his brother to death. Nizam Ali lived on till 1803. Next to his father, Nizam-ul-mulk, Nizam Ali is the best known ruler of the dynasty.

stayed, his mouth was gagged, and he was dragged with ignominy to execution. Thus fell the last of the three martyrs of the French East India Company—Labourdonnais, Dupleix, and Lally.

Meanwhile there had been great changes in Bengal. In June, 1758, Clive had been appointed Governor of all the Company's settlements in Bengal. In 1759 Lally had been compelled to raise the siege of Madras, and Forde had pursued his career of victory in the Northern Circars. There was nothing further to fear from the French in India; and in February, 1760, Clive resigned his post in Bengal and returned to England. He was succeeded for a few months by Mr. Holwell, and afterward by Mr. Vansittart; but the times were out of joint. No one but Clive seemed to comprehend the revolutionary character of the crisis; and the Company's government in Bengal drifted on, it knew not where, like a ship laboring through a troubled sea.

Before Clive left India he was convinced that so long as Mir Jafir was allowed to reign as Nawab, the Company's settlements in Bengal would be exposed to sore peril. Hindustan was swarming with adventurers at the head of warlike bands, Mahratta and Afghan; and Mir Jafir and his rabble army would have been powerless of themselves to contend against such hardy warriors. A permanent force of two thousand European soldiers, and a corresponding army of drilled sepoy, could maintain Bengal and Behar against all comers; but who was to pay the cost? The entire revenue of the provinces was swallowed up by the Nawab; and it was out of the question that the Company should maintain such a force out of the profits of their trade, even supposing that they could bear the strain.

Under these circumstances Clive made a proposal to Mr. William Pitt, the great war minister of England; and coming, as it did, from a servant of the Company, it must have somewhat staggered that illustrious statesman. He proposed that the British nation, and not the Company, should take possession of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa in full sovereignty.

He explained that the Great Moghul would readily grant the three provinces to any one who would guarantee the regular yearly payment of some half million sterling to the imperial treasury. He further explained that the Vizier had already offered him the post of Dewan, or collector of the revenue for the three provinces, on these conditions. He summed up the advantages to the British nation as follows. The total revenue was certainly two if not three millions. Thus after deducting half a million as tribute to the Great Moghul, and another half a million for the maintenance of a military force, there would remain a handsome surplus for the payment of the national debt, or any other national undertaking.¹

Pitt was not inclined to accept Clive's proposal. He feared that the acquisition of Bengal would render the British Crown

¹ Clive's letter to Pitt was dated 7th of January, 1759. (See Malcolm's *Life of Clive*, vol. ii.) Strange to say, a similar proposal had been drawn up by a Colonel James Mill as far back as 1746. Colonel Mill planned the conquest of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, under the flag of Germany, and in behalf of the Great Moghul. The original paper may be found in the Appendix to Bolt's *Affairs in Bengal*. The following remarks throw a curious light on the contemporary condition of the Moghul empire:

"The Moghul empire," says Colonel Mill, "is overflowing with gold and silver. She has always been feeble and defenceless. It is a miracle that no European prince with a maritime power has ever attempted the conquest of Bengal. By a single stroke infinite wealth might be acquired, which would counter-balance the mines of Brazil and Peru.

"The policy of the Moghuls is bad; their army is worse; they are without a navy. The empire is exposed to perpetual revolts. Their ports and rivers are open to foreigners. The country might be conquered, or laid under contribution, as easily as the Spaniards overwhelmed the naked Indians of America.

"A rebel subject named Alivardi Khan has torn away the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa from the Moghul empire. He has treasure to the value of thirty millions sterling. His yearly revenue must be at least two millions. The provinces are open to the sea. Three ships with fifteen hundred or two thousand regulars would suffice for the conquest of the three provinces, which might be carried out in the name of the Great Moghul, for the destruction of a rebel against his lawful suzerainty."

The proposals of Colonel Mill have been overlooked by Indian historians; but they are valuable as the outcome of his twenty years' experience of India during the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The so-called Moghul empire had reached a crisis and its conquest was inevitable; and as no Asiatic power was able to effect it, and no European power would accept the responsibility, the conquest was forced on a company of English traders, a contingency which alone saved the people of India from becoming alternately the prey of Mahrattas and Afghans.

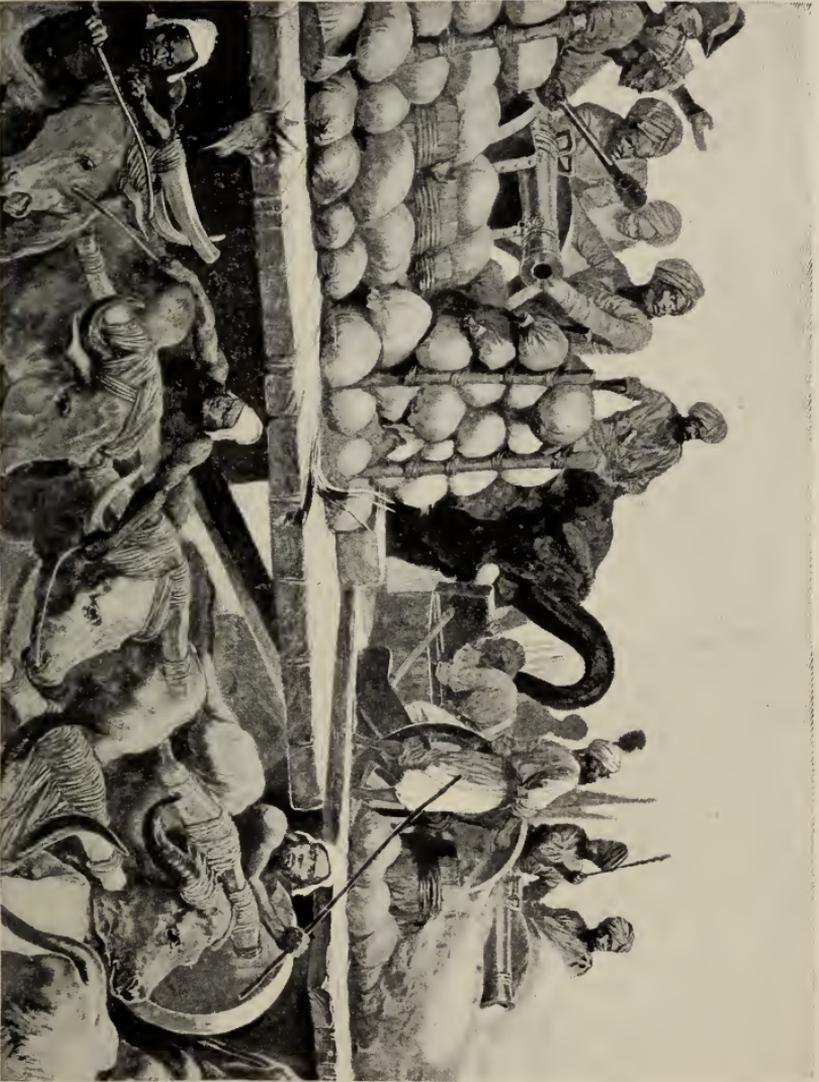
too powerful, and might endanger the liberties of the English people. Thus the grand scheme for acquiring possession of Bengal for the British nation, rather than for the East India Company, was allowed to drop into oblivion.

About this time there was another revolution at Delhi. The Vizier discovered that his imperial master, Alamghir, was corresponding with Ahmad Shah Abdali, and inviting the Afghan ruler to return to Delhi. Accordingly he treacherously assassinated the aged Padishah, and tried to set up another puppet to represent the Great Moghul. But his career of ambition and atrocity was drawing to a close. The avenging army of Afghans once more advanced to Delhi under their dreaded ruler; and the Vizier fled away from Delhi to begin a new set of intrigues: to stir up the Mahrattas against the Afghans, and to oppose the return of the Shahzada to Delhi.

The Mahrattas soon began to dispute with the Afghans for the possession of the Moghul empire. The war lasted some months, but was brought to a close in January, 1761, by the terrible battle of Paniput in the neighborhood of Delhi.¹ This battle was one of the bloodiest in the annals of the world. On the 7th of January the Mahrattas were defeated with horrible slaughter. A mob of fugitives escaped to the village of Paniput, with a multitude of women and children. The Afghans surrounded the village throughout the night to cut off all chance of escape. Next morning the male prisoners were brought out in files and beheaded in cold blood. The women and children were carried away into hopeless slavery. Generations passed away before the bloody field of Paniput was forgotten by the Mahrattas. It was said that two hundred thousand Mahrattas had fallen in that murderous campaign.

Ahmad Shah Abdali was once more the arbiter of the fate of the Moghul empire. He would have placed the Shahzada

¹ The details of Mahratta history, before and after the battle of Paniput, will be told hereafter in Chapter V.



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on the throne at Delhi, but the heir of the murdered Alamghir was a fugitive and an exile. Accordingly he placed a son of the Shahzada, named Jewan Bakht, upon the throne, to reign as the deputy of his father. He also appointed Najib-ud-daula, the Rohilla Afghan, to act as guardian of the young prince under the title of Amir of Amirs, in the same way that he had previously appointed him to be guardian of the murdered Alamghir.

CHAPTER III

REVOLUTIONARY THROES

A.D. 1761 TO 1765

THE year 1761, like 1748, is an epoch in Indian history. It saw the fall of Pondicherry, the overthrow of the Mahrattas, and the ascendancy of the Afghans. The revolution at Delhi brought the Shahzada once more to the front, and the Moghul prince began to play a part in the history. He was proclaimed Padishah under the title of Shah Alam; and he assumed the dignity of Great Moghul by taking his seat upon a throne surmounted with the umbrella of sovereignty. Finally he appointed Shuja-ud-daula, Nawab of Oude, to the honorary but nominal post of Vizier of the Moghul empire.

Shuja-ud-daula gladly accepted the empty title and hoped to obtain solid advantages. The Mahrattas were prostrate; the Afghan conqueror was favorable to Shah Alam; and Clive had gone to England. Accordingly the Nawab Vizier contemplated wresting Behar and Bengal from the feeble hands of Mir Jafir in the name and under the authority of the Great Moghul.

Shah Alam and the Nawab Vizier once more appeared with a large army on the Behar frontier and threatened Patna. The incapacity of Mir Jafir at this crisis was insufferable. He was worse than useless, while his army was a rabble in a chronic state of mutiny for want of pay. Mr. Vansittart was Governor at Calcutta, and thought to meet the difficulty by appointing a grandee of capacity to act as

a deputy Nawab, who would do all the work, while Mir Jafir retained the name and dignity.

Mir Jafir had a son-in-law, named Mir Kasim, or Cossim, who seemed a likely man for the post. Accordingly Governor Vansittart proceeded to Murshedabad, and proposed the measure to the Nawab and his son-in-law, but found them both to be impracticable. Indeed both men were disgusted with the proposal. Mir Kasim had been scheming to become Nawab, and was angry at being offered the post of deputy. Mir Jafir saw that he was to be shelved, and was furious at the threatened loss of power. Accordingly, after some vacillation Governor Vansittart determined to dethrone Mir Jafir and set up Mir Kasim.

Of course there was a preliminary treaty with Mir Kasim, and the Nawab expectant naturally yielded to every demand. He pledged himself to respect every privilege that had been granted to the English by Mir Jafir. He also agreed to pay up all arrears due to the English from Mir Jafir; to contribute fifty thousand pounds sterling toward the expenses of the war against the French in the Carnatic; and to cede the three districts of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, which yielded a yearly revenue of half a million sterling. By this last measure Mir Kasim hoped to guard against the money disputes which had embittered the relations between the English and Mir Jafir; as it provided for the military defence of the provinces on the scale recommended by Clive, without the necessity of paying hard cash out of the Nawab's treasury.

In Oriental countries little can be done without presents. Mir Jafir had been profuse in his presents to Clive and other English officers and members of council; and Mir Kasim was prepared in like manner to purchase the favor and goodwill of the English gentlemen at Calcutta. Accordingly Mir Kasim offered twenty lakhs of rupees, or two hundred thousand pounds sterling, to Governor Vansittart to be shared by himself and members of the council. Vansittart, however, refused to take the money. Mr. Mill, the historian of

India, declares on the evidence of a native that the money was accepted;¹ but recent researches in the government records at Calcutta prove beyond all question that the money was refused, and that Mr. Vansittart was an upright and honorable man.

The change of Nawabs was carried into effect without any opposition. The people of Bengal were indifferent to the revolution. Mir Jafir yielded to his fate, and gave up the title as well as the dignity. But he was conscious that his life was no longer safe at Murshedabad; and that he would be murdered without scruple by the new Nawab to prevent further complications. Accordingly, in spite of his anger at the English for dethroning him, he hastened to Calcutta and placed his family and treasures under their protection.

The new Nawab soon paid off the arrears due to the English government at Calcutta, and also satisfied the claims of his own army. He then took the field against Shah Alam, accompanied by an English force under Major Carnac. The army of Shah Alam was utterly routed, and the Nawab Vizier fled back to Oude.

But there was a political difficulty as regards Shah Alam. He was generally recognized as the rightful Padishah and Great Moghul; and though the assumed sovereignty was but the shadow of a name, it was thought necessary to come to terms with him. Accordingly Major Carnac paid a complimentary visit to Shah Alam, and conducted the pageant Padishah to Patna, the capital of Mir Kasim's province of Behar.

At Patna the English factory was converted into a palace for the installation of the Great Moghul. The centre room was hung with stuffs and formed a hall of audience. The dining-tables were covered with carpets and turned into an

¹ For many years this groundless charge, originating with Mr. Mill, has clung to the memory of Governor Vansittart. The evidence contradicting it may be found in Chapter IX. of *Early Records of British India*, published by the author of the present volume.

imperial throne. Shah Alam was carried in grand procession to the factory and enthroned on the dining-tables. Mir Kasim entered the hall and paid his homage to the Padishah, and presented an honorary gift of a thousand and one gold mohurs.

The English were dazzled with the ancient glory of the Great Moghul; and Shah Alam profited accordingly. Letters of investiture were procured from the Padishah conferring the Nawabship of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, on Mir Kasim; but in return Mir Kasim was obliged to pledge himself to pay a yearly tribute of a quarter of a million sterling to Shah Alam. Mir Kasim could have made better terms, since he had Shah Alam in his power, and might have compelled him by threats or torture to do his bidding; but the English interfered to protect the Great Moghul, and Mir Kasim was foiled. But the English were foiled in their turn. They asked Shah Alam to grant them letters of investiture for the three districts of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, which had been ceded by Mir Kasim. Also, as a legal safeguard against any future contingency, they asked for letters of investiture in behalf of Muhammad Ali, the Nawab they had set up in the Carnatic. The English seemed to expect that these letters would be granted for nothing as a matter of course; or at any rate as a mark of gratitude on the part of Shah Alam toward his foreign protectors. But Shah Alam refused to give any letters of investiture unless a corresponding yearly tribute was paid into the imperial treasury. Accordingly Governor Vansittart was told that if the English would pay tribute for the three districts, and if the Nawab would also pay tribute for the Carnatic, letters of investiture would be granted, but not otherwise.

At this time, however, Shah Alam would have granted almost any request, provided only that the English would conduct him to Delhi. Strange to say, the English were prepared to carry out this extravagant scheme, and were only prevented by sheer force of circumstances. Mir Kasim refused to join in a madcap expedition to Delhi. Then again

the services of European soldiers were absolutely necessary; and at this juncture a European regiment was detained in the Carnatic to carry on the war against the French. Accordingly Vansittart was induced to negative a proposal which would have withdrawn a British force to a distance of a thousand miles from Calcutta, and left it to struggle as it best could against the successive attacks of Mahrattas and Afghans.

Shah Alam made Governor Vansittart the same offer of the post of Dewan of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, which had been made to Clive. But Vansittart was afraid to embroil himself with Mir Kasim, and declined the offer. Accordingly, Shah Alam returned to Oude, still harping upon going to Delhi, and hoping that the Nawab Vizier would conduct him there.

Mir Kasim had some inkling of these negotiations between Shah Alam and the English; especially of the offer made to Vansittart of the post of Dewan for the three Bengal provinces; and he must have been perfectly aware that they foreboded no good to the permanence of his own authority. Indeed, from this time Mir Kasim appears to have made preparations for coming to a collision with the English. He reduced his expenditure; forced the Zemindars to pay up arrears; and squeezed Hindu officials and grandees of their hoarded wealth. He discharged a large portion of his rabble soldiery and formed an army of picked men. He cut off all close relations with the English by removing his capital from Murshedabad, which was little more than a hundred miles from Calcutta, to Monghyr, which was more than three hundred miles. At Monghyr he drilled his army in English fashion, cast guns, manufactured muskets, and prepared for war.

In 1762 disputes arose between the English and Mir Kasim about the payment of transit duties. Bengal was traversed by waterways, and at every important turning a toll-house was set up for collecting duties on all goods going and coming. In former times the English had obtained

firmans from the Moghul court at Delhi, granting them the privilege of carrying goods, duty free, to any part of the three provinces. Every boat claiming the privilege was obliged to carry the English flag, and the Company's "permit" or dustuck, bearing the Company's seal. In return for this privilege the Company paid yearly a block sum of three thousand rupees into the Nawab's treasury at Hughli.

Before the battle of Plassy this right of dustuck was restricted by the Nawab to goods imported or exported by sea. Moreover, it was confined to the goods belonging to the Company, and was never extended to private goods belonging to the Company's servants. Indeed, before the battle of Plassy none of the Company's servants had attempted to trade with the people of Bengal on their private account. But after the battle of Plassy there was an entire change. The English were masters, and Mir Jafir pledged himself to permit all goods of every kind and sort to be carried, duty free, under the Company's dustuck, without any reservation as to whom they belonged.

The consequence was that the Company's servants, whose incomes depended infinitely more upon their private trade than upon their official salaries, began to trade in the products of the country, such as salt, tobacco, betel, dried fish, oil, ghee, rice, straw, ginger, sugar, and opium. Freedom from duties enabled them to undersell all native dealers, and they began to absorb the whole commerce of the country, to the detriment of the Nawab's revenue, and the ruin of native dealers. To crown all, every servant of the Company claimed the privilege of using the Company's seal and selling dustucks; and young writers, whose official salaries were only fifteen or twenty pounds a year, were to be seen at Calcutta spending fifteen hundred or two thousand.

The conduct of the native agents of the English gentlemen was still more outrageous. Bengalis of no character or position, who had been seen in Calcutta walking in rags, were sent up country as agents or gomastas of the English. They assumed the dress of English sepoys, displayed the

English flag and Company's dustuck, set the Nawab's servants at defiance, and gave themselves all the airs of men in office and authority. They compelled the natives to sell their goods at half their market value, and to pay double for all they required. They thus bullied sellers and buyers, insulted the Nawab's officers, and probably cheated their English masters. Mir Kasim bitterly complained that the English gentlemen were crippling his revenues by withholding payment of duties, while their gomastas were bringing his government into contempt in the eyes of the people of the country.

Governor Vansittart was fully alive to these evils. So was Mr. Warren Hastings, who at this time was a rising man of thirty, and the youngest member of the Calcutta council. Both Vansittart and Hastings contended that trade in the country commodities ought not to be carried on by the Company's servants to the prejudice of the Nawab's government. But they spoke to men whose daily gains were at stake, and who were blind to all other considerations. Moreover, at this very time complaints arrived at Calcutta that the Nawab's officers had stopped the boats belonging to the Company's servants and demanded payment of duties. The passions of the council were aroused. The majority demanded the fulfilment of the privilege granted by Mir Jafir and confirmed by Mir Kasim; and no amount of pleading from Vansittart or Hastings could lull the storm.

Governor Vansittart tried to bring about a compromise by paying a visit to the Nawab at Monghyr; but he lacked judgment and firmness of temper, and vacillated between the Nawab and his own council. In fact no one but a strong-minded man like Clive could have arbitrated between a Nawab, indignant at the loss of revenue, and a body of Englishmen, infuriated at the threatened loss of income. The question of right or wrong was cast to the winds. The Nawab considered himself to be an independent prince, confirmed in his sovereignty by the letters of the Great Moghul. The majority of the English considered

that the Nawab was a creature of their own, whom they had raised to the throne, and might dethrone at will.

To make matters worse, the council at Calcutta was torn by faction. Hitherto the Company's servants had been generally promoted by seniority; but Mr. Vansittart had been brought up from Madras, and appointed Governor of the English settlements in Bengal, through the personal influence of Clive. Vansittart had thus superseded a Bengal civilian named Amyatt; and Amyatt opposed every measure proposed by Vansittart, and was warmly supported by a majority of the Calcutta council.

In 1763 Mir Kasim brought matters to a crisis. He abolished the payment of all duties; and thus granted the same privileges to his own subjects which had been monopolized by the English gentlemen. This measure put the question on a totally new footing. It stopped the sale of dustucks. It silenced all wrangling as to the right of the servants of the Company to deal in country commodities. It narrowed down all controversy to the single point of whether the Nawab had or had not a right to grant a remission of duties to his own subjects.

The majority of the council at Calcutta decided that the Nawab had no such right. The decision was unjust and absurd; but still the majority had a show of reason on their side. They contended that the spirit and intention of the treaty arrangements with Mir Jafir and Mir Kasim were to grant exclusive privileges to the English servants of the Company; and they argued that the general exemption of all his subjects from the payment of duties destroyed the value of those exclusive privileges, and was thus a violation of the spirit and intention of the treaties. They failed to see that the monopoly had been broken by the force of circumstances, and could not be restored without a violation of public law. Warren Hastings saw the point clearly. "The Nawab," he said, "has granted a boon to his subjects; and there are no grounds for demanding that a sovereign prince should withdraw such a boon, or for threatening him with

war in the event of refusal." In reply Hastings was told that such language became an agent of the Nawab rather than a member of the Calcutta council. Then followed a retort, a blow, and a duel: and though Warren Hastings obtained an apology from the offender, the resolution of the council remained the same.

Meanwhile the isolated Englishmen at remote factories were as violent as the council at Calcutta. If the Nawab's officers stopped English boats, they were liable to be beaten by English sepoys; and in some instances the Nawab's people were sent down to Calcutta for trial by the English for having obeyed the orders of their master. Mr. Ellis, the chief of the factory at Patna, rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the Nawab; yet his position was one of real peril, for he was posted with a mere handful of European troops more than four hundred miles from Calcutta; and was moreover cut off from Calcutta by the Nawab's capital and army at Monghyr.

In April, 1763, the Calcutta council sent two of their number, Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, to present an ultimatum to the Nawab. Before the deputies left Calcutta the Nawab had refused to receive them; "he had abolished all duties," he said, "and consequently there was nothing to settle." On reaching Monghyr, however, they met with a hospitable reception; for the Nawab performed all the duties of an Oriental host toward his European visitors. He *fêted* them, gave them presents, and entertained them with music and dancing-girls. But all this while he kept them under strict surveillance. He remembered the secret plots that led to the destruction of Suraj-ud-daula, and he was constantly suspecting his grandees of a design to betray him to the English. He ordered the two grandsons of Jagat Seth to be arrested at Murshedabad and sent to Monghyr. He sent to Shah Alam and the Nawab Vizier of Oude for help against the English. He was forever lying in wait for signs of some understanding between his grandees and the English.

In May a boat arrived at Monghyr laden with goods for the factory at Patna, and laden also with five hundred firelocks for the English garrison. The sight of the arms filled the Nawab with fresh suspicions and alarms. He stopped the boat and refused to allow the firelocks to go on to Patna. He permitted Amyatt to return to Calcutta, but kept Hay as a hostage at Monghyr for the safety of certain officers of his own who had been arrested by the English.

The story that follows is a mournful page in Indian history. Mr. Ellis, at Patna, was in correspondence with Amyatt, and he foresaw that the moment Amyatt reached Calcutta the council would declare war against the Nawab. The factory in the suburbs of Patna would then be in extreme peril. It was untenable, and might be easily surrounded and captured by the Nawab's troops. Accordingly Mr. Ellis resolved to attack and occupy the town and fort of Patna as a better place of defence in the event of a war.

At early morning on the 25th of June, 1763, the English took the town of Patna by surprise; the native commandant fled in a panic with most of his troops. The English next attacked the fort but were repulsed. They then began to disperse over the streets and bazars. The sepoy were plundering shops and houses, and European soldiers were getting drunk and incapable. There was no idea of danger, and consequently no measures were taken for the defence of the town against any return of the fugitive garrison.

Suddenly, at hot noon, the flying garrison recovered heart and re-entered the town of Patna. They had been joined by a reinforcement coming from Monghyr, and had, moreover, been told that the fort at Patna was still holding out against the English. They met with little resistance and were soon in possession of the town. The English were bewildered and overpowered, but they managed to spike their guns and retreat to the factory.

The English in the factory were utterly cast down by the disaster. They saw that they were being surrounded by the Nawab's troops; and they hurried off to their boats with

the vain hope of escaping up the river Ganges into the territory of the Nawab Vizier of Oude. But they found every outlet closed against them, and instead of cutting their way through the Nawab's troops they committed the fatal error of surrendering to Asiatics. They were all sent as prisoners to Monghyr, and found that they were not alone in their misfortunes. The factory of Cossimbazar, in the suburb of Murshedabad, had been captured and plundered by the Nawab's troops; and all the English at Cossimbazar had been sent to Monghyr as prisoners of war.

All this while Mir Kasim had been waiting at Monghyr in an agony of suspense. News arrived of the loss of Patna, and filled him with despair. At dead of night other tidings arrived; the town had been recovered, and the English were at his mercy. The Nawab was intoxicated with joy and exultation. He ordered the kettle-drums to announce the glorious victory to the sleeping city. Next morning every grandee in Monghyr hurried to the palace with presents and congratulations; and Mir Kasim sent out circulars ordering his officers throughout Behar and Bengal to attack the English wherever they were to be found, and to slaughter them on the spot or bring them away as prisoners to Monghyr.

The capture of the English factory at Cossimbazar was the first result of this cruel order, but Mr. Amyatt was the first victim. The unfortunate gentleman was proceeding down the river toward Calcutta, when his boat was hailed by a detachment of the Nawab's troops, and he was invited by the native commander to an entertainment on shore. The dancing-girls were there, but Amyatt had his misgivings, and sent his excuses. Next he was peremptorily ordered to come on shore, but refused to go. Shots were fired; the Nawab's troops boarded the boat. Amyatt went ashore and mounted the bank with a pistol in each hand; but he was overwhelmed by numbers, and hacked to pieces, and his head was carried off in triumph to the Nawab at Monghyr.

The news of the barbarous murder of Mr. Amyatt filled the Calcutta council with horror; and the majority clamored for prompt vengeance on the Nawab. Vansittart begged them to remember that Mr. Ellis, and a multitude of Englishmen from Patna and Cossimbazar, were at the mercy of Mir Kasim; and that it would be better to make terms, and secure the lives of their fellow-countrymen, before they talked of war and revenge. But his warning was unheeded; scarcely a soul in the council would listen to his words. They loudly declared—and they wrote out their declaration on paper and affixed their signatures—that they would not come to terms with Mir Kasim, nor defer their revenge, although every prisoner in his hands was slaughtered to a man.

The council then left the chamber, and proceeded to the house of Mir Jafir within the precincts of Calcutta, and proclaimed him Nawab of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. The ex-Nawab was overjoyed at his unexpected restoration to a throne, and readily agreed to everything that the council wanted. He pledged himself to compensate the Company and its servants for all losses; to pay the expenses of the war against Mir Kasim; and to reverse the measures of Mir Kasim, by collecting the duties from his own subjects, and permitting the English servants of the Company to trade in the commodities of the country duty free.

In July the avenging army of the English was on its way to Plassy and Patna accompanied by Mir Jafir. The English captured Murshedabad and defeated the flower of the Nawab's army; but they found the enemy stronger than they had anticipated. The Nawab's troops had been drilled and disciplined in English fashion, and fought better than any native army had ever fought before under a native commander. But the steadiness of the European forces overcame every obstacle; and after a series of victories, they began to advance toward Monghyr.

Meanwhile Mir Kasim was inflamed by his reverses to commit fresh acts of cruelty. He ordered several Hindu

prisoners to execution, including the two grandsons of Jagat Seth. He collected his scattered forces at Monghyr, and finally proceeded to Patna, carrying with him all his English prisoners, to the number of a hundred and fifty souls.

Terrible news followed him to Patna. The English had captured his new capital at Monghyr. Then followed one of the most awful massacres of Europeans which is recorded in the history of British India. In a paroxysm of rage at the loss of Monghyr, Mir Kasim ordered the English prisoners to be put to death in cold blood. The native commanders shrank from the slaughter of unarmed men; but a European deserter of the worst character agreed to perform the hateful service, which has handed down his name to everlasting infamy.

A morose Franco-German, named Walter Reinhardt, had deserted more than once from the English to the French and back again. He had re-enlisted in an English regiment under the name of Somers; but his comrades nicknamed him Sombre on account of his evil expression. Finally he had deserted to the service of Mir Kasim, and obtained the command of a brigade under the Hinduized name of Sumru.

The English prisoners were lodged in a house or palace which had belonged to Haji Ahmad, the ill-fated brother of Alivardi Khan. It was a large range of buildings with a square court in the centre, like a college quadrangle. On the 4th of October, 1763, the prisoners were deprived of their knives and forks by Sumru's orders, under pretence of a feast on the morrow. The morrow came. The house was surrounded with sepoys. Messrs. Ellis, Hay, and Lushington were called upon to come out, and were slaughtered outside. The sepoys climbed to the roof of the buildings, and fired upon the prisoners in the square, but were attacked with brickbats, bottles, and articles of furniture. They were struck with admiration at the courage of the English. They cried out that they would not fire upon men without arms. "They were sepoys," they said, "and not executioners!" But Sumru was furious at the hesitation. He struck down

the foremost with his own hands, and compelled them to fire until every prisoner was slain.

The massacre at Patna sent a thrill of horror through the British empire. The errors of the victims were forgotten in their sufferings, and the cry for vengeance was universal. The Nawab was still hoping that the English would come to terms; possibly he thought that they would be frightened into an accommodation; but he soon found that the bloody deed had sealed his doom. In November Patna was taken by storm, and Mir Kasim fled away into Oude with his family and treasures, accompanied by the infamous Sumru.

The Nawab Vizier had bound himself by an oath on the Koran to support Mir Kasim against the English; but his only object was to secure the Bengal provinces for himself. The moment was most favorable for an advance of the Nawab Vizier against the English. The victorious army, which had fought its way from Plassy to Patna, was in a state of mutiny. Soldiers and sepoys had expected extraordinary rewards for their extraordinary successes, but had received nothing beyond their pay and were starving for want of provisions; and they had talked themselves into such a state of disaffection that many were prepared to desert their colors and go over to the enemy.

Weeks and months passed away. In April, 1764, the Nawab Vizier, accompanied by Shah Alam, invaded Behar with what appeared to be an overwhelming army. The English force was encamped on the frontier, but was disheartened at the numbers of the enemy, and retreated slowly toward Patna. But the invading army is described by a native eye-witness as a mob of highwaymen.¹ The lawless soldiery of the Nawab Vizier fought, murdered and plundered each other in the middle of the camp; or went out killing and marauding in the surrounding country. A battle was fought in the neighborhood of Patna, and the Nawab Vizier was repulsed. He then threw over Mir Kasim, and tried to make separate terms with Mir Jafir; but he insisted

¹ Gholam Husain Ali, in the *Siyar-ul-Mutaqherin*.

on the cession of Behar. At the same time the English insisted on the surrender of Mir Kasim and Sumru; and the Nawab Vizier, unscrupulous as he was, shrunk from the infamy of surrendering fugitives. Accordingly nothing was done, and as the rainy season was approaching, the Nawab Vizier returned to Oude.

Subsequently Major Hector Munro arrived at Patna with reinforcements. He found the English troops threatening to desert to the enemy and carry off their officers. Shortly after his arrival, an entire battalion of sepoy went off to join the Nawab Vizier with their arms and accoutrements. Munro pursued them in the night, found them asleep, and brought them back as his prisoners. He ordered the native officers to select twenty-four ringleaders, and to try them by court-martial. The whole were found guilty of mutiny and desertion; and Munro ordered eight to be blown from guns on the spot, and sent the rest to other cantonments to be executed in like manner. He then told the remainder that if they were not satisfied with their present pay, they might lay down their arms and be dismissed the service, for they would get no better terms. The delinquents expressed their penitence, and promised to serve the Company very faithfully for the future.¹

In September the rainy season was over, and Major Munro took the field. On the 23d of October he defeated the Nawab Vizier in the decisive battle of Buxar; and the English army then advanced to Lucknow. The Nawab Vizier fled away to the Rohilla country; while Shah Alam joined the English, complaining that he had been set up as the Great Moghul, and then kept as a state prisoner by his own Vizier.

Next to Plassy, the battle of Buxar is the most famous in the history of British conquest in India. It broke up the strength and prestige of Shuja-ud-daula, the last and great-

¹ Mr. Mill tells the story somewhat differently, but here as elsewhere the original authorities have been consulted. The narrative in the text is based on Major Munro's own account of the transaction in a letter to Governor Vansittart dated 16th September, 1769.

est of the Moghul Viceroy's of provinces, excepting perhaps the Nizam. It threw the whole of the territories of Oude into the hands of the English; placed the Moghul Padishah under British protection; and established the British nation as the foremost power in India.

The Nawab Vizier was seeking the help of the Rohilla Afghans and the Mahrattas, while his minister was trying in the name of his master to make peace with the English. The demand for the surrender of Mir Kasim and the infamous Sumru was the main difficulty. But Mir Kasim had been despoiled by the Nawab Vizier of the bulk of his treasures, and fled away to the northwest, where he subsequently perished in obscurity. As regards Sumru it was proposed on the part of the Nawab Vizier to invite the miscreant to an entertainment, and put him to death in the presence of any English gentleman who might be deputed to witness the assassination.¹

About this time a Hindu grandee named Raja Shitab Rai came to the front. He was a shrewd, keen-witted native, who had started in life as a small office clerk at Delhi, and risen to posts of power and wealth in Bengal and Behar. He was a fair type of the Hindus of capacity, who made themselves useful, and were ultimately rewarded with the title of Raja. He was demonstrative in his friendship for the English, and busied himself in all that was going on. He was an agent for the English in the negotiations with the Nawab Vizier. He brought over the Raja of Benares, Bulwunt Singh, from the cause of the Nawab Vizier to that of the

¹ The after career of Sumru or Sombre is a strange episode in Indian history. He deserted the Nawab Vizier with a battalion of sepoy's and a body of European outcasts, the skum of different nations. He entered the service of the Raja of the Jats, the ancestor of the present Raja of Bhurtpore. Lastly he entered the service of the so-called imperial army of Moghuls under Najib-ud-daula the Rohilla. Subsequently he married a dancing-girl, who afterward became known as the Begum Sombre.

The villain who murdered the English at Patna afterward became a prince, and acquired great wealth, after the manner of Hindu and Muhammadan adventurers of the eighteenth century. The territory of Sirdhana was granted him in jaghir by the Moghul court for the maintenance of his sepoy's and Europeans. He died in 1778, leaving his wealth and principality to the Begum Sombre.

English. He had been mixed up in some secret intrigues for inducing the commanders of fortresses in Oude territory to surrender to the English. In a word, he lost no opportunity of ingratiating himself with the English in the hope of profiting by their ascendancy.

Meanwhile the English refused to listen to the proposals for the assassination of Sumru. They took possession of the territories of the Nawab Vizier; appointed officers to the command of the several districts; and intrusted the settlement of the revenue and judicial administration to Shitab Rai and Bulwunt Singh.

The Nawab Vizier was still reluctant to come to terms. He sought the help of Rohilla Afghans and Mahrattas. The Rohilla chiefs engaged to join him, but did nothing. The Mahrattas under Mulhar Rao Holkar were eager for the plunder of Oude, and readily marched to his support. But Holkar was not accustomed to English artillery. He and his Mahratta horsemen advanced against the English army, but were received with such a terrible fire that they galloped off in consternation.

The Nawab Vizier saw that his cause was ruined. He complained bitterly of the Rohilla chiefs, but they plied him with excuses. He had no alternative but to proceed to the English camp and throw himself upon the mercy of the conquerors. Raja Shitab Rai was again busy as a negotiator; and the Nawab Vizier was led to believe that the payment of fifty lakhs, or half a million sterling, would enable him to recover his lost territories.

About this time there was a change of Governors at Calcutta. Vansittart returned to England, and was succeeded by a Mr. Spencer; while a scheme was brewing for making over Oude to Najib-ud-daula, the Delhi minister, and conducting Shah Alam to Delhi. The scheme came to nothing, but it probably accounts for the reluctance of the Rohilla chiefs to join the Nawab Vizier.¹

¹ The scheme of Governor Spencer was more extravagant than that of Governor Vansittart. The proposal to conduct Shah Alam to Delhi was wild but

Mir Jafir died in January, 1765; and the appointment of a successor to the Nawabship of Bengal and Behar was a question of grave importance. Spencer was only a temporary Governor. He knew that Clive, now an Irish Peer, was coming to Bengal with the powers of a dictator; and he would have acted wisely if he had awaited the arrival of Lord Clive; but he resolved to forestall Lord Clive in the disposal of the vacant throne at Murshedabad. There were two claimants to the succession, namely, an illegitimate son of Mir Jafir, aged twenty, and a legitimate grandson, aged six, a son of the deceased Miran; and the question was, which of the two was likely to prove the most subservient to the interests of the Company. No doubt the boy would have been most amenable to the will of the English; but Spencer chose the elder claimant, in spite of his illegitimacy, as the most amenable to the pecuniary rapacity of himself and his colleagues.

Four members of the Calcutta council proceeded as a deputation to Murshedabad, and made a hurried bargain with a clever Mussulman grandee named Muhammad Reza Khan. It was agreed that the illegitimate son, aged twenty, should be proclaimed Nawab; that Muhammad Reza Khan should exercise all real power, under the name of Naib, or deputy Nawab; and that twenty lakhs of rupees, or about two hundred thousand pounds sterling, should be distributed to the Governor and certain select members of the council at Calcutta.

The bargaining at Murshedabad, and virtual sale of Bengal and Behar to Muhammad Reza Khan, was the last public

possible; and had an English officer, endowed with the genius of an Alexander or a Napoleon, been appointed to the command, he might have established a British empire over Hindustan. But the proposed cession of all the territories of the Nawab Vizier of Oude to his rival, the Afghan guardian at Delhi, would have been ruinous to the English. There was only one way by which Najib-ud-daula could have occupied Oude, namely, by parcelling out the whole country as military jaghirs, or fiefs, among the Rohilla chiefs. This occupation would have amounted to the re-establishment of an Afghan empire down the valleys of the Jumna and Ganges as far as the Carumnassa, which would have proved a perpetual menace to Behar and Bengal.

act of the counting-house administrators of Calcutta. The Company's servants at this period were no better and no worse than the Pretorian Guards, who sold the throne of the Cæsars to the highest bidder; but they were followed by men of the stamp of Robert Clive and Warren Hastings, who knew something of courts and armies, and were anxious to maintain a character in the eyes of their countrymen. The transaction, however, was strictly mercantile; and had it been concluded in the name of the East India Company, and not as an underhand stroke of private trade, it might have been regarded by the merchants of Leadenhall Street as a financial success. Indeed commercial statesmen might still be found who would sell India back to native princes as the readiest means of getting rid of the supposed incubus of an Indian empire. But crimes against history are avenged by history. The men who sold Bengal and Behar to fill their own pockets are remembered only to be despised. But the soldiers and administrators that came after them, who delivered the native populations from the bondage of Oriental despotism, and labored to raise them to the level of Englishmen, have left a mark upon the people of India which will remain for all time.

CHAPTER IV

DOUBLE GOVERNMENT—CLIVE, ETC.

A.D. 1765 TO 1771

LORD CLIVE, who at this time was on his way to India, was forty years of age. He had been named by nearly all parties in England as the only man who could save the Company's affairs in India. He reached Madras in April, 1765, and was greeted with startling tidings. Nizam Ali, who had murdered his brother Salabut Jung in 1763, had invaded the Carnatic with unusual ferocity; but had been compelled to retire to Hyderabad before the united forces of the English and Muhammad Ali. This matter was allowed to stand over; Lord Clive had already made up his mind how to deal with the Nizam. But another event struck him nearer home. He was told that Mir Jafir had died in the previous January.

Lord Clive was delighted at the news, for it enabled him to carry out a part of the grand scheme that he had unfolded to Pitt more than seven years before; namely, to take over the sovereignty of Bengal and Behar in the name of the East India Company, but to veil this sovereignty from the public eye by the forms of Moghul imperialism. He wanted a Nawab who should be only a cipher; and the legitimate grandson of Mir Jafir, aged six, was ready to his hand. Lord Clive proposed to leave the native administration under the puppet Nawab and native ministers, who should be wholly dependent on the English; but to take over the entire revenue of the provinces. He calculated that after paying for the

defence of the country, and the maintenance of the state pageant, there would remain a yearly surplus of one or two millions sterling for the use of the Company.

Lord Clive reached Calcutta in May, and soon discovered the corrupt transactions of Governor Spencer. Of course he was furious with rage. Governor Spencer and his council had forestalled him only to fill their own pockets. They had placed a grown-up Nawab on the throne only to facilitate their corrupt bargaining with Muhammad Reza Khan. Clive declared in his wrath that the whites had united with the blacks to empty the public treasury. In vain he was told that the Governor and council had only followed the example which he had himself set at Murshedabad after the battle of Plassy. He retorted that he had rendered great public services by his victory at Plassy, while Spencer and the others had rendered no services whatever; that after Plassy presents had been permitted, but that at the death of Mir Jafir they had been strictly forbidden by the Court of Directors. But Lord Clive was powerless to compel the offenders to refund, or to punish them in any way whatever; and most of them resigned the service and returned to England to fight the question with the Directors in the courts of law.

Lord Clive made the best arrangement he could under the circumstances. He accepted the Nawab who had been set up by Governor Spencer. He left Muhammad Reza Khan to act as deputy Nawab at Murshedabad, and he appointed Raja Shitab Rai to act in the same capacity at Patna. Both men wielded enormous powers. They were at the head of law and justice; they superintended the collections of revenue; and they were supposed to make over the whole of the proceeds to the English. But the story of their doings or misdoings will be told hereafter.

Lord Clive felt that while the English exercised sovereign powers in Bengal and Behar, it was necessary to conceal that sovereignty from the eyes of the world; as it would only excite the murmurs of the English parliament, and provoke

the jealousies of French and Dutch rivals.¹ Accordingly Lord Clive planned that the English were to act solely in the name of the cipher Nawab, and under the affectation of being the officers of the Great Moghul. In other words, the English were to accept from Shah Alam the post of Dewan, or manager of the revenues of the Bengal provinces; to pay the salaries of the Nawab and his officials; to set aside a fixed yearly sum as tribute to the Great Moghul as represented by Shah Alam; to provide for the defence of the provinces against all external and internal enemies;² and to transfer the surplus revenue to the coffers of the Company.

Lord Clive's idea was to resuscitate the Moghul empire under Moghul forms, while keeping Shah Alam as a puppet or pageant in his own hands. He utterly scouted Spencer's scheme of policy. To have ceded Oude to the Rohilla Afghans would have drawn the Afghans to the frontier of Behar. To have conducted Shah Alam to Delhi would have carried the English army hundreds of miles from the frontier, and have embroiled the British authorities with Afghans or Mahrattas. Lord Clive was anxious to keep Shah Alam in the Bengal provinces—at Patna, if not at Calcutta; and to set him up as a symbol of the Great Moghul. In other words, Shah Alam was to have been an imperial idol; and the English were to have issued their orders and commands as the oracles of the idol.

At the same time Lord Clive determined to restore Oude to the Nawab Vizier. It was too remote from Calcutta for the English to hold it as a conquered territory. Its defence would have drawn the European troops far away to the northwest, and left Behar and Bengal exposed to the demands or assaults of Mahrattas or Afghans. Its adminis-

¹ The Seven Years' War between Great Britain and France was brought to a close by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, under which Chandernagore and Pondicherry were restored to the French.

² The military defence of a province under Moghul rule was not the duty of the Dewan, but of the Nawab Nazim. The exigencies of the time compelled Lord Clive to overlook the niceties of Moghul forms as regards the relative functions of Dewan and Nawab Nazim.

tration would have been out of the reach of all control from Calcutta. But the restoration of Oude to the Nawab Vizier would relieve the Company of all further expense and responsibility, and convert the government of Oude into a natural barrier for Behar and Bengal against the Afghans and Mahrattas of Hindustan.

Full of these grand schemes, Lord Clive left Calcutta, and hastened up the Ganges to meet Shah Alam and the Nawab Vizier at Allahabad. There, to use the language of a native contemporary, he disposed of provinces with as much ease as if he had been selling cattle.¹ Without any of the endless negotiations, cavillings, and delays, which are the pride and glory of native diplomatists, he settled all questions by his own authority as the supreme arbiter of the destinies of Hindustan. The Nawab Vizier eagerly agreed to receive back his lost territories; to pay a sum of half a million sterling toward the expenses of the late war; and to cede by way of tribute to Shah Alam the revenues of Korah and Allahabad. On the other hand, Shah Alam was equally ready to accept the provinces of Allahabad and Korah in lieu of a tribute which for many years had never been paid. But Shah Alam refused to remove to Patna, or to any other place in Behar or Bengal. He was much chagrined at the refusal of Lord Clive to conduct him to Delhi; and he was still bent on going there at the first opportunity. Accordingly he decided on living at Allahabad in the empty state of a Great Moghul without a kingdom, but in the immediate neighborhood of Shuja-ud-daula as his Vizier. A British force was posted at Allahabad for his protection; and it may be remarked that at this period, and for years afterward, the forces of the Company were formed into three brigades, one of which was posted at Monghyr, a second at Patna, and a third at Allahabad.

The affairs of the Bengal provinces were settled with the same ease as those of Oude. Shah Alam gave letters patent

¹ *Siyar-ul-Mutaqherin*, by Gholam Husain Ali. Calcutta translation.

to Lord Clive investing the English Company with the office of Dewan; and in return Lord Clive agreed that the English should pay him as Padishah a yearly tribute of something like a quarter of a million sterling, or about the same amount that Mir Kasim had agreed to give Shah Alam under the settlement of 1761.

It has already been explained that under the constitution of the later Moghul empire every province was administered by two officers, a Nawab and a Dewan. The Nawab, or Nawab Nazim, held the military command, and in that capacity superintended the administration of law, justice, and police. The Dewan was the accountant-general or finance minister, and looked solely after the revenue and expenditure.

Under Lord Clive's scheme the Company became nominally Dewan, and practically Nawab Nazim; for the English compelled the young Nawab Nazim to disband his rabble army, and took upon themselves the military defence of the country, as well as the disposal of the revenue. The duties of the Nawab Nazim were thus limited to the nominal superintendence of law, justice, and police; and it will be seen hereafter that the English were soon forced by the general anarchy to take these branches of the administration into their own hands. Thus within a few years the Nawab Nazim dwindled into a pageant, having no duties to perform beyond the superintendence of his own household.¹

The political result of this arrangement was that the English remained in military charge of Bengal and Behar, with a claim on Orissa whenever they could procure it from

¹ The yearly allowances of the Nawab Nazim were fixed in the first instance by Lord Clive at fifty-three lakhs of rupees, or more than half a million sterling. The first puppet Nawab died within a year of his accession from sheer self-indulgence; his successors were equally useless and equally worthless, and, within seven years, the yearly allowance was reduced to 160,000*l*. Strange to say, this latter rate has been maintained down to our own time; and thus, for more than a century, a yearly expenditure, which would have supported a university, has been wasted on a useless pageant without duties and without claims.

the Mahrattas. Shuja-ud-daula was converted into a friendly ally; and it was hoped that he would succeed in guarding the English frontier at the Carumnassa river from Mahrattas and Afghans.

The financial results were still more satisfactory. The yearly revenue of Bengal and Behar was roughly estimated at three or four millions sterling, but hopes were expressed that it might reach five millions. Out of this gross sum the English were to pay half a million to the Nawab, and a quarter of a million to Shah Alam; and were then at liberty to appropriate the remainder.

The political system of Lord Clive must have appeared on paper to be the perfection of wisdom. So far as the Company believed in his golden dreams of the future, it held out most brilliant prospects. The civil administration in all matters of law, justice, and police was left in the hands of the natives, so that there were no responsibilities on that score. At the same time it was fondly expected that the surplus revenues of Bengal would meet all charges against the Company in India; including all the expenses of the Company's settlements, all the civil and military salaries, and even all investments in India and China goods. Could these visions have been realized, the East India Company would have enjoyed the grandest monopoly the world ever saw. The Company already carried on a trade with India and China, from which all other Englishmen were excluded; and the further convenience of making the people of Bengal and Behar pay for all they bought in the east would have enabled them to pocket the gross receipts of all they sold in England. Meanwhile, and for many years, so much secrecy was observed, and so much confusion was created by the use of Oriental terms, that few outside the Company's service could possibly understand or realize the actual state of affairs.

The external policy of Lord Clive was more clear and intelligible to men of business. In theory it was a strict adherence to the principles of non-intervention, amounting

to political isolation. The English in Bengal were to leave all the native states outside the frontier to their own devices. They had formed an alliance with Shah Alam and his Nawab Vizier, but they were to abstain from making any other alliances whatever. Afghans and Mahrattas might fight each other, and kill each other like Kilkenny cats; the English were not to interfere, especially as the territories of the Nawab Vizier were supposed to form a political barrier against both the antagonistic races.

Lord Clive had some misgivings about the Mahrattas of Berar. The Bhonsla Raja of Berar, or Nagpore, was pressing for the payment of chout for Bengal and Behar with arrears; and Clive was inclined to keep him quiet by paying the chout, on the condition that the Raja ceded the province of Orissa, which he had held ever since the agreement with Alivardi Khan in 1750. Again the Mahrattas were recovering from their defeat at Paniput, and beginning to reassert their ascendancy in the Dekhan and Hindustan. Accordingly, Lord Clive threw out some hints of an alliance with the Nizam of the Dekhan which should maintain the balance of power against the Mahrattas.

The Directors in London took the alarm. They saw no necessity for paying chout; they did not want Orissa; and they protested vigorously against any alliance with the Nizam, or any other native power. "The Carumnassa," they repeated, "is your boundary; go not beyond the Carumnassa! Leave the Mahrattas to fight the Afghans, and the Nizam to fight the Mahrattas, and devote all your attention to revenue and trade!"

But Lord Clive had already dealt with Nizam Ali according to his peculiar scheme of imperial policy. On arriving in India in 1765 he had been told that Nizam Ali had been ravaging the Carnatic; and he saw that strong measures must be taken to repress such a troublesome and refractory neighbor. The quarrel was about the Northern Circars; namely, the five maritime districts on the coast of Coromandel, extending northward from the frontier of the Car-

natic to the pagoda of Jagganath.¹ Salabut Jung had ceded this territory to Bussy and the French, and afterward to Colonel Forde and the English; but his younger brother, Nizam Ali, who usurped the throne at Hyderabad in 1761, and murdered Salabut Jung in 1763, refused to submit to the loss of territory.

Lord Clive tried to settle the question by putting forward Shah Alam as the rightful sovereign of India. Shah Alam, as the Great Moghul, was encouraged to maintain a little court at Allahabad; but he was otherwise treated as the tool and creature of the English; and a story is told that the English officer in command at Allahabad refused to allow the pageant prince to sound the imperial kettle-drums, because they made too much noise. However, Lord Clive obtained a firman from Shah Alam, granting the Northern Circars to the English in full sovereignty, in defiance of the hereditary claims of Nizam Ali.

The assumption was enormous. It amounted to an assertion, on the part of Shah Alam, of a sovereign right to dispose at will of all the territories of the old Moghul empire, although the provinces had been practically converted into hereditary kingdoms ever since the invasion of Nadir Shah. If Shah Alam possessed the right to cede a portion of a province, like the Northern Circars, it would have been impossible to deny his right to cede whole provinces like Oude, Hyderabad, or the Carnatic.

Had Lord Clive been an Asiatic conqueror, remaining for the rest of his life in India, he might possibly have ruled over the whole empire of Aurangzeb in the name of the Great Moghul. Shah Alam would have been the half-deified symbol of sovereignty. Lord Clive would have been prime minister or Peishwa; and as such might have compelled all rebellious Viceroys and refractory Rajas to do his bidding. He was already the virtual sovereign of Behar and Bengal. He had disposed of Oude at will; and had he remained in

¹ See ante, pp. 301, 333, and 334.

India he would have held the Northern Circars under the authority of the firman. His genius was cast in the iron mold of military despotism; and the prestige of his name was sufficient to render the decrees of Shah Alam as irresistible as those of Aurangzeb.

But Lord Clive was thwarted by the Madras authorities. In 1766 he sent an expedition under General Calliaud to take possession of the Northern Circars. But the English at Madras were alarmed at reports that Nizam Ali was making prodigious preparations for the invasion of the Carnatic; and they ordered General Calliaud to proceed to Hyderabad, and conclude a peace on almost any terms with Nizam Ali.

At the end of 1766 General Calliaud negotiated a treaty with Nizam Ali. The firman of Shah Alam was ignored. The English agreed to pay Nizam Ali a yearly tribute of seventy thousand pounds for the Northern Circars.¹ At the same time the English and Nizam Ali agreed to assist each other against any enemy; and in the first instance resolved on a joint expedition against Hyder Ali of Mysore, who had already threatened the dominions of Nizam Ali, and aroused the jealousy of the English by his leanings toward the French.

In January, 1767, Lord Clive left India never to return.² He was succeeded by Mr. Verelst as Governor of Bengal. Meanwhile the joint expedition of Nizam Ali and the English against Hyder Ali of Mysore was opening out a new phase in Indian history.

The rise of Hyder Ali is a sign of the times. This adventurer was a Muhammadan of obscure origin. He is said to have served as a soldier in the French army.³ Subse-

¹ There was some special arrangement as regards the Guntoor Circar, between the Gundlacama and Kistna rivers, which had been assigned as a jaghir to Basalut Jung, the eldest brother of Nizam Ali. The Circar of Guntoor was not to be made over to the East India Company until after the death of Basalut Jung.

² Lord Clive was only forty-two when his career in India was brought to a close. He died in England in 1774, at the age of forty-nine.

³ The author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutaqherin* states that Hyder Ali was originally a French sepoy. The story is extremely probable, although it would be suppressed or denied by the court annalists at Mysore or Seringapatam. It would explain Hyder Ali's subsequent leanings toward the French, which are otherwise inexplicable.

quently he left the French army and raised a body of troops on the basis of plunder, giving his men the half of all they stole, and taking care that nothing was stolen without his knowledge. Hyder's men seized every description of property, great and small; they would carry off sheep, cattle, or grain, or they would strip the villagers of their clothes and earrings.

Hyder Ali next appeared as a commander in the service of the Hindu Raja of Mysore during the operations against Trichinopoly. He received a money allowance for every man under his command, and a donation for every one who was wounded; and he naturally cheated the Hindu government by false musters, and by bandaging men without a scratch, in order to pass them off as wounded. Meanwhile the Mysore government was distracted by a rivalry between a young Raja, who was a minor, and an uncle, named Nunjeraj, who acted as regent, and Hyder Ali did not fail to take advantage of the occasion. Gradually, by tricks and treacheries as bewildering as the feats of a conjurer, Hyder Ali destroyed the influence of the regent and used the Raja as a pageant, until at last he assumed the sovereign power in his own name.

Hyder Ali was not a mere freebooter. He subjugated several small states to the north and west of Mysore, including Kanara and Malabar. In this fashion he converted the Hindu Raj of Mysore into the seat of a new Muhammadan empire. He formed no political alliances. He committed raids on the territories of all his neighbors; on the Mahrattas of Poona, the Nizam of Hyderabad, and the Nawab of the Carnatic. At the same time he excited the jealous alarm of the English by secret dealings with the French of Pondicherry.

The English were soon disgusted with their alliance with Nizam Ali. The united armies invaded Mysore and captured Bangalore. Meantime Nizam Ali was secretly intriguing with the Mysore court. He tried to win over the regent Nunjeraj; but Hyder Ali discovered the plot, and

nothing more was heard of Nunjeraj. Nizam Ali next tried to win over Hyder Ali. This plot succeeded. Nizam Ali deserted the English, and joined his forces with those of Hyder Ali; and the new confederates began to attack the English and invade the Carnatic.

The English army was taken aback at this sudden treachery, and retired toward Madras; but reinforcements came up, and they succeeded in inflicting two decisive defeats on the Muhammadan confederates. Nizam Ali was much alarmed at these disasters. He had expected to crush the English and recover the Carnatic from Muhammad Ali; but he began to fear that his own dominions were in danger. Accordingly he repented of his treachery, deserted Hyder Ali, fled toward Hyderabad, and sued the English for peace. In 1768 another treaty was concluded between the English and Nizam Ali, and relations were restored to their former footing.

Nizam Ali had grounds for his alarm. While he was uniting his forces with Hyder Ali against the English, the puppet Padishah at Allahabad was once more brought into play. Mr. Verelst, the successor of Lord Clive, thought to checkmate Nizam Ali, and put an effectual stop to his intrigues with Hyder Ali, by procuring a blank firman, with the seals of the Great Moghul, granting the whole of the Nizam's dominions to any one whom the English might choose. The firman was actually sent to Madras, leaving the English there to fill in the name of any candidate that pleased them. The Directors loudly condemned this transaction and ordered it to be cancelled.¹

Strange to say, Hyder Ali was relieved by the defection

¹ The cool attempt of Mr. Verelst to deprive Nizam Ali of his dominions by a simple firman from Shah Alam excited great wrath and astonishment at the time. Nevertheless Verelst continued to regret that the design was not carried out. At a subsequent period, when Shah Alam had fled from Allahabad to Delhi, it was discovered that Hyder Ali of Mysore had been equally clever. Hyder Ali had actually purchased letters of investiture from the pageant Padishah at Delhi, under which he himself was appointed to the government of all the dominions of the Nizam.

of Nizam Ali. He retired to Mysore; but after collecting his resources, he fought the English with varying success, and then engaged in a series of rapid marches, which resembled the movements and surprises of Sivaji. He exacted a contribution from the Raja of Tanjore; reopened communications with the reviving French settlement at Pondicherry; and threatened to join the Mahrattas of Poona against the English, unless the English joined him against the Mahrattas. Finally he appeared at St. Thomé, near Madras, with an army of six thousand chosen horsemen.

The English at Madras were filled with consternation. Their resources were exhausted; they were alarmed for the safety of their garden houses in the suburbs of Madras; and they hastened to make peace, because, as they said, they had no money to carry on the war. In April, 1769, they concluded an offensive and defensive treaty with Hyder Ali. Each party agreed to restore all conquests, and to help the other in the event of an invasion from the Mahrattas or any other power.

All this while the affairs of the Company in Bengal were drifting into financial anarchy. There was no war, nor rumors of war, beyond an occasional demand from the Bhonsla Raja of Berar for the payment of chout; but there was an alarming decline in the public revenue; money was disappearing from Bengal, and many of the native population were sinking into helpless penury. In 1770 Mr. Verelst returned to England, and was succeeded by Mr. Cartier as Governor of Bengal. But there was no prospect of improvement. In 1770-71 a terrible famine in Bengal added to the general desolation. At last in 1771 Lord Clive's political sham of a Moghul empire suddenly collapsed. Shah Alam threw himself into the hands of the Mahrattas, and went off to Delhi; and the destinies of the native powers of India entered upon a new phase, which is closely associated with the Mahratta empire, and will demand separate consideration in the following chapter.

The system of government introduced by Lord Clive had

turned out a total failure. This was obvious before Lord Clive left Calcutta; but for three or four years the system was lauded to the skies as the grand discovery of the age. At last the rapid diminution of the revenues of Bengal and Behar opened the eyes of the Directors, and induced them to break up the political sham, and to intrust the collection of the land rents and the administration of justice to their European servants.

The system introduced by Lord Clive was a double government, under which the English took over the revenue and garrisoned the country, and left the administration in the hands of native officials without prestige or authority. This double government must not be confounded with party government. There never has been a party government in India with the natives on one side and the English on the other. In the double government of Lord Clive the English cared for nothing but the money, and left the native officials to prey upon the people and ruin the country without check or hindrance, so long as they collected the land rents and paid over a satisfactory block sum into the English treasury.

This anomaly was not the fault of Lord Clive. It was forced upon him, partly, as already seen, from motives of policy as regards the French and Dutch, and partly also by the force of public opinion in England. Strong indignation had been felt in England at the interference of the servants of the Company in the administration of Mir Kasim; and strong opinions had been expressed that native officials should be left alone. Accordingly Lord Clive had been induced to recognize Muhammad Reza Khan as deputy Nawab at Murshedabad, and to appoint Raja Shitab Rai as deputy Nawab at Patna, in order that these two officials might conduct the native administration. He also appointed a British Resident at both places for the twofold purpose of taking over the revenue from the deputy Nawabs, and of protecting the native administration from any encroachments of the English. He overlooked the fact that the power which takes over the revenue is responsible for the well-being of the people. The

result was that all the vices of Oriental rule were left to fester in the native administration; while the restrictions imposed upon the British Residents prevented the possibility of any reform.

In Bengal and Behar the bulk of the revenue was derived from the land, which was assumed to be the property of the state. The Ryots cultivated the land, paying rent to the Zemindar of the district. The Zemindar collected the rents of his district in the mixed character of landholder and revenue-collector, and made monthly payments into the treasury at Murshedabad or Patna. The income of the Zemindar was thus derived, not from his rental, but from profit. It comprised the difference between the gross rents he received from the Ryots and the net proceeds which he paid into the treasury at headquarters.

The Ryots were mostly Hindus—servile, timid, and helpless. The Zemindars were mostly Muhammadans from Persia, bred amid the tyranny and corruption which prevailed in Persia, and devoid of all sympathy for the Hindu population.¹ They collected not only rents but irregular cesses; and whenever there was a marriage in the house of a Zemindar, or a son was born, or a fine was levied on the Zemindar on account of some delay or defalcation, the Ryots were compelled to contribute according to their means. There was no way of escape, except by bribing the servants of the Zemindar, reaping the crops at night and hiding the grain, or throwing up the holding and flying the country.

All this while the Zemindar was magistrate of the district. He could fine, imprison, torture, and even execute heinous offenders, and there was no one to control him. There were Muhammadan Kazis and Brahman Pundits to decide civil cases, and there were higher courts of appeal; but no one could obtain redress without a large expenditure in presents or bribes, or the interference of some powerful grandee.

¹ See Verelst's Bengal. Also Early Records of British India.

In addition to the Zemindars, there always had been governors or deputy Nawabs of the same type as Muhammad Reza Khan and Raja Shitab Rai. They governed large towns or circles; received the collections from the Zemindars; and kept the peace throughout their respective jurisdictions. Originally their posts had been filled by Muhammadan officers; but later Nawabs preferred promoting Hindu officials, and giving them the honorary title of "Raja."¹

The only check on Zemindars and deputy Nawabs was the right of petition to the Nawab; and this check in olden time had exercised a restraining influence on oppression. Former Nawabs would often sit in state, and spend a great part of their days in hearing petitions and passing judgments with the assistance of law officers. Sometimes the iniquitous oppressions and exactions of a Zemindar were forced on the attention of a Nawab, and were punished by the confiscation of his goods and removal from his Zemindary. Sometimes, justly or unjustly, a Hindu Raja was recalled from his post, deprived of all his goods and chattels, and put to an ignominious death as a punishment for his misdeeds, or in order to replenish the coffers of a grasping Nawab.

But under the double government created by Lord Clive, embezzlement, corruption, and oppression flourished as in a hotbed. Not only was there no check, but there was every temptation to guilty collusion. No Zemindars could have been anxious to swell the collections of revenue for the benefit of the East India Company; nor were the deputy Nawabs eager to detect defalcations and abuses, when they might be bribed to silence by a share in the spoil. The new puppet Nawab Nazim had no inducement to hear petitions, and no

¹ Muhammadan governors were often turbulent and refractory; and they squandered all their ill-gotten gains on pomp and pleasure. Hindus were more amenable to authority, and delighted in hoarding up gold and jewels; so that as occasion served they could be squeezed of all the riches they had absorbed. Mir Jafir removed some of the Hindu Rajas, and appointed Muhammadan kinsmen of his own to the vacant posts. Muhammad Reza Khan was a fair sample of a Muhammadan grandee; while Shitab Rai was a favorable specimen of a Hindu Raja.

power to enforce judgment. The deputy Nawabs, Muhammad Reza Khan at Murshedabad and Raja Shitab Rai at Patna, were supposed to hear petitions; but they had a thousand interests to consult, of Englishmen as well as Zemindars, and it is impossible to know whether they performed their duties well or ill. Meanwhile the English servants of the East India Company were merchants, educated for the counting-house, skilled in bargaining and commerce, and impressed with the conviction that the one aim and object of life in India was to make a fortune and return to England at the earliest possible opportunity.

The outward working of the Nizamut may be gathered from a solemn farce which was played every year at Murshedabad. The annual revenue settlements were arranged at a yearly festival known as the Poona. The Zemindars assembled at the capital to make their agreements as regards the monthly payments of revenue for the ensuing year. The Nawab Nazim took his seat on the throne in empty dignity; while the English Governor of Bengal and Behar stood on his right hand as representing the Honorable Company in the quality of Dewan.

One result of the new system of government was the rapid disappearance of rupees. Silver was no longer imported from Europe for the purchase of commodities or payment of salaries; while large quantities were exported to Madras and China, or carried to Europe by the Company's servants, who retired with large fortunes. The old Nawabs of Murshedabad had squandered enormous sums on pomps and pleasures, which, however useless in themselves, had kept the money in the country. Under the English *régime* these expenses had been largely curtailed; the army was disbanded, the vast menageries of animals and birds were broken up, and there were large reductions in the household and zenana. But the money thus saved was sent out of Bengal; and a host of native soldiery and parasites were reduced to beggary. A native contemporary remarked, in the language of Oriental hyperbole, that grain had become exceedingly cheap

because there was no money to buy it; that a native horseman was becoming as rare as a phoenix; and that but for the money spent by the English in the purchase of raw silk, opium, and white piece goods, a silver rupee, or a gold mohur, would have been as rare as a philosopher's stone.¹

The stoppage of the exports of silver from Bengal to China, and increased public expenditure in Bengal, lessened the evils arising from the outflow of silver; but nothing would check the rapid decline of the revenue. Mr. Verelst, who succeeded Lord Clive as Governor of Bengal, seems to have understood the causes of the decrease. For years he had overlooked the revenue administration in Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong, and had seen the roguery which pervaded all classes of native officials, and the unblushing rascality of their servants and dependents. But Verelst was hampered by Clive's political system of non-interference, and was compelled to use the utmost caution in introducing European supervision.

In the first instance Verelst appointed English supervisors into the different districts, with instructions to report all that was going on, but not to interfere in the native administration. Subsequently the English Residents at Murshedabad and Patna were encouraged to inquire into the conduct of affairs; and ultimately committees of Englishmen were appointed in association with Muhammad Reza Khan and Shitab Rai.

At this crisis the natives were taken aback by a social revolution. Hitherto the English had kept aloof from native gentlemen, and taken no pleasure in their society; but now they began to form intimacies with Muhammadan and Hindu grandees, and to converse with them on political affairs. It was remarked by the native writer already quoted, that the English eagerly inquired into the laws, usages, and modes of transacting public business, and wrote down all they heard in books for the information of other

¹ *Siyar-ul-Mutaqherin*, by Gholam Husain Ali.

Englishmen. Meanwhile the native *grandeos* were envious and jealous of each other; and every one was ready to report the misdoings of the others, in order to win the favor of the English gentlemen, or to conceal his own backslidings and shortcomings.

The English gentlemen, it was said, also attended courts of justice, and sometimes expressed surprise at what they saw or heard. When an offender was convicted and fined, his accuser also was required to pay a fine by way of thanksgiving. The English could not understand this, and asked why a man should be fined who had committed no offence? They were told it was the custom of the country. Again, when a *Zemindar* or *Kazi* tried a civil case, he took a fourth part of the amount in dispute as his fee. This again the English could not understand, as they had no such custom in their country.

Under such circumstances the native *grandeos* would be most polite and obliging, while an Englishman would be sometimes gulled. A Mr. George Vansittart¹ was sent to Patna, where Raja Shitab Rai was acting as deputy Nawab; and Gholam Husain Ali describes the circumstances of their meeting, and the ultimate results, with much apparent truthfulness and simplicity:

“When it was known that Mr. Vansittart was coming to Patna, all the enemies of Shitab Rai conceived mighty hopes from the change. The capacity and politeness of the Raja were such that few could have found fault with his administration; but many were envious of his greatness, and prepared to light up a mighty flame, so that he himself was fearful of the consequences. The hem of his robe was pretty free from dirt, and the blemishes in it were few in comparison with his many services; yet he was so alive to the inconveniences that might arise from the difference of nation and language, and his ignorance of Mr. Vansittart’s character and genius, that he was very doubtful of his fate.

¹ This was a brother of Governor Vansittart, who perished at sea during a return voyage to India.

“When Mr. Vansittart approached Patna, the Raja went out to meet him, took him on his elephant, and brought him into the city. This was very mortifying to the enemies of the Raja, who were hastening to wait on Mr. Vansittart in order to set up a shop of chicanery and malice. They were all struck dumb by his artful behavior. As a great statesman and accountant, he had ready every kind of paper that could be called for. He was firm and steady in his behavior and answers; never boggled or prevaricated; never hesitated to furnish any information that was required; and answered with so much propriety as to leave no opening for an imputation on his character. Accordingly Mr. Vansittart was so convinced of his fidelity, wisdom, and knowledge, that he opened the gates of friendship and union. Nor was the Raja wanting to himself in such an overture. By respectful behavior, and a number of curious presents, he gained so much on the mind of Mr. Vansittart, that the latter gentleman was thoroughly satisfied.

“Raja Shitab Rai behaved to men of virtue and distinction with a modesty and humility that disarmed envy. He was quick at understanding the intent of every man’s petition. If he granted a request it was with the utmost condescension; if he refused a petition it was with handsome excuses and in condoling language. He was engaged in business, and in conferences with different people, from day-break till noon, and from evening till three o’clock in the morning. He never seemed fatigued with the number of applicants, or impatient at the extravagance of their demands; and he never used a harsh word, or the language of abuse or reprimand. He was generous and hospitable, after the manner of a middle class Moghul Amir of Hindustan. Whenever a person of distinction came to Patna the Raja always sent him a number of trays of sweetmeats, delicacies, and dressed victuals according to his rank and station.

“But Rajah Shitab Rai was not wholly free from blame. He was too fond of obliging and gratifying his friends and

acquaintances. He religiously abstained from appropriating the public money, but his salary and private means fell very short of his expenses, and he was obliged moreover to bestow sums of money on Europeans. In order, therefore, to adjust his means to his expenses, he adopted two methods, which were both iniquitous. When a man was indebted to the public treasury it was customary to send one or two constables to compel payment, and to charge their diet money to the debtor. But Shitab Rai sent dozens of constables, and entered but a very small part of the diet money in the book of receipts, and kept the remainder to expend on his liberalities. Again, Shitab Rai called upon all jaghirdars and other landholders to produce their title-deeds on the pretence that some English gentlemen wanted to examine them; and he refused to return the documents until the incumbent had contributed a sum of money in proportion to his means. All these contributions he bestowed on Englishmen that had been recommended to him; and seemed to be wholly occupied in keeping the gentlemen of that nation in good humor.”¹

The observations and admissions of Gholam Husain Ali sufficiently reveal the early results of the collision between the European and Hindu mind during the rise of British power in Bengal. Raja Shitab Rai was a type of the native grandees and officials of the eighteenth century, and a prototype of a considerable number of the nineteenth. By readiness and business habits, and a constant study of the temper of his employers, he had gradually risen from one post to another, until he had gained the favor of Lord Clive, and was appointed deputy Nawab at Patna. Of course the Raja was most attentive and profoundly respectful to the English gentlemen; for it was currently believed by every native of standing and experience that all Englishmen, especially officials, were gratified with the language of flattery and adulation. The Raja was also ever ready with his ex-

¹ Siyar-ul-Mutaqherin, Calcutta translation.

planations, having probably learned them by heart before Mr. Vansittart's arrival; being well aware that nothing exasperates an Englishman so much as boggling or prevarication, and that almost any lie may be swallowed so long as it is prompt and plausible. Meanwhile, the number and value of the Raja's presents could scarcely fail to make a gratifying impression on Mr. Vansittart, and have thoroughly satisfied that gentleman of his faithfulness and capacity. The public conduct of the Raja toward petitioners was modelled after that of the most polished Oriental statesmen, as being the best calculated for confirming friends and disarming enemies. Unfortunately Shitab Rai found that he must keep on good terms with English gentlemen at any price; and consequently he was driven to commit those acts of embezzlement and oppression which his best friends must have deplored, and for which the Englishmen of those days were more or less responsible.

Meanwhile, the Directors in England threw all the blame of the declining revenues on the crafty practices of the native officials, and the corrupt collusion between their own English servants and the deputy Nawabs at Mushedabad and Patna—Muhammad Reza Khan and Raja Shitab Rai. How far they were justified in these conclusions may be gathered from the admissions of Gholam Husain Ali, who evidently entertained a high opinion of Shitab Rai. Gholam Husain Ali was infinitely more bitter against Muhammad Reza Khan, charging him with pride and insolence, corruption and crime; but as the writer was notoriously an enemy to Muhammad Reza Khan, it would be invidious to repeat the accusations.

The Directors in England were exasperated beyond measure by their losses in trade. The Indian commodities and manufactures had risen in price and deteriorated in value, chiefly, it was believed, through the culpable heedlessness, or still more guilty connivance, of their servants in the different factories. At the same time, the public expenditure in Bengal had risen to such a pitch that the Company was

brought to the verge of ruin. Yet year after year the Company's servants returned to England loaded with wealth, which they were supposed to have wrung out of native princes, or acquired by oppressing the native population.

It is needless to dwell on obsolete scandals. No doubt, presents were received from native contractors, and "dus-toori," or commission, from native dealers and manufacturers. No one was better acquainted with the Company's trade at the factories up country than Warren Hastings; and he bitterly complained that the Directors were rigid about salaries, while they were indifferent about perquisites, though the former were but pittances, while the latter amounted to lakhs.¹ Corruption was equally rampant at Calcutta. Contracts were given to Europeans for every kind of public expenditure, while the work was intrusted to natives; and whoever obtained a contract seemed to make a fortune. The Directors saw that large sums were entered in the public accounts, which they were unable to audit, and which only confirmed their worst suspicions.

All this while the people of the country were bitterly complaining of being abandoned to the oppression and extortion of native officials. The author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutaqherin* testifies to the superiority of the English, but denounces their selfish neglect of the masses. "When," he says, "the Shahzada invaded Behar, the people prayed that he might be victorious and prosperous, for they remembered the good government and favors they had enjoyed under his ancestors. But when they found themselves harassed and plundered by his disorderly soldiery, and saw that the English never touched a blade of grass, nor injured the weakest individual, they changed their minds; and when the Shahzada was proclaimed Padishah, and invaded Behar under the name of Shah Alam, they loaded him with reproaches and prayed for victory and prosperity for the English army. But they soon ceased to pray for the English; for the new

¹ Gleig's *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, vol. i. chap. viii.

rulers paid no attention to the concerns of the people of Hindustan, and suffered them to be mercilessly plundered, oppressed, and tormented, by officers of their own appointing.”

In 1771 matters were brought to a climax by a horrible famine in Bengal. It is needless to dwell upon the details of death and desolation. Indian famines have been familiarized to readers of the present generation, but were intensified in the eighteenth century by the inadequacy of the measures taken to meet the evil. Many English gentlemen, as well as Shitab Rai, and perhaps other grandees, labored hard to alleviate the general suffering by feeding thousands at their own expense, and bringing down stores of grain from cheaper markets. But alarming news had reached England that certain Englishmen had confederated with Muhammad Reza Khan to profit by the national disaster by hoarding up large stocks of grain and selling it out at famine prices.

The result of all these complicated suspicions and charges was that the Directors determined on a radical reform; and to intrust this important work to Mr. Warren Hastings by appointing him to be Governor of Bengal. Hastings was a man of large Indian experience and clear-headed capacity; and up to this period was regarded as a man of probity. Accordingly the Directors expected Hastings to bring back their European servants to a sense of duty, moderation, and loyalty to the Company; and to remodel the administration by transferring the collection of the revenue from natives to Europeans.

The advent of Warren Hastings is the beginning of a new era. He introduced British administration into Bengal and Behar; and he was drawn by the Bombay government into hostilities on a large scale against the Mahrattas. Accordingly, before entering on the history of his government, it will be as well to review the progress of affairs in Bombay and the neighboring empire of the Mahrattas.

CHAPTER V

BOMBAY—MAHRATTA EMPIRE

A.D. 1748 TO 1772

DURING the eighteenth century Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay had each a political life of its own. This individuality is disappearing in an age of railways and telegraphs; but it has left lasting marks on the traditions of the past; and before proceeding further with the history, it may be as well to sum up the distinctive characteristics in the annals of each of the three Presidencies.

Madras is seated in an open roadstead on the sandy and surf-bound coast of Coromandel. On the sea side it looks over the large expanse of the Bay of Bengal toward Burma, Siam, Sumatra, the Eastern Archipelago, and the more remote territories of China and Japan. On the land side it was associated with the establishment of the Nawabs of the Carnatic and Nizams of Hyderabad as independent princes; with old wars between England and France; with the capture of Madras by Labourdonnais, the ambitious dreams of Dupleix, the siege of Trichinopoly by Chunder Sahib and the French, the defence of Arcot by Clive, the victory of Eyre Coote at Wandiwash, and the temporary destruction of Pondicherry in 1761; and, finally, with the rise of Hyder Ali in the western tableland of Mysore.

Calcutta is situated a hundred miles up the river Hughli, amid green rice-fields and overgrown jungles. It is remote from the sea and busied with shipping in the river. Before the age of railways a water communication united Calcutta with Patna and Benares, and opened up the heart of Hindustan. The English settlement was associated with mem-

ories of the Black Hole, the recovery of Calcutta from the Nawab, the expulsion of the French from Chandernagore, the triumph at Plassy, the setting up of Nawabs at Murshedabad, the acquisition of Bengal and Behar in 1765, the subsequent introduction of British administration into Bengal and Behar by Warren Hastings, and the rise of a British empire which was to overshadow Hindustan and establish a dominion from the Brahmaputra to the Indus.

Bombay is a small island on the Malabar coast, commanding the finest harbor on the eastern seas, and looking over the Indian Ocean toward Muscat and Madagascar, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. It was the dowry of Catherine, the Portuguese wife of Charles the Second. On the land side it was hemmed round with Mahrattas, who exercised dominion, or collected chout, from Bombay to Bengal, from Guzerat to Orissa, and from Malwa to Mysore.

The other neighbors of the English settlement at Bombay were maritime powers. On the north and south were the Abyssinians of Surat and Jinjeera, whose hereditary chiefs, known as the Seedees, or Sidis,¹ were the nominal lord high admirals of the Moghul; the protectors of Moghul traders and Mecca pilgrims against the pirates of Malabar. Further to the south were the Mahratta pirates of Malabar; the hereditary Angrias of Gheria; the representatives of the Malabar corsairs, who had been the terror of the Indian Ocean since the days of Pliny and the Cæsars.

The frontiers of the great Mahratta empire were ever changing like those of the Parthians. In fact, the Mahrattas were the Parthians of India, and their dominion extended as far as the Mahratta horsemen could harry and destroy. But a distinction must be drawn between Maharashtra proper, the homes of the Mahratta-speaking people, and the outlying military dominion of Mahratta feudatories. Maharashtra proper was the hereditary king-

¹ The term Seedee, when assumed by the Africans, is a term of dignity corresponding to the Arabic term Saiyid, or lord. In India, however, it was sometimes used as a term of reproach rather than of distinction.—*Grant Duff*.

dom of the Maharajas of the house of Sivaji. The military lieutenants outside the Mahratta pale were freebooting chiefs, who originally held commissions from the reigning Maharaja, but who gradually grew into vassal princes; while the outlying territories which they plundered hardened into semi-independent provinces of a loose Mahratta empire.

The seats of the home government of the Mahratta country are indicated by three important fortresses, running from north to south, and known as Poona, Satara, and Kolhapore. Poona was situated about seventy miles to the southeast of Bombay; it was originally the stronghold of Sivaji, the founder of the Mahratta empire, but was subsequently surrendered to the generals of Aurangzeb. Satara was the capital of Sahu, the grandson of Sivaji, and last of the Bhonsla dynasty. Kolhapore was the capital of an independent principality founded by a rival branch of the same Bhonsla family.¹

The four leading Mahratta feudatories have already been mentioned: namely, the Gaekwar in Guzerat; Holkar and Sindia in Malwa, between the Nerbudda and the Chambal rivers; and the Raja of Berar and Nagpore to the north of the Nizam of Hyderabad.² The three former were of low caste; but the Berar Raja belonged to the tribe of Bhonslas, of which Sivaji was a member. The Bhonsla Raja of Berar was also the most powerful of the four; for he had conquered large territories from the Nizam of the Dekhan, and occupied the Orissa country to the south of Behar and Bengal.

The early history of the Mahratta feudatories is a confused narrative of family quarrels, assassinations, and predatory exploits, varied by frequent disputes with the Maha-

¹ The Raj of Kolhapore was held by a younger brother of Sahu, known as Sambhaji the Second, to distinguish him from his father, the first Sambhaji, who was executed by Aurangzeb. See ante, p. 217. Further south, near Goa, was the Bhonsla chief of Sawant Waree, but he has played little or no part in history.

² See ante, pp. 258, 259.

raja's government as to the amount of revenue or chout to be paid into the Maharaja's treasury. About the middle of the eighteenth century the four great feudatories were beginning to found dynasties, namely, Damaji Gaekwar, Mulhar Rao Holkar, Ranuji Sindia, and Rughuji Bhonsla.

Maharaja Sahu, grandson of Sivaji, died at Satara in 1748. For some years before his death he had been nearly imbecile. A favorite dog had saved his life while hunting a tiger. He conferred a jaghir on the dog, and provided it with a palanquin and bearers. He dressed the dog in brocade and jewels, placed his own turban on its head, and in this fashion received Mahratta chiefs in full durbar. He was conscious of his dependence on his Brahman prime minister, or Peishwa, and boasted that he had conquered India from the Muhammadans and given it to the Brahmans.

Sahu died childless; consequently before his death there had been plots in the zenana as regards the succession. An old princess of the family, named Tara Bai, produced a boy, named Raja Ram, whom she declared was her own grandson. Nothing was known of the boy, but she persuaded the dying Sahu that he was the legitimate descendant of Sivaji, and consequently the rightful heir to the throne at Satara. Her object was to secure the throne for the boy, and then to rule the Mahratta empire as regent during the minority of her reputed grandson.¹

Sukwar Bai, the chief wife of Sahu, was hotly opposed to the scheme of Tara Bai. She had no notion of seeing Tara Bai occupy the post of regent. She declared that Raja Ram was an impostor. She intrigued in behalf of a claimant of the house of Kolhapore, who was also a descendant of Sivaji. She secretly won over several partisans, but

¹ Tara Bai was a widow of Raja Ram, the youngest son of Sivaji. When Sambhaji the First, the elder son of Sivaji, was executed by Aurangzeb in 1689, Raja Ram succeeded to the sovereignty of the Mahrattas. Raja Ram died in 1700, and Tara Bai became regent during the minority of a son who was an idiot. In 1708 Tara Bai was deposed and imprisoned. Forty years afterward, she was, as stated in the text, once more intriguing for the regency. Pertinacity is a national characteristic of the Mahrattas, male and female.

sought to conceal her plans by publicly declaring that on the death of Sahu she would burn herself alive on his funeral pile.

All this while Balaji Rao, the third Peishwa, was bent on usurping the sovereignty of the Mahratta empire.¹ Like his predecessors, he was a type of those secular Brahmans who ignore the religious duties of their caste in order to pursue their ambitious designs. He kept a watchful eye on the two princesses, who were plotting for the sovereign power, which he was resolved to secure for himself and his son after him. For a long time he was anxious and hesitating as to whose cause he should espouse. At last he professed to believe in the legitimacy of Raja Ram; intending in the end to set aside the regency of Tara Bai, and treat the boy Maharaja as a puppet of his own.

On the death of Sahu, Balaji Rao occupied Satara with troops, and threw the partisans of Sukwar Bai into prison. He then got rid of Sukwar Bai by insidiously begging her not to burn herself, while persuading her kinsfolk that the family would be dishonored by the violation of her vow. Maddened with wrath against the Peishwa, the distracted widow was forced to perish in the flames which consumed the body of her deceased husband.

Balaji Rao behaved very differently to Tara Bai. For a while he treated her with the utmost respect and deference. Indeed her influence was necessary to secure the allegiance of the great feudatories of the Mahratta empire; the Gaekwar in Guzerat, Sindia and Holkar in Malwa, and the Bhonsla Raja of Berar. The Bhonsla Raja of Berar was especially dreaded by the Peishwa; for he not only belonged to the same tribe as Sivaji, but he had always nursed a secret design on the throne of Satara by virtue of his kinship to

¹ There were three Peishwas who successively exercised supreme power at Satara as the hereditary prime ministers of Maharaja Sahu. Balaji Vishvanath, the grandfather, died in 1720. Baji Rao, the son, died in 1740. Balaji Rao, the grandson, and third Peishwa, succeeded to the post in 1740, and usurped the sovereignty in 1748. See ante, pp. 257-264, 269.

Sivaji. The Bhonsla on his part was very jealous of the ascendancy of the Brahmans; very suspicious of Balaji Rao; and very sceptical as regards the legitimacy of Raja Ram. Tara Bai, however, clinched the matter by eating with Raja Ram in the presence of the Bhonsla tribe, and swearing on the food that he was her legitimate grandson. The Bhonsla of Berar was thus compelled to acquiesce in the succession of Raja Ram; and none of the other feudatories were prepared to resist the authority of the hereditary Peishwa.

Balaji Rao next proceeded to Poona, the old stronghold of Sivaji, leaving Tara Bai and Raja Ram at Satara. He produced a deed, purporting to be under the hand of the deceased Sahu, granting to himself, as Peishwa, the guardianship of the Mahratta empire, so long as he maintained a descendant of the famous Sivaji on the throne of Satara. He removed all the officials and records to Poona; and henceforth Poona, and not Satara, was regarded as the capital of the Mahratta empire.

At Poona Balaji Rao retained the forms of the old Mahratta constitution. Sivaji had appointed eight Purdhans or ministers, beginning with the Peishwa or premier, and including a treasurer, public record keeper, private record keeper, war minister, foreign minister, chief justice, and head Shastri.¹ Balaji Rao retained these ministers in nominal employ; but he kept all real power in his own hands.

Balaji Rao was soon prepared to take advantage of the troubled politics of the times. The year 1748, as already stated, was an epoch in India.² The war between the English and French in Southern India had been brought to a close by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; but rival Nizams were fighting for the throne of Hyderabad, and rival Nawabs were fighting in the Carnatic for the throne of Arcot;

¹ The head Shastri was an important member of the Mahratta government. He was the expounder of Hindu law and scriptures, and general referee in all matters of religion, criminal law and judicial astrology. At a later period the office was held by a celebrated Brahman, named Ram Shastri, who played an important part in the history.

² See ante, p. 287.

and in spite of the peace between Great Britain and France, the English and French were soon fighting against each other under pretence of taking opposite sides in the native wars for the succession. Under such circumstances, Balaji Rao, like a true Mahratta, was soon invading both the Dekhan and Carnatic; not to take any part in the dissensions, unless he was paid for it, but chiefly to collect chout and annex districts, while the regular forces, which might have checked his inroads, were fighting elsewhere.

Suddenly Balaji Rao was recalled to Satara. Tara Bai had resolved to throw off his yoke. She tried to stir up the boy Raja Ram to assert his sovereignty; and she called on Damaji Gaekwar to deliver the lad from the thralldom of the Brahman. Raja Ram was too stupid or feeble for her purpose; but Damaji Gaekwar obeyed her summons. Meanwhile she struck at the root of the Peishwa's authority by confessing that Raja Ram was no descendant of Sivaji, but a low-caste boy who had been changed for her grandson. Accordingly she threw Raja Ram into a dungeon, and vowed to atone for her perjury by rites and sacrifices on the bank of the holy Kistna.

Balaji Rao was equal to the emergency. He feigned to make terms with the Gaekwar, and then treacherously surrounded him and carried him off prisoner to Poona. But Tara Bai set the Peishwa at defiance; refused to surrender Raja Ram; and prepared to stand a siege at Satara. Balaji Rao left her alone for a while; he saw that the Mahratta people still regarded her as their rightful regent; and meanwhile she was ruining her claim to the regency by shutting up the boy Maharaja in the fortress, and declaring him to be an impostor.

For some years Balaji Rao carried on a variety of operations in the Dekhan and Carnatic. Villages were ruthlessly plundered, and village officials were put to the torture; and if a fortress ventured to hold out, and was reduced by force of arms, the whole garrison was put to the sword.

All this while Balaji Rao was carrying on some obscure

intrigues with Delhi. Muhammad Shah, the last of the Moghul Padishahs worthy of the name, had died in 1748, the same year as Sahu. Since then the Moghul court at Delhi had presented a troubled scene of anarchy and bloodshed. The successors of Muhammad Shah were mere pageants, who were set up, deposed, or murdered by the Vizier; while the grandees plotted against each other, or intrigued with Afghans or Mahrattas, in order to obtain the post of Vizier, or that of Amir of Amirs. Ghazi-ud-din, the grandson of Nizam-ul-mulk, carried on a secret correspondence with the Mahrattas, and ultimately obtained the post of Vizier. Nothing, however, is known of these intrigues beyond the characteristic fact that Balaji Rao found it convenient to procure from the Vizier imperial firmans for all the territories which he had acquired on the side of Hyderabad during the wars for the succession. In return Balaji Rao gave help or countenance to Ghazi-ud-din.

Damaji Gaekwar was still a prisoner at Poona, while Tara Bai was fretting and fuming at Satara. Balaji Rao did his best to conciliate the old lady; but she insisted that he should come to Satara and acknowledge her authority as regent. He sent a force to invest Satara; and her commandant, thinking that her cause was hopeless, formed a plan for carrying Raja Ram out of the fort, and making him over to the besiegers. But Tara Bai discovered the plot, and ordered the traitor to be beheaded; and the garrison was persuaded to put their own commandant to death, together with other officers who had been implicated in the conspiracy.

The protracted imprisonment of Damaji Gaekwar was inconvenient to the Peishwa. So long as the Gaekwar was shut up in Poona, no revenue or tribute was forthcoming from Guzerat. Accordingly the Peishwa and Gaekwar were forced to come to terms; and the latter was released and returned to Guzerat. At the same time Tara Bai was persuaded to come to Poona. She still hated Balaji Rao and the Brahmans, but submitted to her destiny. Balaji Rao was still anxious that Raja Ram should remain shut up in

Satara; and he effected his object by entreating the old lady to release the boy. Tara Bai was deaf to the feigned entreaties of the Peishwa, and persisted in keeping Raja Ram a close prisoner until her death.

The English at Bombay were on friendly terms with Balaji Rao. They would have joined him in an expedition to drive the French out of the Dekhan, but for the treaty of Pondicherry in 1755, which put an end to the war.

Subsequently the English and Mahrattas concerted a joint attack on the piratical forts of Angria. Colonel Clive and Admiral Watson stormed the strongholds at Gheria, but the Mahratta generals held off, and carried on some treacherous negotiations with Angria. Ultimately the forts and territory were made over to the Peishwa according to a previous arrangement; but Balaji Rao was very angry because the English kept the treasure and stores as prize for the forces engaged.¹ He wrote wrathful letters to the Governor of Madras and King George the Second on the subject. Subsequently he heard that the Nawab of Bengal had captured Calcutta, and that Great Britain was at war with France, and he began to bluster. The victory at Plassy, however, brought him to his senses, and nothing more was heard of the Gheria prize-money.

Balaji Rao himself was neither a soldier nor an administrator. He was an intriguing Brahman—restless, tortuous, and crafty, but otherwise indolent and sensual. He gave the command of his army in Hindustan to his brother, Rughonath Rao, who was associated with Mulhar Rao Holkar and Jyapa Sindia.² He intrusted the civil administration at Poona to his cousin, Sivadas Rao Bhao;³ but often

¹ The treasure in the forts at Gheria fell very far short of what was expected. But Angria escaped from the place before the engagement began, and there is no doubt that he bribed the Mahratta generals.

² Jyapa, eldest son of Ranuji Sindia, succeeded to the command or principality of his father about 1754. Jyapa Sindia was assassinated at Jodhpur in 1759, and was succeeded by a younger brother, named Mahadaji Sindia, who played an important part in the later history.

³ This Mahratta officer is known to readers of Grant Duff's Mahratta history by the name of Sewdasheo Bhow.

employed him to command his expeditions in the Dekhan and Carnatic.

Mahratta affairs at this period resembled a stormy sea. The tides of war and plunder were ever and anon bursting on remote quarters—on Mysore and the Carnatic in the Peninsula; on Hyderabad and Orissa in the eastern Dekhan; on Guzerat, Malwa, and Bundelkund in Hindustan; and as far northward as Lahore and the Rohilla country. To trace these impetuous currents of bloodshed and desolation would be tedious and bewildering. It will suffice to say that wherever there was weakness or war, black swarms of Mahratta horsemen flew like vultures to the prey; while their presence excited as great a panic at Delhi and Lahore as at Arcot or Seringapatam.

Meanwhile the reign of terror in Delhi was followed by a revolution. In 1754 the Vizier, Ghazi-ud-din, deposed and blinded Ahmad Shah, the son and successor of Muhammad Shah. He next set up an old Moghul prince, named Alamghir, as a pageant. In these violent proceedings he was supported by the Mahratta army under Rughonath Rao, the brother of the Peishwa, who was encamped in the neighborhood of Delhi. From Delhi, Rughonath Rao advanced to Lahore, and for a brief period the Mahrattas were masters of the Punjab in the room of the Afghans.

All this time the new Padishah, Alamghir, was in fear of his life, and began to open up secret negotiations with Ahmad Shah Abdali, the Afghan. His eldest son, known as the Shahzada, shared his terrors, and fled from Delhi toward Bengal, where he fell into the hands of Clive. In 1759 the Vizier put Alamghir to death on suspicion of intriguing with the Afghans; and he then placed another puppet on the throne at Delhi; while the Shahzada, as the eldest son of the murdered Moghul, was proclaimed Padishah in Oude and Behar, under the name of Shah Alam.

At this crisis the avenging Nemesis appeared upon the scene in the person of Ahmad Shah Abdali, the Afghan conqueror, who had been building up an Afghan empire

ever since the death of Nadir Shah. Ahmad Shah Abdali was furious at the audacity of the Mahrattas in entering his province of the Punjab. He drove out Rughonath Rao and advanced to Delhi, and became for a while the arbiter of the destinies of the Moghul throne. Ghazi-ud-din fled from his wrath into perpetual exile. Jewan Bakht, a son of Shah Alam, was placed upon the throne of Delhi as the deputy of his father; and Najib-ud-daula, the Rohilla Afghan, was appointed regent, or guardian of the Moghul throne, under the title of Amir of Amirs.

The tide of Mahratta conquest was thrown back by the Afghan invasion. Rughonath Rao returned to Poona, and was reproached for the heavy losses he had incurred in the Punjab. He had left Holkar and Sindia to maintain their hold on upper Hindustan; but news soon reached the Dekhan that both had been routed by the Afghans and were flying from the Jumna to the Chambal.

The pride of Balaji Rao was deeply wounded by these repulses. He had been puffed up by his conquests, and was burning to wipe away the disgrace which had fallen upon his armies. At the same time a national spirit seemed to kindle the Hindu people against the Afghan invaders. The Mahratta army of the Dekhan was pushed to the northward over the Nerbudda to the Chambal under the command of Sivadas Rao Bhao. Beyond the Chambal the Mahratta army was joined by Holkar, Sindia, and the Gaekwar. Many Rajput princes also hastened to support the national cause; while Jats, Pindharies, and other irregular forces, flocked to the increasing host, to reap a harvest of plunder, if not to share in the glory of driving the Afghans out of Hindustan.

In January, 1761, the Mahrattas received a crushing defeat at Paniput. The details of that horrible slaughter have been told in a previous chapter.¹ The tidings of the massacre spread weeping and wailing throughout the Mahratta em-

¹ See ante, p. 338.

pire. Balaji Rao died broken-hearted at the disaster. His death was followed by that of Tara Bai at the advanced age of eighty-six, exulting in the thought that she had lived to see the end of her hated and successful rival.¹

Balaji Rao was succeeded on the throne at Poona by his young son, Mahdu Rao. The boy Peishwa, the fourth of the name and second of the dynasty, was a minor of seventeen; and his uncle Rughonath Rao, who planted the Mahratta flag at Lahore and then retreated to Poona, became regent during the minority.

The reign of Mahdu Rao began with the solemn farce which is the main feature of Mahratta history. The young Peishwa, accompanied by his uncle, the regent, proceeded from Poona to Satara to receive his investiture as Peishwa, or minister, from the puppet descendant of Sivaji, who was reigning in a state prison at Satara as Maharaja of the Mahratta empire. Mahdu Rao, however, was an amiable youth, and his sympathies were enlisted in behalf of his imprisoned sovereign. Accordingly, Ram Raja was released from the fortress, and permitted to live henceforth as a prisoner at large in the town of Satara.

At this juncture, the war for the succession to the throne of Hyderabad was brought to a close. Salabut Jung was a prisoner while his younger brother Nizam Ali reigned in his room. Nizam Ali took advantage of the disaster of the Mahrattas at Paniput to advance an army toward Poona, in the hope of recovering the territories which Balaji Rao had wrested from the Hyderabad dominion. The threatened invasion was stopped by a compromise, and Nizam Ali was pacified with the cession of a part of the debatable territory.

At this period Mahdu Rao was hemmed round with enemies. He was anxious to take a part in the government, but was thwarted by his uncle the regent. The Mahratta feudatories were growing disaffected, especially the Bhonsla

¹ The life of Tara Bai would make a Mahratta romance. She was born in 1675, when Sivaji was reigning at Poona and Charles the Second was reigning at Whitehall. She died in 1761, the first year of the reign of George the Third.

Raja of Berar. Rughuji Bhonsla died in 1754; but his son and successor, Janoji Bhonsla, had inherited the family jealousy of the Brahmans, and the latent desire to seize the Mahratta suzerainty. All this while Nizam Ali of Hyderabad was watching the progress of affairs at Poona; ready to take advantage of the quarrels between Mahdu Rao and his uncle, or of the secret designs of Janoji Bhonsla, or of any other turn in affairs, which might enable him to recover territory and revenue from the Peishwa, or cripple the Mahratta power.

The disputes between Mahdu Rao and his uncle ended in the flight of Rughonath Rao from Poona; but the fugitive regent bought the support of Nizam Ali by promising to cede more territory. At the same time Janoji Bhonsla of Berar advanced an army toward Poona, without any avowed purpose, but, like Nizam Ali, with the intention of profiting by any change that turned up. These complications were brought to a close by the young Peishwa, who suddenly submitted himself to his uncle, Rughonath Rao, and was promptly imprisoned. Nizam Ali then demanded the cession of territory which had been promised him; but as the regent had got the better of his nephew, and was strong enough to defy the Nizam, he refused to fulfil his promise. Nizam Ali saw that fortune was in favor of the regent, and feigned great pleasure at the submission of the nephew to the uncle, and withdrew for a while from the scene.

Rughonath Rao, finding himself uncontrolled regent at Poona, proceeded, after Oriental fashion, to revenge himself on his domestic enemies by removing them from office and confiscating their property. This led to plots against him; and the leaders made overtures to the Brahman minister of Nizam Ali.¹ The Brahman suggested to his Muhammadan

¹ Both Nizam Ali of Hyderabad and Hyder Ali of Mysore were Muhammadan princes, and as such were natural enemies of Hindu idolaters like the Mahrattas; but both entertained Brahman ministers, and consequently, in spite of any open wars that were being carried on, there were constant undercurrents of intrigue between the Brahman rulers of Poona and the Brahman ministers at Hyderabad and Mysore.

master that the best way of overturning the regency of Rughonath Rao was to declare that the Bhonsla Raja of Berar was the rightful regent of the Mahratta empire.¹

Accordingly, Nizam Ali authorized his minister to complete the negotiations with the Berar Raja, and Janoji Bhonsla entered very warmly into the scheme for his own aggrandizement. Meanwhile Nizam Ali, with his characteristic duplicity, opened up a secret correspondence with another member of the Bhonsla clan, known as the Raja of Kolhapore, in order to have a competitor in reserve in the event of Janoji Bhonsla proving troublesome.

Rughonath Rao soon had an inkling of the coming danger. His nephew, Mahdu Rao, although still kept in confinement, supported him with influence and counsel. Moreover, he was joined by Damaji Gaekwar of Baroda and Mulhar Rao Holkar; and the three Mahratta armies formed a junction in order to give battle to Nizam Ali and the recreant Bhonsla of Berar. Suddenly, however, the three armies avoided an action, and rushed off in Mahratta fashion to plunder Berar territory by way of punishing the perfidious disloyalty of Janoji Bhonsla.

Nizam Ali and the Bhonsla tried to overtake the enemy, but found it impossible, and accordingly followed their example, and marched with all haste to the plunder of Poona. The inhabitants of Poona were thrown into a panic at the report of their approach, and most of them fled for refuge to the neighboring mountains. The united armies ransacked the city, and burned and destroyed every house that the inmates were unable to ransom.

Meanwhile Rughonath Rao had gone on to Hyderabad, and raised a contribution from the Nizam's capital. He also opened up a secret correspondence with Janoji Bhonsla, who began to think that he had been deceived by the Brahman

¹ This incident is remarkable, as showing the absence of caste sympathy between the Brahman minister at Hyderabad and the Brahman regent at Poona. The former was proposing to set up a Bhonsla as regent in the room of a Brahman.

minister of Nizam Ali; and the Bhonsla was bought over, by a promised cession of territory, to desert Nizam Ali at a fitting opportunity, and join his forces to those of Rughonath Rao.

The hour soon arrived for carrying out the scheme. Rughonath Rao became reconciled to his nephew, the young Peishwa, and moved toward the camp of Nizam Ali on the bank of the river Godavari. One half of the Nizam's army crossed the river, leaving the remaining troops under the command of his Brahman minister to guard the spot until the baggage and stores had been sent over. Janoji Bhonsla lay encamped with the Brahman, but feigned to be offended at the non-payment of some money, and retreated to a distance. The movement was a signal to Rughonath Rao, who fell upon the forces of the Brahman minister and inflicted a crushing defeat. The battle raged for two days; the losses of the Mahrattas are unknown; but ten thousand of the enemy were reported to have fallen on the field, and the Brahman minister was among the slain.

During the battle Nizam Ali tried to open a cannonade from the opposite bank, but without effect; and he was compelled to witness the slaughter of his soldiery, and then to beat a retreat into his own territories. Rughonath Rao followed with his Mahratta army, but a reconciliation was effected. The matter is inexplicable. It is only known that Nizam Ali visited Rughonath Rao, expressed contrition, laid the blame of all that occurred on the dead Brahman minister, and so worked on the weakness or good-nature of the Mahratta regent that the latter forgave all that had happened, and actually presented Nizam Ali with territory yielding a yearly revenue of about a hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Rughonath Rao paid the Berar Raja the price of his treachery; but the young Peishwa publicly reproached Janoji Bhonsla for his duplicity toward both parties, and especially for having joined the Muhammadan, Nizam Ali,

in trying to subvert the house of the Peishwas, to whom the Mahratta princes owed all their power.

About 1764, the rise of Hyder Ali in Mysore excited the alarm of the Mahrattas. Rughonath Rao had become reconciled to his nephew, and Mahdu Rao marched a large army to the south for the subjugation of Hyder Ali. The campaign was successful, and Mahdu Rao tried to keep on good terms with his uncle, by inviting Rughonath Rao to join the Mahratta camp, bring the war to a close, and conclude a treaty of peace.

Subsequently fresh quarrels broke out between Mahdu Rao and his uncle, and were inflamed by two Mahratta princesses, namely, the mother of the Peishwa and the wife of Rughonath Rao. Mahdu Rao was urged by his mother to imprison his uncle, but he put off doing so. He was afraid that his uncle would gain the support of Nizam Ali, or of Janoji Bhonsla, or of both combined. Mahdu Rao next joined Nizam Ali in an invasion of Berar; and Janoji Bhonsla was compelled to cede back nearly all the territories he had acquired by his double treachery.

Subsequently Rughonath Rao engaged in some secret intrigue with Mulhar Rao Holkar, for the purpose of dividing the Mahratta suzerainty; but Holkar died in 1767 and the design was abandoned. Rughonath Rao next proposed to retire from the world, and devote the remainder of his life to religious contemplation at Benares. In 1768 he broke out in open rebellion, and was ultimately overpowered and imprisoned in a fortress, where he remained until the close of the reign.

The death of Mulhar Rao Holkar in 1767 is an important event in the history of the Holkar dynasty. Mulhar Rao had obtained commissions for collecting chout in Malwa as far back as the reign of Maharaja Sahu. He left no heir. His son was dead, but his son's widow carried on the civil administration, and appointed an officer named Tukaji Holkar to be commander-in-chief. This daughter-in-law of Mulhar Rao Holkar is celebrated in Mahratta history

under the name of Ailah Bai. She was very superstitious and extremely lavish to the Brahmans. Accordingly she is much praised in Brahmanical traditions as the incarnation of every virtue, masculine and feminine. Otherwise there is no reason to believe that she was anything more than a clever Mahratta queen of the ordinary type, who conciliated the Brahmans by her largesses, and appointed a favorite to be commander-in-chief.

A characteristic anecdote is told of Mahdu Rao. At one time he sought to fulfil his religious obligations as a Brahman by engaging in divine contemplations for the deliverance of his soul from the vortex of transmigrations. At this period the head Shastri in the Poona cabinet was an eminent Brahman, named Ram Shastri. One day Ram Shastri visited the Peishwa on business, and found Mahdu Rao absorbed in pious abstraction from the world, with every faculty of mind and body engaged in meditations on the Supreme Spirit. Ram Shastri hastily left the room, but next day begged permission to retire from court and go to Benares. Mahdu Rao saw he had given offence, and apologized for his apparent neglect on the previous day, but defended it on the score of piety. Ram Shastri, however, rebuked him, saying that if he wished to fulfil his duties as a Brahman he should abdicate the throne and devote the remainder of his days to contemplating the Supreme Spirit at Benares; but that if he chose to reign as Peishwa he should give all his time and energies to the welfare of his people, as the only way by which the Brahman Peishwas could justify their assumption of sovereignty. Mahdu Rao received the rebuke in a becoming spirit, and abstained ever afterward from all religious practices which interfered with his duties as a sovereign.

Ram Shastri is celebrated in Mahratta annals as a pure and upright judge. He was born at a village near Satara, but left his home at an early age to study at Benares. Later on he was selected, without any solicitation on his part, for the post of head Shastri at Poona; and when Mahdu Rao

began to take a part in the government, it was Ram Shastri who instructed him in the conduct of the administration. The greatest evil-doers at Poona are said to have stood in awe of Ram Shastri; and although persons of rank and riches occasionally tried to corrupt him, yet no one dared to repeat the experiment, or to impeach his integrity.

Throughout the whole reign of Mahdu Rao, the English in Bengal were struggling through a sea of difficulties. Janoji Bhonsla, Raja of Berar, was incessantly demanding chout for Bengal and Behar, first from Mir Jafir, then from Mir Kasim, and finally from Lord Clive; and Clive was prepared to pay the chout provided the Mahrattas ceded Orissa, but the Directors in England utterly scouted the idea. Fortunately, as already seen, the Bhonsla was too busy with the intrigues at Hyderabad and Poona, and too much alarmed at the artillery and battalions of the English company, to attempt to collect the chout by force of arms.

All this while the English at Bombay were making friendly advances to Mahdu Rao, the Peishwa. They were anxious to possess the island of Salsette and peninsula of Bassein, in the immediate neighborhood of Bombay, for the protection of their harbor; but the Mahrattas had conquered those places from the Portuguese, and were so proud of their success against Europeans that they would not part with either on any terms. In 1767, and again in 1772, an English Resident was sent to the court of Poona. He was instructed to cultivate friendly relations with the Peishwa and his ministers, and to leave no stone unturned that would induce the Poona government to part with Salsette and Bassein by sale, or by any other way.

These relations between Bombay and the Peishwa led to an awkward diplomatic difficulty in the relations between Madras and Hyder Ali of Mysore. In 1769 a defensive treaty had been concluded with Hyder Ali. Subsequently Hyder Ali engaged in a fresh war with the Peishwa, and called upon the English at Madras to help him in accordance with this treaty. The English at Madras were thus placed

in a dilemma. It would have been the height of folly for Madras to have helped in a war against the Peishwa, while Bombay was trying to coax the Peishwa into parting with Salsette and Bassein. Again the English at Madras could not possibly secure the Carnatic from invasion. If they helped Hyder Ali the Mahrattas would invade the Carnatic, and if they did not help him the Mysore army would invade the Carnatic. Under such circumstances the Madras government could do nothing but lament the unfortunate treaty which had drawn them into such a muddle.

Meantime the court at Delhi was attracting the attention of the Mahrattas. Najib-ud-daula, the guardian of the Moghul throne, must have been a man of capacity. He had risen from the command of a small body of horse to the supreme authority at Delhi; and from the battle of Paniput in 1761, until his death in 1770, he retained the sovereign power in his own hands, in spite of the enemies that threatened him on every side.

In 1763 Delhi was threatened by the Jats. This mysterious race are supposed to have been akin to the ancient Getæ. They may be described as Hinduized Scythians, who had entered the Punjab at some remote period and established outposts in Hindustan. Many of the Jats who settled in the Punjab became Sikhs. Those in Hindustan founded a principality between Ulwar and Agra on the basis of freebooting and plunder; and this predatory power has since been converted into a peaceful state, and is represented in the present day by the Raj of Bhurtpore.

The hero of the Jats in the eighteenth century was a rude warrior named Suraj Mal. The exploits of this semi-barbarous chieftain resemble those of Sivaji. Like Sivaji his strength lay in his fortresses. He built, or perhaps only repaired, four vast fortresses of mud baked in the sun, of which Bhurtpore and Deeg are existing types. They were impervious to cannon, and were regarded as impregnable down to comparatively modern times.

In 1764 Suraj Mal was joined by the infamous Sumru,

the Patna miscreant who had fled from the Nawab Vizier of Oude, and was glad to enter the service of the Jat Raja. Suraj Mal was puffed up by this addition to his forces, and began to threaten Delhi; and Najib-ud-daula sent an envoy with a present of flowered chintz to conciliate him. Suraj Mal was delighted with the chintz, and ordered it to be made into a suit of clothes; but he refused to talk of anything else, and the envoy retired in disgust. Suraj Mal advanced with an army to Delhi, but instead of besieging the city he went out to hunt, by way of bravado, in the imperial park of the Great Moghul. He and his retinue were surrounded by a flying squadron of Moghul horse, and were slaughtered to a man. The dead body of the Raja was found arrayed in the chintz. The head was cut off, and carried on a lance; and the Jats were so terrified at the sight that they fled back to their own country.

The Jat principality then became a scene of horrible turmoil. The sons of Suraj Mal were all fighting or murdering one another. At last a surviving son named Ranjit Singh secured the chiefship. His territory bristled with forts, and was reckoned to yield a yearly revenue of two millions sterling, and to maintain an army of sixty thousand men.¹ Ranjit Singh was one of the predatory powers of Hindustan who had learned to trim between Afghans and Mahrattas.

In 1764-65 Najib-ud-daula was intriguing with the English at Calcutta. He was expecting Governor Spencer to cede the territory of Oude, and to send Shah Alam to Delhi. Had these measures been carried out, Najib-ud-daula would have been exalted to the real sovereignty of Hindustan; while the ascendancy of the Rohilla Afghans would have been extended from the upper Jumna to the Carumnassa. But Lord Clive, as already seen, broke up the whole scheme; and Oude, instead of being a menace to Behar and Bengal,

¹ A native army in the last century was a mere mob of followers, without discipline or organization. The reports as regards the number of troops in such an army are altogether unreliable, and there is no possible means of checking the native estimate.

was converted into a barrier against Afghans and Mahrattas.

In 1767, the same year that Lord Clive left India forever, Ahmad Shah Abdali advanced an Afghan army for the last time against Delhi, in the hope of once more enriching his coffers with the plunder of Hindustan. Najib-ud-daula feigned to join the invaders, but created delays and thwarted operations, until Ahmad Shah was at his wits' end. The Afghan troops were harassed by the Sikhs, oppressed by the hot weather, and threatened with the approach of the rainy season. At the same time they were breaking out in mutiny from want of pay or plunder. At last Ahmad Shah was obliged to rest content with a small supply of money from Najib-ud-daula, and to return baffled and disheartened to Kabul and Kandahar.

By this time the Mahrattas had recovered their losses at Paniput. In 1769 the army of the Peishwa crossed the Chambal to the number of fifty thousand horse. They levied arrears of tribute from the Rajput princes to the value of a hundred thousand pounds sterling. They next entered the territory of the Jats, under pretence of helping one of the sons of Suraj Mal, and exacted a contribution of more than six hundred thousand pounds. Najib-ud-daula was thrown into alarm, and made overtures to the Mahrattas for an accommodation; but he died in 1770, and was succeeded in the post of Amir of Amirs by his son, Zabita Khan.

Meanwhile Mahadaji Sindia appeared upon the scene.¹ This ambitious warrior, like the other feudatories of the Mahratta empire, was of low origin. In a previous generation, his father, Ranuji Sindia, had been trusted with the menial duty of carrying the Peishwa's slippers, but had subsequently risen to high military commands, and secured a territorial estate for his family. Mahadaji Sindia was an illegitimate son; but he was a man of undoubted capacity,

¹ See ante, p. 390, note.

and had won his laurels in the Dekhan wars of 1751. Subsequently the question of succession to the territorial estate was referred to the Peishwa as suzerain; and Rughonath Rao opposed the claims of Mahadaji, while Mahdu Rao supported them.

In 1771 Mahadaji Sindia was the hero of an achievement which startled all Hindustan. He drew the Padishah, Shah Alam, out of his protected retreat at Allahabad, and conveyed him to the Moghul capital. Shah Alam was restored to the throne of his fathers; Zabita Khan fled to the Rohilla country; and the Mahrattas recovered their supremacy at Hindustan.

In 1772 Mahdu Rao Peishwa died of consumption, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Narain Rao. Mahratta history entered on a new phase. The plots and intrigues at Poona drew the Bombay settlement into a vortex which culminated in the first Mahratta war. The story of this war belongs to the administration of Warren Hastings, and will be told in the following chapter.

Mahratta history, as told in the foregoing pages, will appear bewildering to European readers; but it is nevertheless of value as a reflex of Hindu politics and ruling ideas. It brings out the characteristics of Hindu princes and priests in the eighteenth century; and it also furnishes a key to Hindu history from a remote antiquity. Indeed the Mahratta empire may be accepted as a type of all Hindu empires. It was founded by warriors who were little better than freebooters, and governed by Brahman ministers, who often, as in the case of the Peishwas, succeeded in usurping the sovereign power.

CHAPTER VI

ENGLISH RULE—WARREN HASTINGS

A.D. 1772 TO 1785

THE government of Warren Hastings is perhaps the most important in the history of British India. It was, however, so blackened by his enemies and belauded by his friends, that few of his contemporaries understood its real character; and the records of the period are a mass of controversy and confusion.

The previous career of Hastings is creditable as far as it is known. In 1750, at the age of eighteen, he landed at Calcutta for the first time. For seven years longer the Company was a mere firm of merchants. Hastings was employed to sort silks and muslins, and to invoice opium and saltpetre; but he managed to learn Hindustani and pick up some knowledge of Persian. After the victory at Plassy he entered into political life as Resident at Murshedabad. Next he played an important part in the council of Governor Vansittart at Calcutta. In 1764 he returned to England and became poor. In 1769 he came back to India as member of council at Madras. Three years afterward he was selected for the most important post in the Company's service, namely, that of Governor of Bengal.

Governor Hastings was forty years of age, and had evidently read much and thought much. Within a few months after his arrival in Calcutta he placed the whole of the administration, revenue and judicial, on a reformed footing. He turned the European supervisors into collectors of revenue; abolished the more obnoxious cesses; and reduced the number of inland custom houses. He went on a tour through

the districts, accompanied by four members of council, and leased out the lands for five years at fixed rates. Whenever a Zemindar came to terms he was retained in the possession of his district. Whenever a Zemindar held out he was granted a subsistence allowance and the land was leased to the highest bidder. So far Hastings acted much after the fashion of Nawab Murshed Kuli Khan, in the old days of Moghul rule.

Governor Hastings transferred all judicial powers from the Zemindars to the European collectors. He established a civil and a criminal court in each district, in which the European collector sat as President, and was assisted by Muhammadan and Hindu officials. He abolished the judge's fee of one quarter of the amount in dispute, which under native rule had always been levied in civil cases. He drew up a simple code of regulations for the new courts, which abolished all the glaring evils which had existed under the native system. The details are of no interest in the present day, excepting so far as they redound to the credit of Warren Hastings, who was unquestionably the ablest and most successful administrator that ever governed Bengal.

Meanwhile Muhammad Reza Khan and Raja Shitab Rai were brought down to Calcutta; and the conduct of their respective administrations was brought under judicial investigation. Nothing, however, could be judicially proved. No charges were substantiated, except by accusers acting from interested motives, or by men of a notoriously bad character. No native of standing and respectability, who had learned to know and fear the deputy Nawabs, was likely to bring charges against men who might be eventually restored to authority and power. Moreover there must have been many Englishmen anxious to screen the accused. In the end both were acquitted. Raja Shitab Rai was restored to his post and died shortly afterward; but Hastings utterly refused to restore Muhammad Reza Khan.¹

¹ Judicial inquiries are always unsatisfactory in India. The law will often acquit a known criminal from the contradictory character of the evidence. Mr.

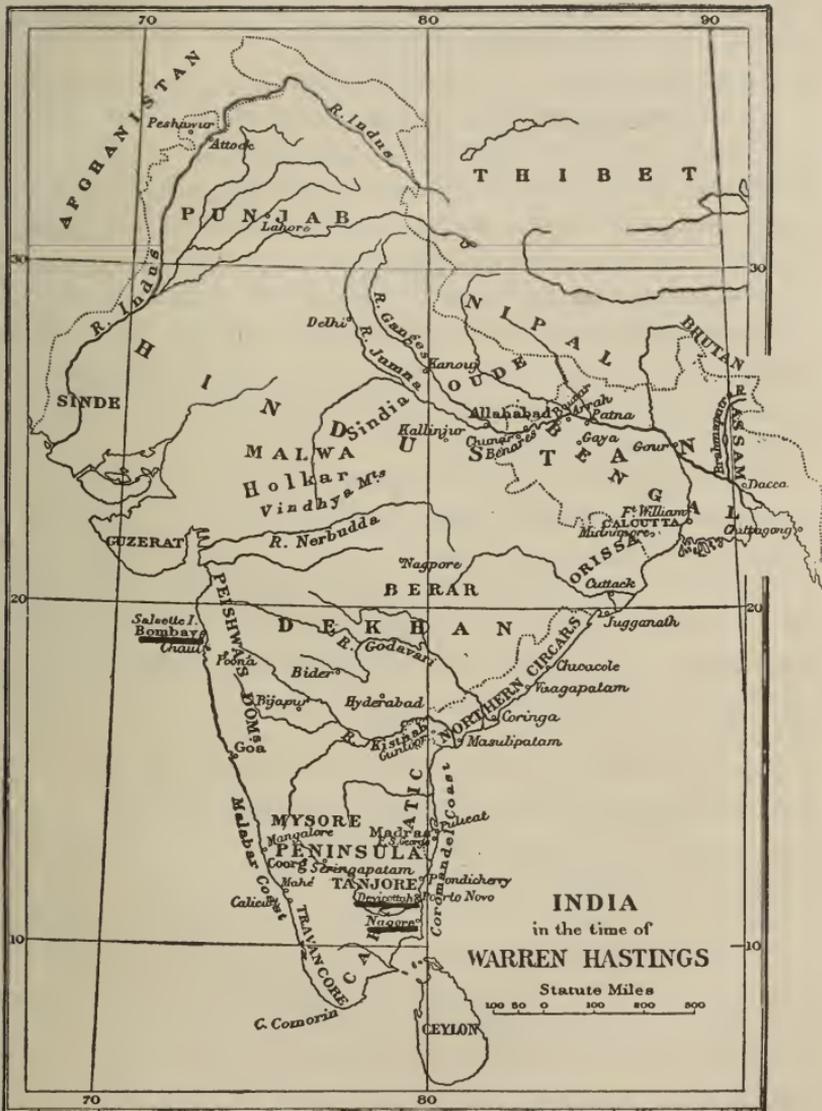
But native administration had received its death-blow; the authority of the deputy Nawab Nazims was gone forever. The central offices of revenue were removed to Calcutta, and placed under the supervision of English officials, under the name of a Board of Revenue. Two new courts of appeal were established at Calcutta, in which the Governor or a member of council sat as President, assisted by learned Munshis and Pundits. Henceforth Calcutta was the capital of Bengal and Behar; and Murshedabad dwindled into insignificance as the residence of a Nawab Nazim without authority or power.

Meanwhile the flight of Shah Alam from Allahabad to Delhi in 1771 had broken the political ties which bound the English to the Great Moghul. Henceforth the English held possession of Bengal and Behar, not by a sham association with a puppet Nawab Nazim, nor by the affectation of acting as Dewan to a puppet Padishah, but by the right of the sword, and the sword alone.

Shah Alam had deserted the English for the Mahrattas, in the wild hope of reigning over Hindustan, like another Aurangzeb or Akbar. The Mahrattas, under Mahadaji Sindia drove out the Rohilla guardian of the Moghul empire, and restored Shah Alam to the throne at Delhi.¹ But the new Padishah suffered very considerably by the change. He had been a mere pageant under the protection of the English; and he was still a mere pageant in the hands of Mahadaji Sindia; but he had thrown away the tribute from

James Mill had emphatically a judicial mind, and it has led him into grave historical errors. He convicted Governor Vansittart of receiving a bribe on native evidence alone; and that evidence has been proved by government records to be absolutely false. Again, Mr. Mill accepted the acquittal of both Muhammad Reza Khan and Raja Shitab Rai, when it was impossible that they should have been innocent. Nevertheless the treatment of both men was harsh and oppressive. It was what might have been expected from Oriental potentates, but was unworthy of the British government.

¹ Najib-ud-daula, the guardian of the Moghul empire, died at Delhi in 1770, and was succeeded in the post by his son, Zabita Khan. On the approach of Shah Alam and the Mahrattas to the city of Delhi, Zabita Khan fled to the Rohilla country. Thus for a brief period the ascendancy of the Rohilla Afghans at Delhi was superseded by that of the Mahrattas.



Bengal and Oude, which had been given to him under Lord Clive's settlement of 1765, and which not only relieved him from his previous penury, but sufficed for the maintenance of his sham suzerainty at Allahabad.¹

These losses were a painful surprise to Mahadaji Sindia as well as to Shah Alam. Mahadaji Sindia had restored Shah Alam to his throne for the sole purpose of ruling over Hindustan in the name of the Great Moghul; and he had fondly expected to receive the yearly tribute of a quarter of a million sterling for the Bengal provinces, as well as the revenues of Allahabad and Korah, which had been assigned to Shah Alam in lieu of tribute from Oude. Accordingly Mahadaji Sindia demanded the payments in the name of Shah Alam, very shortly after his arrival at Delhi, but met with an unqualified refusal.

The English in Bengal decided that as Shah Alam had broken off his relations with the East India Company by his flight to Delhi, he had in like manner forfeited his claim to the imperial tribute which he had drawn under their guarantee. At the same time the English knew that the money, if granted, would only go into the pockets of the Mahrattas—the predatory power which had been the terror of India for more than a century.

The equity of this refusal of the English company to continue the payment of the imperial tribute was much debated at the time, but to no practical purpose. The Moghul empire was politically dead when Lord Clive tried to rehabilitate Shah Alam as a spectre of the past; and the flight of Shah Alam back to Delhi was like the return of the spectre to its cemetery. So long as the Padishah remained under the protection of the English, they had been willing to maintain him as a pageant to be fluttered in the eyes of the French and Dutch as a show of Moghul sovereignty. But when he threw himself on the protection of the Mahrattas, there was nothing to be gained by paying the tribute; and

¹ See ante, pp. 362, 366.

the refusal to pay was equivalent to a declaration of war and assertion of independent sovereignty, which Moghul or Mahratta could only set aside by force of arms.

But although the Mahrattas were not prepared to wage war against the English, they were pertinacious in urging their claims. Accordingly they began to threaten the Nawab Vizier of Oude; and they invaded and plundered the Rohilla country on his northwestern frontier. But they were willing to forego further plunder in the Rohilla country, provided that Hafiz Khan, the Rohilla ruler, would permit them to march unmolested through his territory for the invasion and plunder of Oude.

The Nawab Vizier had fenced off the evil day by making a treaty with Hafiz Khan. He engaged to drive the Mahrattas out of the Rohilla country; but in return for this service he had exacted a pledge from Hafiz Khan to pay him forty lakhs of rupees, or four hundred thousand pounds sterling. Subsequently the Mahrattas were drawn away from Hindustan by domestic troubles. Madhu Rao Peishwa had died at Poona, and disputes had arisen as regards the succession; and Mahadaji Sindia and Tukaji Holkar deemed it expedient to return to the Dekhan. Consequently the Mahratta scare passed away from the Rohilla country; while the Nawab Vizier of Oude was relieved from all danger of Mahratta invasions. Under such circumstances the Nawab Vizier recovered sufficient heart to form plans for his own aggrandizement. He turned a covetous eye on the Rohilla country, and began to show his teeth by demanding payment of the forty lakhs from Hafiz Khan. The claim was disavowed by Hafiz Khan, and possibly on good grounds; but at this distance of time it would be useless to inquire into the rights of a money dispute between the Nawab Vizier and the Rohilla ruler.

The Nawab Vizier, doubtless, had his own quarrel with the Rohilla Afghans. He was a Shiah and they were Sunnis; and as he could not rely on their friendship, he was anxious to extirpate their power and take possession of their

country. But he wanted the services of one of the Company's brigades; and he offered to pay Governor Hastings the expenses of the brigade so long as it remained in his country, and to make over the forty lakhs into the bargain. Accordingly in 1773 Governor Hastings agreed to meet the Nawab Vizier at Benares.

The Rohillas were doubtless a troublesome people; and, like Afghans in general, they were often at war among themselves. They had established a dominion over the Hindu population between the eastern bank of the Ganges and the northwestern frontier of Oude. They were a thorn in the side of the Nawab Vizier. They might possibly have proved a barrier to Oude against the Mahrattas; but possibly they might come to terms with the Mahrattas, and not only permit the Mahratta marauders to march through their country, but take a part in the invasion and plunder of Oude.

Warren Hastings had also to consider the Rohilla question from an English point of view. The Rohilla Afghans were a long way off; not only beyond the British frontier, but beyond the Oude frontier; and the Directors had repeatedly ordered its servants in Bengal to keep within the river Carumnassa. Moreover, the English had no quarrel with the Rohillas; and they knew nothing of the rights or wrongs of the rupture between the Nawab Vizier and the Rohillas beyond what the Nawab Vizier might choose to tell them.

But the Bengal treasury was empty, and the Directors were pressing Governor Hastings for funds; moreover the promised supply would not only fill the treasury, but relieve the Company of nearly one-third of its military expenditure in Bengal. Accordingly, Governor Hastings came to terms with the Nawab Vizier at Benares; and moreover made over Allahabad and Korah to the Nawab Vizier for another sum of fifty lakhs, or half a million sterling.

The only question was whether the Nawab Vizier did not remove the scruples of Governor Hastings by a private present of a few lakhs for himself. The character of Hastings

up to this date would contradict such a suspicion; but in England he had felt the pressure of want; he had seen his fellows coming home with large fortunes; and the temptation must have been strong to a man schooled in dealings with natives. Innocent or guilty, he laid himself open to suspicion. He conducted the negotiations at Benares with the utmost privacy; and the English commander-in-chief of the Bengal army was especially angry at being shut out from all share in the dealings with the Nawab Vizier. Hastings could have had no object in maintaining so much secrecy in his money dealings with the Nawab Vizier, otherwise than that of securing a money present for himself; and the commander-in-chief of the Bengal army could have had no ground for exasperation at being shut out from the interview, had he not in like manner reckoned on receiving a handsome *douceur*. However, the bargain was concluded, and nothing further could be said; but it is easy to believe that the enemies of Hastings had formed their own opinion of what at best was a dubious transaction.¹

In January, 1774, the English brigade was marched through Oude into the Rohilla country, accompanied by the Nawab Vizier and a large army. The Rohillas were defeated by the English, and by the English alone. The Rohillas fled in all directions, leaving Hafiz Khan among the slain. The Nawab Vizier was equally cowardly and cruel. He kept his troops at a distance during the battle, but when it was over he let them loose on the unhappy country to murder, plunder, and commit every atrocity of which Asiatics are capable. The English commander of the brigade was utterly disgusted with the cowardice and cruelty displayed on all sides. "The English," he declared, "have

¹ It is a current article of faith among Orientals that wherever there is secrecy there is either treachery or corruption. Accordingly a native envoy will often refuse an interview unless his leading followers are present, or unless he actually contemplates treachery or corruption. The enemies of Hastings not only complained of his mysterious secrecy, but whispered that he was in pressing need of money to provide for Imhoff, the portrait painter, and to defray the expenses of the divorce of Mrs. Imhoff, who afterward became his wife.

had all the fighting, while these bandits have had all the plunder.”

It was unfortunate for the honor of the nation that the English should have appeared to sanction such barbarities; but this was the curse of native alliances in the eighteenth century, and it is difficult to blame Hastings for the atrocities committed by the Nawab Vizier. In other respects the war was brought to a satisfactory conclusion. The Nawab Vizier concluded a treaty with a surviving son of Hafiz Khan, named Faiz-ullah Khan, under which Faiz-ullah Khan became his vassal. Henceforth Faiz-ullah Khan and his descendants were known as the Nawabs of Rampore.

Meanwhile Governor Hastings had appointed an English servant of the Company, named Middleton, to reside at Lucknow as the medium of all his correspondence with the Nawab Vizier. The amounts due to the Company were being paid by instalments, and matters seem to have been progressing smoothly. Suddenly there was a revolution in the English government at Calcutta, which nearly drove Warren Hastings from his post and threatened to undermine the Company's power in India.

The disordered state of the Company's affairs had induced the British ministry to reorganize the Bengal government. In 1774 Warren Hastings was appointed Governor-General of all the British settlements in India, as well as Governor of Bengal. The council at Calcutta had hitherto consisted of ten or twelve members who were servants of the Company. This was abolished, and a council of five was nominated in its room. Mr. Hastings took his seat as president by virtue of his office, with a single vote as member of council, and a casting vote when parties were equally divided. Mr. Barwell, a servant of the Company in India, was also appointed a member of the council. The three additional members were sent out from England; namely, General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Philip Francis.

At the same time a Supreme Court of judicature was created at Calcutta, consisting of a chief justice and three

puisne judges, who were sent out from England by the direct appointment of the Crown.¹

The three new members of council from England were strongly prejudiced against the Company's government. They soon formed a united opposition to Hastings; but the life and soul of the opposition was Philip Francis.

This extraordinary man was born in 1740, and was consequently only thirty-four years of age on his arrival in India; but he had spent some years in the War Office in London, and was known to the initiated as a man of large capacity. Of late years it has been discovered that Francis was the author of the "Letters of Junius." The Letters had created a great sensation in London by their lofty assumption of patriotism, and their bitter invectives against men in power; and it is shrewdly suspected that the secret of the authorship was known to the British ministers, and that Philip Francis was sent to India on a salary of ten thousand a year to get him out of the way. Macaulay describes Francis as capable of patriotism and magnanimity, and free from vices of a sordid kind; but otherwise vindictive, arrogant, and insolent; confounding his antipathies with his duties, and mistaking his malevolence for public virtue.²

The new triumvirate landed at Calcutta in October, 1774; their first action was to condemn the Rohilla war and to call for the correspondence between Hastings and Middleton. Had Hastings produced those papers he would have silenced all suspicion; but he refused, on the ground that much of the correspondence referred to private matters, and he would only agree to produce extracts. From that hour Philip Francis seems to have believed that Hastings had been bribed by the Nawab Vizier.

¹ A distinction must be drawn between the Supreme Court at Calcutta, with judges appointed by the Crown, and the two Courts of Appeal established by Warren Hastings, which were known down to 1861 as the *Sudder* or *Company's* Courts. (See ante, p. 351.) Subsequently similar courts were created at Madras and Bombay. In 1861 the *Sudder* and Supreme Courts were amalgamated at each of the three Presidencies into what is at present known as the High Court.

² This opinion is worth bearing in mind, as it is confirmed by Mr. Herman Merivale, editor of the *Correspondence and Journals of Francis*.

Philip Francis next moved that Middleton should be recalled to Calcutta, and that a Mr. Bristow should be sent as Resident to Lucknow. This measure was carried out in the teeth of Hastings and Barwell by a majority of three votes against two. Hastings saw that his authority was set aside; and for many months Philip Francis was supreme in the Calcutta council, being supported by the votes of General Clavering and Colonel Monson.

The ability of Philip Francis is beyond all question. He had scarcely been four months in the country when he sent to England a scheme for the government of Bengal, which corresponded very much to what has been since carried out in India. The King of Great Britain was to be the only sovereign in Bengal. The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was to extend over all the natives in the Bengal provinces. The English language was to be used in all affairs of government. The lands were to be granted to the Zemindars, and in many cases to the Ryots, in perpetuity or for life, with fixed rents, and fixed fines on the renewal of leases.

But Philip Francis had a fixed purpose which destroyed all his usefulness; namely, to ruin Hastings and succeed him as Governor-General. Right or wrong, he opposed Hastings in everything.

In 1775 the Nawab Vizier died—the once famous Shuja-ud-daula. He was succeeded on the throne of Oude by his son, Asof-ud-daula. This event opened up new troubles for Hastings. He proposed that the treaty relations which had been formed with the father should continue to be binding on the son. Francis opposed this view, and was anxious to make better terms. He insisted that the new Nawab Vizier should cede the suzerainty of Benares to the Company, and pay a larger monthly allowance for the services of the Company's brigade, which had been maintained by the Nawab Vizier within his own dominions ever since the Rohilla war.

The cession of the suzerainty of Benares is of some importance. It was the only territory acquired by the Bengal government during the administration of Warren Hastings;

and the acquisition was not the act of Warren Hastings, but of Philip Francis. Lord Clive had laid down the Carumnassa as the boundary of British territory, and that boundary would have been maintained down to the time of Lord Wellesley but for the interference of Philip Francis.

The next dispute related to the treasures of the deceased Nawab Vizier. Under Oriental rule there is often no distinction between the revenues of the state and the private property of the ruler. Shuja-ud-daula had left accumulated hoards of surplus revenue amounting to two or three millions sterling. His son and successor, Asof-ud-daula, declared that the money was state property. But the mother and grandmother of the new Nawab Vizier, who were popularly known as the two Begums, claimed the whole of this large sum on the ground that it had been made over to them as his private property.

The claim of the Begums was preposterous. The deceased Nawab Vizier could never have been justified in making over two millions sterling of state revenue to a couple of old ladies shut up in a zenana, while leaving his son and successor with an empty treasury, to defray the large debts due to the East India Company.

The money question, however, between the new Nawab Vizier and the two Begums was one in which the English government ought not to have interfered. Such was the opinion of Warren Hastings, but such was not the opinion of Philip Francis. Mr. Bristow, the new Resident who had been sent to Lucknow at the instance of Philip Francis, interfered in behalf of the two Begums; and the two ladies paid some quarter of a million sterling to the Resident, on account of the debt due by the Oude government to the East India Company, and were then confirmed in the possession of the remainder. Hastings condemned the interference of the Resident, but Francis and his colleagues sanctioned all that had been done.

By this time it was widely known among the natives that Hastings had lost his authority; that Francis was the rising

man; and that he and his two colleagues, Clavering and Monson, were giving ready ear to all charges brought against the Governor-General. A host of informers soon appeared with accusations of bribery and corruption, which were greedily swallowed by the triumvirate. It is impossible to say that the whole were either true or untrue. But two distinct charges were brought against Hastings by a man named Nund-komar which deserve consideration. Hastings had appointed a widow of Mir Jafir, named Muni Begum, to manage the household of the Nawab Nazim. He had also appointed a son of this very Nund-komar to act conjointly with Muni Begum. Hastings was accused by Nund-komar of receiving a bribe of thirty-five thousand pounds sterling in return for these appointments. He was also accused by the same man of having received a hundred thousand pounds to connive at the embezzlements of Muhammad Reza Khan.

The character of Nund-komar was utterly bad. He was a high-caste Brahman, but he was known to have forged seals and signatures, and to have carried on a treasonous correspondence with Shah Alam and the French governor of Pondicherry. But the two charges of bribery involved an aggregate of a hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds sterling, and might have been disproved by the production of accounts. Hastings, however, preferred to stand on his dignity. He refused to answer charges brought by such a miscreant, or to be tried like a criminal by his own council. Francis persisted in giving his full belief to Nund-komar, and he voted that the charges were proved.

Hastings, in self-defence, brought an action against Nund-komar, in the Supreme Court of judicature at Calcutta, for conspiracy. The judges admitted the charge, but suffered Nund-komar to go out on bail. Six weeks afterward Nund-komar was arrested for forgery, tried by the new chief justice, Sir Elijah Impey, convicted by a jury of Englishmen, condemned to be hanged, and finally executed at Calcutta in the presence of a large multitude.

There is no doubt that Nund-komar committed forgery;

but it is questionable whether he would have been arrested on the charge if he had not brought accusations against Hastings. Again, there is no doubt that Nund-komar had committed offences worthy of death; but it is questionable whether he ought to have been hanged for forgery. Such a punishment for such an offence was unknown to the people of Bengal. The execution of Nund-komar has therefore been regarded by many as a judicial murder, and the guilt has been equally distributed between Warren Hastings and Elijah Impey.

The execution of Nund-komar filled Calcutta with terror. From that time forth not a single native dared to whisper a charge against Hastings. Even Francis was paralyzed. Possibly he discovered, when it was too late, that he had been more or less the dupe of Nund-komar. Subsequently, when a petition in the name of the dead man passed through the council, it was Francis who moved that it should be burned by the common hangman.

Meanwhile the relations between the English settlement at Bombay and the Peishwa of the Mahrattas at Poona were beginning to alarm the Governor-General and council at Calcutta. In order, however, to take in clearly the current of events it will be necessary to review the progress of Mahratta affairs.

Mahdu Rao, fourth Peishwa, died in November, 1772, aged twenty-eight. He left no son, and his widow perished on his funeral pile. His younger brother, Narain Rao, succeeded to the throne at Poona as fifth Peishwa; and went to Satara to receive the dress of investiture from the puppet Maharaja. The uncle, Rughonath Rao, was released from prison, and reappointed guardian.

All the jarring elements which had been at work during the reign of Mahdu Rao broke out afresh under his successor. The natural jealousy between the uncle and the nephew was inflamed to fever heat by the wife of the one and the mother of the other. The discord was aggravated by a secret rivalry between two Brahman ministers. The elder, Sakaram Bapu,

supported the pretensions of the uncle guardian, Rughonath Rao; while the younger Brahman, destined to become famous under the name of Nana Farnavese, was plotting his own advancement by courting the favor of the young Peishwa.

In April, 1773, the uncle guardian was arrested and imprisoned in the palace of Poona, where the young Peishwa was residing. In the following August Narain Rao was murdered. To this day the story is a mystery. During the morning of the 30th of August, the Peishwa's troops were clamoring at the palace for arrears of pay. The young Peishwa ordered the palace to be secured, and retired to his afternoon siesta. His orders were neglected; the clamor increased; the troops, led on by two conspirators, broke into the palace. The young Peishwa started from his slumbers, and ran to his uncle's apartments and prayed for protection. Rughonath Rao interfered, but the conspirators declared they had gone too far, and slaughtered Narain Rao on the spot. By this time the palace was surrounded by troops; armed men thronged the streets; the shops were shut throughout the city; and the inhabitants of Poona ran to and fro in consternation. At last the news transpired that Narain Rao was murdered, but nothing was known of the murderers.¹

Rughonath Rao was unquestionably implicated. Ram Shastri investigated the case, and charged him with having set on two conspirators to assassinate his nephew. Rughonath Rao admitted having authorized the arrest of his nephew, but denied having ordered the murder. Ram Shastri recovered the original document, and discovered that the word signifying "to seize" had been changed into the word signifying "to kill." Henceforth it was the general belief that the alteration was made by Ananda Bai, the unscrupulous wife of Rughonath Rao. The result was that Rughonath Rao ascended the throne of Poona as the successor to his murdered nephew, and began to reign as sixth

¹ Here, as elsewhere in dealing with the Mahrattas, the details are given on the authority of Grant Duff's Mahratta history.

Peishwa; but Ram Shastri retired from Poona, refusing all employment under the new régime.¹

The distractions at Poona encouraged Nizam Ali to take the field from Hyderabad. But the Bhonsla of Berar came to the help of the new Peishwa;² and Nizam Ali was defeated, and compelled to cede territory yielding a yearly revenue of about two hundred thousand pounds. But Nizam Ali once again worked on the weakness of Rughonath Rao; paid him a visit, praised his wisdom, and made over his seal of state, telling him to take as much territory as he wanted. Rughonath Rao was cajoled and befooled. Not to be outdone in generosity, he actually gave back the ceded territory to Nizam Ali; a senseless act of generosity which proved fatal to his authority; for had he distributed the territory judiciously among the Mahratta chiefs he would have bound them closely to his cause.

Rughonath Rao was indeed born to be outwitted. He marched an army toward the south to attack Hyder Ali; and was suddenly astonished by the news of a revolution at Poona. During his absence from the capital the widow of Narain Rao gave birth to a son. The infant was placed upon the throne, and a council of regency was formed at Poona; and Rughonath Rao was shut out from the capital. Accordingly the baffled Peishwa proceeded northward into Malwa and Guzerat to raise forces for the destruction of the council of regency, and the recovery of the throne of Poona, by force of arms.³

¹ Rughonath Rao, sixth Peishwa, plays an important part in the after relations of the English with the Mahrattas. He is frequently mentioned in the records of the eighteenth century under the name of Ragoba, but Rughonath Rao is his correct name. He was the father of Baji Rao, the eighth Peishwa and last of the dynasty, who was dethroned in 1818, and died in 1851, leaving the infamous Nana Sahib as his adopted son.

² Janoji Bhonsla died in 1773, leaving no natural kin. He had a brother named Mudaji Bhonsla; and he left the Raj of Berar to the son of Mudaji Bhonsla, named Rughuji Bhonsla. The nephew, however, was placed under the guardianship of his own father. The result was that Mudaji Bhonsla, the father, became the real ruler of Berar. Mudaji Bhonsla helped Rughonath Rao in order to obtain the confirmation of the Peishwa to his authority.

³ It would be tedious and needless to trace the movements of the greater Mahratta feudatories during the struggle between Rughonath Rao and the coun-

At this crisis Rughonath Rao applied to Bombay for succor. He engaged to cede Salsette and Bassein to the English government, and to assign the territory and revenue of Baroche toward the expenses of the war. At this time there was no evidence that Rughonath Rao was a murderer; indeed it was generally believed that the infant son of the deceased Narain Rao was a supposititious child.

Accordingly, in 1775, the Bombay government concluded a treaty with Rughonath Rao at Surat, and then took possession of Salsette and Bassein, and began operations for restoring Rughonath Rao to the throne at Poona. The army of the Mahratta regency was utterly defeated by the new allies, and there was every prospect of brilliant success, when the war was suddenly brought to a close by orders from Calcutta.

It will be remembered that Warren Hastings had been appointed Governor-General, and that his government had been invested with authority over Madras and Bombay. Both he and his council condemned the Mahratta war as impolitic, dangerous, unauthorized, and unjust. As, however, war had begun, Hastings wished to push it to a speedy conclusion; but Francis and his supporters would not listen to any such compromise. The Bombay government was ordered to withdraw its forces and cease from all further hostilities; and Colonel Upton was sent from Calcutta to Poona as an agent of the supreme government of Bengal to conclude a treaty with the Mahratta council of regency, but to insist on the cession of Salsette and Bassein and the territory of Baroche to the Company.

The Mahratta council of regency at Poona had been much cast down by the loss of Salsette and Bassein; and they had been still more disheartened by the successes of the Bombay army. Accordingly they were delighted at the

cil of regency. Each feudatory was guided solely by considerations of his own individual interest, and wavered between the two, or deserted the one for the other, without scruple or shame. Indeed the policy of Mahratta chiefs in general has been to trim between conflicting parties until the struggle is drawing to a close, and then to declare for the winning side.

clashing between Bengal and Bombay. They extolled the great governor of Calcutta, who had ordered Bombay to put an end to the war; but they refused to cede either Salsette and Bassein, or the territory of Baroche. They urged, and with a show of reason, that as the Bengal government had justly condemned the war, the English could not intend to profit by its aggression. At last they took alarm at some preparations for a renewal of the war, and agreed to cede Salsette, but no more. In 1776 a treaty was concluded at Purundhur on this basis, to the mortification of Warren Hastings and the Bombay government.

Subsequently despatches were received from the Directors approving the treaty of Surat, but condemning the treaty of Purundhur. By this time Hastings was no longer in a minority. Colonel Monson died soon after the treaty of Purundhur, and Hastings was enabled to carry his measures by a casting vote.

Peace with the Mahrattas was impossible. England and France were on the eve of a war on account of the help furnished by the French to the American colonies. A French adventurer, named St. Lubin, arrived at Poona with presents from the King of France, and asserted that a French force was following him to drive the English out of India. The leading member of the council of regency, named Nana Farnavese, showed great attention to St. Lubin, granted him the port of Chaul, near Bombay, and was evidently disposed to hostilities with the English.

Meanwhile there were more plottings and intrigues in the council of regency. Sakaram Bapu, the elder Brahman, was anxious for the return of Rughonath Rao, and jealous of Nana Farnavese. Sindia and Holkar were beginning that baleful interference in the affairs of Poona which ultimately brought about the destruction of the Peishwa.¹

¹ Sindia and Holkar divided between them the greater part of Malwa between the Nerbudda and Chambal rivers; but their territories were so intermixed and confused that it was impossible in former times to draw a line of boundary between the two. They are best distinguished by their later capitals, namely. Gwalior the capital of Sindia, and Indore the capital of Holkar.

Mahadaji Sindia was absent from Poona, pursuing his ambitious designs in Hindustan. He owed a grudge against Rughonath Rao, on account of the opposition to his succession to the family Jaghir; but he sought to trim between the contending factions until he could appear in person at Poona. Tukaji Holkar joined the party of Sakaram Bapu, and plotted against Mahadaji Sindia. Nana Farnavese was obliged to succumb to his rivals. A party was formed at Poona for the restoration of Rughonath Rao; and letters were sent to Bombay, signed by Sakaram Bapu, Tukaji Holkar, and others of the party, inviting the English to conduct Rughonath Rao to Poona, and place him once more on the throne of the Peishwa.¹

Warren Hastings resolved on war, nominally for the restoration of Rughonath Rao, but in reality for the purpose of defeating the designs of the French. A force under Colonel Goddard was sent from Bengal overland through Bundelkund and Malwa to the Mahratta country. At the same time a force was sent from Bombay to Poona to conduct Rughonath Rao to the Mahratta capital.

The Bombay expedition marched toward Poona in 1778, but none of the Mahratta chiefs came out to join Rughonath Rao. There had been another revolution in the Mahratta court. Mahadaji Sindia had arrived at Poona, and violently interfered in behalf of Nana Farnavese. Sakaram Bapu fell into the clutches of his rival, and ultimately perished miserably. Tukaji Holkar fled from Poona to Indore. All the other men who had invited Rughonath Rao were thrown into prison. The movement at Poona in behalf of Rughonath Rao died out with the fall of his supporters; and the ruling party were prepared to resist any attempt which might

¹ Nana Farnavese was the paramour of the widow of Narain Rao Peishwa, who was murdered by Rughonath Rao. He was thus personally interested in maintaining the infant Mahdu Narain Rao on the throne of Poona, under the regency of the Rani mother. Subsequently the Rani mother died, and Nana Farnavese lost his influence, while his rivals in the regency intrigued for the restoration of Rughonath Rao to the throne at Poona.

be made to restore Rughonath Rao to the throne of the Peishwa.

The Bombay forces advanced within eighteen miles of Poona, and then were so alarmed at the rumors which reached them on all sides, that they turned back toward Bombay. They were attacked in their retreat by a large Mahratta army under Mahadaji Sindia. The enemy was repulsed by Captain Hartley, a gallant officer who was famous in his day; but the troops lost heart, and Hartley's superior officer was bewildered and wanted to come to terms with the Mahrattas. Captain Hartley warmly opposed the measure, and pointed out a safe way of retreat, but was overruled. Terms were offered; Nana Farnavese was in the Mahratta camp, and insisted on the surrender of Rughonath Rao. Mahadaji Sindia was more amenable to reason. The result was that Rughonath Rao threw himself on the protection of Sindia, while the English agreed to restore Salsette and to countermand the march of Colonel Goddard. This unhappy business is known in history as the convention of Wurgaum.

Colonel Goddard had reached Burhanpur on the Nerbudda river, when he was stopped by the convention of Wurgaum, and marched northward to Surat. By this time, however, the governments of Bengal and Bombay had repudiated the convention; and as war annihilates treaties, preparations were being made for war. Indeed, war against France had already been declared, and war against the Mahrattas was found to be inevitable.

The hostilities which followed are known as the first Mahratta war; they lasted from 1779 to 1782. From first to last the operations were directed by Warren Hastings, who might have been called the Chatham of India, if like Chatham he had been free from suspicions of corruption. The march of Goddard from Bengal to Burhanpur was condemned at the time as a frantic exploit; but the marches of Ala-ud-din and Sivaji were equally frantic, and so was the defence of Arcot and battle of Plassy.

The operations of the first Mahratta war were extended from Bombay into Guzerat, and from Bengal into the heart of Hindustan. Colonel Goddard entered Guzerat, and took possession of a large territory belonging to the Peishwa. Subsequently he was more or less surrounded by dense clouds of Mahratta horse, under Mahadaji Sindia and Tukaji Holkar; and he could neither leave Guzerat nor bring the enemy to a decisive action. At this crisis Warren Hastings made a splendid diversion from the side of Bengal. He sent Captain Popham at the head of two thousand four hundred sepoy, and a small detachment of artillery, to make his way through Hindustan toward Malwa. With this little army Captain Popham scattered a Mahratta force that was levying contributions, and, after some other successes, electrified half India by the capture of Gwalior, one of the strongest fortresses in Hindustan.

The loss of Gwalior compelled Mahadaji Sindia to return to Malwa for the defence of his own territories. He still, however, avoided a general action, and after some delay made overtures of peace, which ended in his engaging to remain neutral on condition that certain conquered districts on the Jumna were restored to him. It will be seen hereafter that this neutrality on the part of Mahadaji Sindia added greatly to his influence during the later negotiations for a general peace with all the Mahratta powers.

While the Mahratta war was raging, the territory acquired in Guzerat was placed under the charge of Mr. Forbes, a civilian of Bombay. The inhabitants, who had been hitherto accustomed to the exactions of the Moghuls, and still more grinding cruelty and rapacity of the Mahrattas, hailed the change in the administration as the greatest of earthly blessings. Forbes was a mild and amiable man, to whom cruelty was impossible and corruption as revolting as crime. His jurisdiction extended over five large towns and a hundred and fifty villages. He gratified Brahmans and other Hindus by prohibiting his European soldiers from molesting monkeys, pelicans, cranes, and water-fowl; and

above all by forbidding the slaughter of cows, except in a private manner. He administered justice with the help of four Brahmans and four Muhammadans, besides native merchants and heads of castes. Each case was tried by a punchayet, or jury of five natives; two being chosen by the plaintiff, two by the defendant, and one by himself as judge. In some cases, but with great reluctance, he allowed of trials by ordeal. Such a man seems to have approached the Hindu ideal of a perfect ruler.

Meanwhile, events of importance were transpiring at Calcutta. Hastings had expressed through a friend in England some intention of resigning the government; and the Directors had taken him at his word and appointed General Clavering to succeed him as Governor-General. When orders reached Calcutta, Hastings had regained his ascendancy in council, and withdrew his resignation. A quarrel ensued which caused the utmost excitement. Clavering took his seat as Governor-General in one room with Francis, while Hastings took his seat in another room with Barwell. Clavering sent for the keys of Fort William, but Hastings had already brought the military authorities to obey no orders but his own. In this extremity the dispute was referred to the Supreme Court of judicature at Calcutta, and decided in favor of Hastings. Clavering died shortly afterward, and a Mr. Wheler came out to India as member of council and supported Francis. But Hastings was still supported by Barwell, and secured a majority by means of his casting vote.

About this time it was discovered that the five years' leases of lands in Bengal and Behar had proved a failure. Many Zemindars and others had taken lands beyond their value, and were unable to pay the rent. Francis urged his plan of a permanent settlement, and it was sent to England for the consideration of the Court of Directors. Pending the receipt of orders from England, the lands were let on yearly leases.

In 1780 the quarrel between Hastings and Francis reached

a climax. Mr. Barwell, the supporter of Hastings, was anxious to proceed to England, but would not leave Hastings to contend alone against Francis and Wheler. Overtures were made to Francis, and a compromise was effected; Hastings making some concessions to Francis, and Francis engaging not to oppose Hastings in the conduct of the Mahratta war. Barwell embarked for Europe; and then Francis opposed the war as bitterly as ever. Hastings declared that he had been betrayed. Francis explained that he was only pledged to support the war so long as it was confined to the Malabar coast; but that when Hastings extended it to the heart of Hindustan, the obligation ceased. The result was a duel in which Francis was wounded; and the discomfited statesman left India forever, burning with disappointed ambition, and breathing the direst vengeance against Hastings.

While Hastings was carrying on the Mahratta war from Bengal, the settlement of Madras was in sore danger. Muhammad Ali, Nawab of the Carnatic, had proved as useless an ally to the English at Madras as old Mir Jafir had been to the English in Bengal. Muhammad Ali had ceded a territory to the English, which was known as the Company's Jaghir; but the revenues of the Jaghir were insufficient to pay for the defence of the Carnatic, threatened as it was from time to time by one or other of the three great powers of India—Nizam Ali, Hyder Ali, and the Mahrattas.

All this while Muhammad Ali was hopelessly in debt. He had ostensibly borrowed large sums from English servants of the Company, most of which were presents under the name of loans, and yet were charged with high interest. Englishmen in the service of the Madras government, whose means were notoriously small, and who could never have sent a rupee to Arcot, were nevertheless put down as creditors to the Nawab, and were thus bribed with both principal and interest. In a word, the Nawab had been lavish of money, or of acknowledgments of the receipt of money, in the hope of securing friends and supporters in both India

and England; while his revenues, which ought to have been available for the defence of the Carnatic against all invaders, were pawned away to the servants of the Company, in return for loans which were mostly nominal.

In this extremity the Nawab had often turned a wistful eye to the Hindu territory of the Raja of Tanjore, which included the delta of the Kavari and Koleroon, and was regarded as the granary of Southern India. He invaded and ravaged the territory of Tanjore, and called upon the English to help him to crush the Raja. The Madras authorities were blind to all considerations excepting their own immediate gains; and were consequently eager to put the Nawab in possession of territories which would enable him to liquidate their supposititious claims. In 1773 they deposed the Raja and made over his kingdom to the Nawab.

The Court of Directors was furious at this proceeding. Mr. Wynch, the Governor of Madras, was turned out of the service. Lord Pigot was sent out as Governor in his room, with orders to restore the Raja to his kingdom. The Nawab is said to have offered a large bribe to Lord Pigot to delay taking action; but the money was refused. In 1776 Lord Pigot proceeded to Tanjore and restored the Raja to his throne and territories.

A Mr. Paul Benfield then appeared upon the scene. This man had been a servant of the Company on a salary of three hundred rupees a month, but had subsequently entered the service of the Nawab. Benfield put forward claims on the Nawab for nearly a quarter of a million sterling, for which the Nawab had given him an assignment on the revenues and standing crops of Tanjore. Benfield produced no vouchers, but urged that the Nawab would acknowledge the debt. It was obvious that the whole affair was a sham, got up with the connivance of the Nawab for diverting the revenues of the Tanjore Raja to the payment of the Nawab's creditors.

The members of Lord Pigot's council were swayed by conflicting motives. The demand of Benfield was so pre-

posterous that in the first instance they could not avoid rejecting it. But they subsequently discovered that by rejecting his claims they were imperilling their own. Accordingly they rescinded their vote, and declared that the assignments to Benfield of the revenue and crops of Tanjore were valid.

Lord Pigot in his wrath suspended two members of council on his own authority, and arrested the commander-in-chief of the Madras army. In return he was himself suddenly arrested by the opposition members of the Madras council, and placed in confinement. He died in May, 1777, eight months after his arrest, and one month before the orders for his release were received from the Court of Directors.

In 1778, the same year that wars were beginning against France and the Mahrattas, a Bengal civilian, named Sir Thomas Rumbold, was appointed Governor of Madras. He was a shrewd man of business, and possibly an able administrator; but either he knew nothing of the dangers which threatened Madras, or else he wilfully shut his eyes to the actual state of affairs.

By this time Hyder Ali had become the most formidable power in the Peninsula. He had strengthened his army by absorbing all the floating European elements which were abroad in Southern India: deserters from the Company's army; runaways from the Company's ships; scamps and tramps from the desk or warehouse who preferred Oriental license to duty and routine; discharged Frenchmen and others from the service of the Nawab or the Nizam; bodies of native infantry or cavalry, which had been raised, trained and disciplined by English officers to meet sudden emergencies, and then had been broken up, or had broken themselves up, from sheer want of pay. With these nondescript forces Hyder Ali had conquered all the Rajas and Poligars of Mysore and Malabar, and compelled them all to pay tribute, excepting the remote Rajas of Coorg and Travancore. He was still sore at the failure of the English at Madras to help him in his wars against the Mahrattas; but he saw with

satisfaction that Bengal and Bombay were engaged in hostilities against the Peishwa at Poona; and he was prepared to take advantage of the distractions in the Mahratta empire, while planning secret designs against his brother Muhammadan at Hyderabad. On the whole he was willing to be at peace with the English at Madras, provided that the English would leave him alone.

In 1778 the English at Madras began the war against France by the capture of Pondicherry. They next threatened to capture the French settlement at Mahe on the coast of Malabar, within the dominions of Hyder Ali. Mahe was very serviceable to Hyder Ali; he obtained European recruits and stores through Mahe. He declared that if the English attacked Mahe, he would desolate the Carnatic. But the English at Madras were bent on rooting the French out of the Peninsula. An expedition was sent from Madras against Mahe, partly by sea round Ceylon, and partly by land through Mysore. At this crisis news reached Madras that the Bombay army had been driven back from Poona; but neither the disaster at Wurgaum, nor the expected wrath of Hyder Ali, could induce Rumbold to recall the expedition, and eventually Mahe surrendered to the English without a blow.

Meanwhile Governor Rumbold hoped to pacify Hyder Ali by sending Swartz, the German missionary, with messages of peace to Seringapatam. Swartz was well fitted for the work. He could speak Hindustani, which was a rare accomplishment in those days; and he had already won golden opinions among the natives of Southern India by his unassuming life and self-sacrificing toil. He was unwilling to be mixed up with political affairs, but undertook the mission in the hope of averting a war. He was received by Hyder Ali with the respect due to his sacred calling; but unhappily, during his stay at Seringapatam, reports arrived that English sepoy were marching through Mysore for the capture of Mahe. Hyder Ali was filled with wrath at this violation of his territories. He dismissed the missionary

with kindness and consideration; but Swartz returned from his bootless errand with sad forebodings of coming disaster.

About the same time Governor Rumbold managed to exasperate Nizam Ali. There had long been a soreness about the English occupation of the Northern Circars; but, as already stated, the English had settled the quarrel by agreeing to pay Nizam Ali a yearly rent of seventy thousand pounds for the territory in question. The Circar or province of Guntoor had, however, been assigned for life to Basalut Jung, the eldest brother of Nizam Ali; and the cession of Guntoor was accordingly postponed until the death of Basalut Jung.¹ But the war with France brought on further complications. Basalut Jung had entertained a French force for his protection against Hyder Ali; and the English compelled him to disband it. He then made over Guntoor to the English in return for a yearly rent; and the English in their turn transferred Guntoor to Muhammad Ali, the Nawab of the Carnatic, on similar terms.

The wrath of Nizam Ali was kindled at the separate negotiations with Basalut Jung, and especially at the transfer of Guntoor to Muhammad Ali. He suspected that the English were plotting with the Nawab to work his destruction, and set up Basalut Jung on the throne at Hyderabad. In reality Guntoor was transferred at the instance of the Nawab's creditors, who wanted the revenue for the payment of their claims. Nizam Ali manifested his hostility by taking into his service the French troops who had been dismissed by Basalut Jung. To make matters worse, Governor Rumbold chose this particular moment for asking Nizam Ali to remit the rent due for the Northern Circars, on the ground that the war against France had emptied the Madras treasury.

These proceedings were most irritating to the government of Warren Hastings. The war against France was already hampered by the war with the Mahrattas; and now

¹ See ante, p. 367, note.

Madras had provoked this ill-timed quarrel with Hyder Ali and Nizam Ali. Accordingly the Bengal government, as the supreme authority, ordered the immediate restoration of Guntoor to the Nizam. Rumbold, however, resented the interference of the Governor-General; refused to restore Guntoor; and embarked for England in April, 1780, ignorant or regardless of the coming storm.

Rumbold was succeeded as Governor by a Madras civilian named Whitehill; but there was no improvement in the conduct of affairs. The air of Madras was reeking with scandals and intrigues, growing out of money transactions between servants of the Company and the Nawab of the Carnatic. Whitehill was as obstinate as his predecessor in refusing to restore Guntoor to Nizam Ali and in neglecting to provide the means of defence against Hyder Ali. Meanwhile corrupt Europeans were appropriating the revenues of the Carnatic to the payment of their fabricated claims, and amusing the Nawab Muhammad Ali with hopes of being relieved from all obligations to the East India Company by the direct interference of the English parliament and Court of St. James's.

In July, 1780, the storm burst upon the Carnatic. Hyder Ali, at the head of a hundred thousand men, poured through the passes which separate the tableland of Mysore from the Carnatic plain. The whole country was overrun by the invaders—eastward to the coast of Coromandel, northward to the river Kistna, and southward to the Kaveri and Keroon.¹ Villages were set on fire, crops were destroyed, cattle were driven off; wives and daughters were shame-

¹ The army of Hyder Ali included 20,000 infantry formed into regular battalions, and mostly commanded by Europeans. His cavalry numbered 30,000, including 2,000 Abyssinian horse who formed a bodyguard, and 10,000 Carnatic horse well disciplined. Half of the Carnatic horse had belonged to Nawab Muhammad Ali, and after being trained by English officers, had either deserted or been disbanded from want of pay. Hyder Ali also had one hundred pieces of cannon managed either by Europeans, or by natives who had been trained by the English for the service of the Nawab. Above all, Hyder Ali had a corps of Frenchmen or other Europeans to the number of four hundred men, under the command of a Monsieur Lally, who had left the service of the Nizam for that of the Mysore ruler.

lessly carried away, and Brahmans were wantonly cut down and slaughtered without scruple or remorse. Fifty years afterward the atrocities committed were still remembered in remote villages; and persons who are still living have spoken to ancient crones who shuddered as they told of the avenging army of Hyder Ali.

Shortly before the invasion of Hyder Ali, Hastings received a mysterious communication from the Bhonsla¹ Raja of Berar. The Raja informed Hastings that the three great powers of India—Hyder Ali, Nizam Ali, and the Mahrattas—were about to make simultaneous attacks on the three English settlements in Bengal, Bombay, and Madras; and that Nizam Ali was at the bottom of the confederacy. The Berar Raja added that he had received orders from the Peishwa's government at Poona to send a large army for the conquest of Bengal and Behar; that he had been obliged to obey the orders, but had instructed his Mahratta commanders to abstain from hostile operations. In return for this act of friendship he requested payment of arrears of chout from Bengal and Behar, aggregating some three millions sterling.

The fact of a confederacy was partly proved by news from Madras. Hyder Ali had entered the Carnatic and drawn a circle of flaming villages round Madras and Fort St. George. The English army under Sir Hector Munro, the hero of Buxar, had marched against Hyder Ali; but by some bad generalship had permitted an English detachment to be surrounded by overwhelming numbers. After desperate heroism, the English were induced to surrender on promises of quarter; but no sooner had they laid down their arms than the savages rushed on them with unbridled fury, and would have butchered every man upon the spot but for the timely interference of the French officers. As it was, two hundred Europeans were carried off prisoners to Mysore, and subjected to cruelties and indignities which were never forgotten by the survivors.

¹ Mudaji Bhonsla. See ante, p. 419, note.

Never did the genius of Warren Hastings burn more brightly than at this epoch in the Mahratta war. He discovered that Hyder Ali had procured a grant of the whole of the Nizam's territories from Shah Alam at Delhi; and he detached Nizam Ali from the confederacy by informing him of the treacherous transaction. He secured the neutrality of the Berar Raja by negotiations and a small present of money. He sent an English force under Colonel Pearse to march overland through the Berar Raja's territories toward Madras. He deposed Whitehill, the Governor of Madras, on his own authority; and further mollified Nizam Ali by the restoration of Guntoor. At the same time Sir Eyre Coote left Bengal and proceeded to Madras by sea, to take the command of the Madras army with full and independent powers.

Eyre Coote is one of the half-forgotten heroes of the eighteenth century. He defeated Hyder Ali at Porto Novo,¹ and followed up his success by a series of brilliant victories which have won him a lasting name in the annals of British India, although the details have long since died out of the memory of the British nation.

All this while the Bengal government was sorely pressed for money, and Hastings sought to replenish the public treasury by demanding a subsidy from the Raja of Benares, and calling on the Nawab Vizier of Oude to pay up all arrears due to the Company. The details are interesting from the fact that they formed the basis of the more important charges in the subsequent impeachment of Warren Hastings.

Cheit Singh, Raja of Benares, was a feudatory of the British government. His father, Balwunt Singh, had joined the English after the battle of Buxar, and died in 1770; and the Nawab Vizier of Oude would have confiscated the territory of Benares but for the interference of the English, who upheld the rights of Cheit Singh. On the accession of a new

¹ Porto Novo is situated near the mouth of the Koleroon, immediately to the south of Fort St. David.

Nawab Vizier in 1775 the sovereignty of Benares was ceded to the British government, while the territory still remained in the possession of Cheit Singh.

Cheit Singh paid a tribute to the British government of about two hundred thousand pounds per annum; but by the laws and customs of India, Moghul or Mahratta, he was also subject to the extraordinary demands of his suzerain for money or military service. Hastings demanded an extra fifty thousand pounds per annum and the service of two thousand horse. The Raja complied for a while, and then evaded the demand on the plea of poverty. Hastings, knowing that the Raja had large treasures, imposed a fine of half a million sterling.¹

About this time Hastings was proceeding to the city of Benares to negotiate a peace with the Mahrattas. As he entered Benares territory he was met by Cheit Singh, who offered to pay something less than half the fine; but Hastings persisted in demanding the half million. Subsequently, after reaching the city, Hastings sent four companies of sepoy to arrest the Raja. The mob of Benares, always the most turbulent in India, rose against the sepoy, who had no ammunition, and were slaughtered on the spot.

Cheit Singh fled in terror from Benares. Hastings was in personal danger, but escaped to the fortress of Chunar. Cheit Singh prayed for a reconciliation, but Hastings refused to overlook such open rebellion against the British supremacy. Cheit Singh tried to raise the native princes against the dominant power, but was defeated and deposed, and ultimately found an asylum in Sindia's territories. The nephew of Cheit Singh was then placed upon the feudatory throne of Benares, and the yearly tribute was nearly doubled.

The proceedings of Hastings as regards the Nawab Vizier

¹ Had the Raja of Benares resisted the demands of a Moghul or Mahratta sovereign he would have been imprisoned and squeezed, until nothing was left of his treasures. In modern times the rights of feudatory princes of India have been defined and respected, if not absolutely created, by the British government, and they are only expected to contribute to imperial necessities in the form of loans.

of Oude were more dubious. Asof-ud-daula could not or would not pay up the arrears due to the Company, unless he was put into possession of the state treasures which had passed into the hands of the two Begums. Hastings was told that the Begums were implicated in the rebellion of Cheit Singh. Moreover, he acknowledged having received a present of a hundred thousand pounds from the Nawab Vizier, which may possibly have warped his judgment, and which will call for some special remarks hereafter. The result was that he withdrew the guarantee which Bristow had given to the two Begums, and which had been approved and sanctioned by the Bengal government during the supremacy of Philip Francis and his two colleagues in the triumvirate. Above all, he connived at the imprisonment of the servants of the Begums by the Nawab Vizier until the treasures were surrendered.

There can be no doubt that Asof-ud-daula ordered the servants of the Begums to be subjected to indignities, privations, and sufferings, common enough in the households of Oriental despots, but revolting to civilization. His father, Shuja-ud-daula, is said to have subjected the ladies of Mir Kasim to like cruelties in order to compel the ex-Nawab to surrender his secret hoards. But there is no extenuation for Hastings, and he must share the blame of the whole transaction. Subsequently he reported the receipt of the hundred thousand pounds to the Court of Directors, and requested permission to keep the money. The Directors refused the request, which ought never to have been proffered. Indeed, it would have been better for the reputation of Hastings if he had never accepted the money, or had promptly placed the whole matter on public record. As it stands, the money bears all the stamp of a bribe, intended to remove the scruples of Hastings as regards the abandonment of the Begums and their servants to the tender mercies of the Nawab Vizier.

In 1781-82 the first Mahratta war was brought to a close. Nana Farnavese was at this time too much afraid of Hyder Ali to ratify a treaty of alliance with the English. But

Mahadaji Sindia exercised a predominating influence in the councils of the Peishwa, and was more inclined to the alliance. Negotiations were thus concluded with Mahadaji Sindia but evaded by Nana Farnavese.

At the end of 1782 it was known that Hyder Ali was dead; and Nana Farnavese ratified the treaty which had been concluded with Mahadaji Sindia, and was known as the treaty of Salbai. The terms of this treaty are simple and intelligible. The English and the Mahrattas were mutually pledged to withhold all help from the enemies of the other. Rughonath Rao was set aside and pensioned. The infant Peishwa, Mahdu Rao the Second, was recognized as the legitimate head of the Mahratta empire. The council of regency was also recognized as represented by Nana Farnavese. Salsette and some small islands were retained by Bombay, but all other conquests were restored to the Mahrattas. The important districts acquired in Guzerat were made over to Mahadaji Sindia as an acknowledgment of his moderation at Wurgauum; but the grief of the inhabitants at being restored to the grasping oppression of their Mahratta rulers was profound and sincere, and caused many pangs of regret to the amiable Forbes.

The death of Hyder Ali in 1782 is a landmark in the history. He was cruel and often brutally so; he was also self-indulgent to an extreme after the manner of eastern potentates. Like Akbar he could neither read nor write, yet he was shrewd, sagacious, indifferent in matters of religion, and tolerant toward Hindus.

Swartz the missionary has left a striking description of the government of Hyder Ali. The palace at Seringapatam had an open space in front, with ranges of civil and military offices on either side, so that Hyder Ali could overlook the whole from his balcony. Two hundred men with whips were constantly in attendance to scourge all offenders—gentlemen, horsekeepers, tax-gatherers, and even his own sons. Not a day passed without a number of officials being flogged. The offenders were not dismissed from his service,

but sent back to their offices, with the marks of the stripes on their backs as public warnings.

One evening Swartz went to the palace, and saw a number of men of rank sitting round in great tribulation. He was told that they were revenue collectors of districts, but they looked more like criminals expecting death. One wretched defaulter was scourged in the most horrible manner, while his shrieks rent the air. Yet there was a great struggle for these posts, especially among the Brahmans. They outbid one another in order to be appointed collectors, and then practiced similar cruelties toward the people in order to add to their gains.

At this period Lord Macartney was Governor of Madras. He had landed in India in 1781, and distinguished himself by pushing on the war against Hyder Ali; but his administration was chiefly marked by differences with the Bengal government which have long since been forgotten. He was distinguished by a spotless purity in money matters which has handed down his name to posterity as the first Governor of a new *régime*.¹

In 1784 Lord Macartney sent envoys to Tippu, the son and successor of Hyder Ali, to negotiate a peace. A treaty was concluded at Mangalore by which both the English and Tippu were mutually bound to withhold all help from the enemies of the other; and a large number of European prisoners, who had passed years of suffering, privation, and torture in Mysore, were at last restored to life and freedom.

During the war against Hyder Ali, Lord Macartney assumed the management of the revenues of the Carnatic. The Nawab agreed to the measure, reserving a sixth part for the maintenance of his family and dignity. Indeed he was unable to offer any opposition. The Carnatic was vir-

¹ In 1781 the English were at war with the Dutch, and Lord Macartney captured the two Dutch seaports of Pulicat and Sadras, in the neighborhood of Madras, to prevent their falling into the hands of Hyder Ali or the French. The dismantled fortifications are still to be seen within easy communication from Madras, and will well repay a visit, as they form the most interesting relics of Dutch dominion which are to be found in all India.

tually occupied by the armies of Hyder Ali; and for a period of eighteen months the Nawab had not contributed a single rupee toward the expenses of the war; while the native renters had often endangered the very existence of the forces in the field by keeping back supplies, either for their own profit, or out of treacherous collusion with the enemy. Indeed, on one occasion Eyre Coote had placed a native renter in irons for having endeavored to betray the fortress of Vellore to Hyder Ali. The new arrangement insured the regularity of supplies; protected the Nawab from the rapacity of his creditors; while delivering the people from the merciless exactions of the native renters. In a word, Lord Macartney was driven by the instinct of self-preservation to take the revenues of the Carnatic under direct control, as the only possible way of saving the country, the people, the Nawab himself, and the Company's possessions, from utter destruction.

When the war was over Lord Macartney resolved on perpetuating an arrangement which had enabled him to provide for the expenses of the war as well as for the maintenance of the Nawab. Accordingly he refused to restore the revenues to the control of Muhammad Ali and his native renters. Large bribes were offered to him, but he was immovable. For thirty years it had been obvious to all parties concerned—to the Nawab himself, as well as to the Madras government and the Court of Directors—that the East India Company alone could protect the Carnatic from the horrible ravages to which it had been exposed from Hyder Ali, Nizam Ali, or the Mahrattas. It was equally obvious that unless the English held the power of the purse they could not wield the power of the sword. The sixth part of the revenues had been regularly paid to the Nawab, and in reality yielded him more money for his private purposes than he had ever enjoyed before. Lord Macartney was willing to continue the payment, and to investigate and liquidate all the just claims of the Nawab's creditors; but he was determined that henceforth the Nawab should be powerless for evil; and for this

purpose it was necessary to depose Muhammad Ali from his sovereign authority, and reduce him to the condition of a pageant pensioner like the Nawab Nazims of Bengal.

The equity of the measure was open to question. So long as the English maintained a helpless Nawab on the throne of the Carnatic, so long were they responsible for the sufferings of his wretched subjects. On the other hand, for more than thirty years, the East India Company, for purposes of its own, had treated the Nawab as an independent prince; and his sovereignty had been acknowledged alike by the English parliament and the Crown. In a word, the Nawab of the Carnatic was a political Frankenstein, the creation of the Company, galvanized into artificial life by the Company's own servants; and he could not be deposed from his sovereignty unless it could be proved to the satisfaction of the English parliament that his extinction was essential to the safety of British interests in Southern India.

Meanwhile Indian affairs had been hotly debated in the English parliament. Indian wars and conquests had been denounced, and alliances with native princes had been condemned as the cause of all Indian wars. In 1784 an act was passed, known as Mr. Pitt's bill, under which a Board of Control was nominated by the Crown to exercise supreme authority over the civil and military administration of the Company's servants. It consisted of six members, but all real power was vested in the President of the Board, who played the part of an additional Secretary of State, and was directly responsible to parliament and the Crown.¹ It was enacted that for the future no alliances should be formed with any native prince without the consent of parliament.

¹ The Board of Control consisted of six members of the Privy Council, chosen by the Crown, and always including the Chancellor of the Exchequer and one of the Secretaries of State. In the absence of the Chancellor and Secretary of State, the senior member acted as President of the Board, and practically was the sole authority. Mr. Dundas, afterward Lord Melville, was the first President of the Board of Control. The Board was maintained down to the year 1858, when it was amalgamated with the Court of Directors, and the whole was transformed into a Secretary of State for India in Council.

It was also enacted, with the view of preventing future scandals, that no servant of the Company should engage in any monetary transactions with any native prince without the express sanction of the Governor-General of India.¹

All this while the creditors of the Nawab were straining every effort to procure his restoration to the sovereignty of the Carnatic. Indeed unless Muhammad Ali was replaced in the possession of the revenues, his creditors could never hope to realize the enormous fortunes which for years had dazzled their imaginations and perverted their moral sense. Emissaries from the Nawab, including the notorious Mr. Paul Benfield, appeared in London with large means at their disposal for the purchase of seats in parliament, and otherwise bringing corrupt influences to bear upon men in high places.²

It would be tedious to rake up a forgotten controversy in which there was much to be said on both sides. The Board of Control eventually decided that as the war with Hyder Ali had been brought to a close there was no necessity for lowering the status of the Nawab, and no excuse for retaining the management of the Carnatic. With this view the Board of Control ordered, not only that the Carnatic should

¹ By a subsequent act, 37 of George III., this prohibition was extended to all European subjects of the British Crown.

² The lives of the English adventurers who preyed upon the Nawab of the Carnatic, and other native princes, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, would make an instructive volume. Their intrigues in London would perhaps prove more curious than those at Arcot and Madras. Their parade of wealth and jewels at the Court of St. James's was the marvel and envy of the aristocracy. Mrs. Paul Benfield astonished London by driving through the parks in a chariot of cerulean blue. Mr. Paul Benfield ultimately lost all his fortune, and died at Paris in extreme poverty. Mr., afterward Sir John, Macpherson, who for a brief period succeeded Warren Hastings as Governor-General, was originally the purser of a ship, who entered the service of the Nawab of the Carnatic, and afterward went to London and gained the ear of the Duke of Grafton. The magazines and journals of the day would furnish equally suggestive details respecting Mr. Holland and others. All these men were at one time or other in the Company's service. There were also adventurers at Seringapatam, Hyderabad, and Lucknow, who had never been in the service. In the story of "Lame Jervis" Miss Edgeworth describes one of these men who visited the Court of Tippu, and proved a favorable specimen of his class. There were others whose careers would vindicate the proceedings of the Court of Directors in prohibiting the advent of Europeans into the dominions of native princes.

be restored to the Nawab, but that all claims against the Nawab should be liquidated out of the revenues of the Carnatic without any further investigation. Lord Macartney retired from the service rather than obey such orders; but many of the Company's servants acquired large fortunes, Mr. Benfield alone realizing about half a million sterling.¹

Meanwhile the government of Warren Hastings drew toward a close. His proceedings as regards Cheit Singh and the Begums were severely censured by the Court of Directors, and he lost the support of his colleagues in council. Accordingly he resigned the service, and left India in February, 1785, never to return.

The subsequent impeachment and acquittal of Warren Hastings are great events in English history, but they made no impression on the people of India. A storm of indignation was raised by Philip Francis, and turned to a hurricane by the hot eloquence of Burke, Fox, and Sheridan; but the people of Bengal only knew Hastings as a deliverer, a protector, and a conqueror, and they were bewildered by the remote thunder in Westminster Hall.

The three most important charges against Hastings referred to the Rohilla war, and the treatment of Cheit Singh and the Begums; but the animus of the charge was that Hastings had exercised and countenanced cruelty and oppression for the sake of money. Lord Clive had accepted presents, but he was not accused like Hastings of taking bribes. Bribery and corruption, however, are difficult of judicial proof, whether in England or India; and grave suspicion will often insure a moral conviction when a legal

¹ The settlement of the debts of Muhammad Ali was accompanied by ministerial scandals which will never be cleared up, and which belong to the history of England rather than to the history of India. Burke denounced Benfield, Dundas, and all concerned; but his invectives were so coarse and extravagant that they failed to make any lasting impression. It will suffice to say that between 1784 and 1804 five millions sterling were paid away. In 1805 commissioners were appointed to investigate the further claims of private creditors; and between 1805 and 1814 claims to the amount of twenty millions were brought under examination, during which nineteen millions were rejected as bad, while little more than a million was treated as true and lawful debt.

conviction is wanting; but in the case of Warren Hastings the national resentment was neutralized by the obvious vindictiveness of Francis, and the dreary procrastination of a state trial, until it had spent its force and died away. Posterity will possibly decide that the services of Hastings have thrown his failings into the shade; that Hastings deserved approbation and reward at the hands of the East India Company; but that William Pitt was in the right when he refused to recommend Warren Hastings for a peerage, or for honorable employment under the British Crown.¹

Philip Francis may be consigned to oblivion. His talents might have gained him a lasting name in the history of India, but were frittered away in attempts to advance himself at the expense of Hastings. He intrigued for the post of Governor-General until his hopes were shattered by old age. To this day he is only remembered as the writer of the "Letters of Junius," and as the vindictive enemy of Warren Hastings.

¹ Lord Macaulay acquits Hastings of money corruption on the ground of want of evidence; had he been familiar with the workings of native courts in India he would have found Hastings guilty. Hastings acknowledged to having taken a hundred thousand pounds from Asof-ud-daula in 1782. The inference follows that in 1773 he received a like sum from Shuja-ud-daula, and silently pocketed the money. Officers of any political experience would be satisfied that Asof-ud-daula would never have offered the hundred thousand pounds to Hastings unless a like sum had been previously offered by his father, Shuja-ud-daula, and accepted by Hastings.

While Warren Hastings was preparing to defend himself against his enemies, he was harassed by the thought that he had left an old bureau behind at Calcutta, containing papers of such secrecy that he could not intrust them to his closest friends. At least seven references to this lost bureau are to be found in his published correspondence (Gleig's *Life of Hastings*, vol. iii., pp. 238, 240, 268, 286, 290, 297, and 327). Nowhere is it said that the bureau was recovered. Had it fallen into the hands of Francis, it might have made short work of the trial at Westminster Hall.

Wheeler, J.T.

H.

India and the Frontier

States

