

EARLY ENGLISH TRAVELLERS IN INDIA

A Study in the Travel Literature of the Elizabethan
and Jacobean Periods with Particular Reference to
India.

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty of Arts
of the University of Edinburgh for
the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy

By

Ram Chandra Prasad,

Department of English, University of Patna, India.

Edinburgh, August 1959.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The following study was undertaken as a doctoral dissertation under the direction of Professor G. H. Bewick, Regius Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature at the University of Edinburgh, to whom I am indebted for the subject itself as well as for generous advice, careful supervision, and many valuable criticisms.

To Mr. G. Sæppesson, Lecturer in History, Edinburgh University, I also wish to express my cordial thanks for the training he gave me in pure Latin and for the good advice on this and other

Travellers ne'er did lie,
Though fools at home condemn 'em.

Shakespeare, The Tempest, Act III, Sc. 3.

Ut quis ex longinquo revererat, miracula narrabant, vim turbinum, et inauditas volucres, monstra maris, ambiguas hominum et beluarum formas; visa, sive ex metu credita.

Tacitus, Annals, Bk. II, Sec. 24.

If he has been a traveller, he certainly says true, for he may lie by authority.

Dryden and Lee, Duke of Guise, Act IV, Sc. 4.

The criticisms of Professor G. H. Bewick and Mr. G. Sæppesson, both of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, have been of great value and to them, therefore, I wish to acknowledge a particular debt of gratitude. I am grateful also to scholars who have been good enough to answer my queries: the Rev. Father M. D. Moran, S.J., St. Xavier High School, Kathmandu, Nepal, and the Rev. Father H. Staffner, St. De Nobili College, Poona, India.

The criticisms for the alterations made in the following pages have been gratefully accepted by the author. Among recent works, I am especially indebted to the new editions of the

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The following study was undertaken as a doctoral dissertation under the direction of Professor W. L. Renwick, Regius Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in the University of Edinburgh, to whom I am indebted for the subject itself as well as for encouragement, careful supervision, and many valuable criticisms. To Mr. G. Shepperson, Lecturer in History, Edinburgh University, I also wish to express my cordial thanks for the training he gave me in pure research, and for much sound advice on this and other problems of scholarship. I am grateful to the members of the Study Leave Committee, and to the authorities of the Patna University who enabled me to enjoy the benefits of leave. To the library staffs of Edinburgh University, British Museum, the India Office, and the National Library of Scotland, who assisted me with their usual efficiency and courtesy, heartfelt thanks are due. The criticisms of Professor A. L. Basham and Mr. J. B. Harrison, both of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, have been of great value and to them, therefore, I wish to acknowledge a particular debt of gratitude. I am grateful also to scholars who have been good enough to answer my queries: the Rev. Father M. D. Moran, S.J., St. Xavier High School, Káthmandú, Nepal, and the Rev. Father H. Staffner, St. De Nobili College, Poona, India.

The authorities for the statements made in the following pages have been carefully indicated in foot-notes. Among recent works, I am especially indebted to the many publications of the

C O N T E N T S

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	
INTRODUCTION	I
1 <u>THE PIONEERS</u>	
Chapter I. Thomas Stephens	1
II. Ralph Fitch	27
III. John Mildenhall	76
2 <u>THE AMBASSADORS</u>	
Chapter IV. William Hawkins	99
V. Thomas Roe	155
3 <u>THE ENGLISH FAKIR</u>	
Chapter VI. Thomas Coryat	199
4 <u>THE MERCHANT ADVENTURERS</u>	
Chapter VII. William Finch	246
VIII. Nicholas Withington	288
5 <u>THE CHAPLAINS</u>	
Chapter IX. Edward Terry	332
X. Henry Lord	392
SUMMING UP	432
<u>APPENDICES</u>	
Appendix I.	439
II.	445
III.	448
IV.	451
BIBLIOGRAPHY	452
EXPLANATION OF ABBREVIATIONS	467

ILLUSTRATIONS

Sun-worship	facing page	43
Indian Marriages	65
Hindu Ascetics	67
The Great Mughal	99
Shahariyar and the Elephant	130
A Convict	132
A Pathan	133
A Hunting Expedition	147
Sir Thomas Roe	155
Jahangir delights in blood	172
Coryat on a Camel	220
Coryat on an Elephant	243
Human Sacrifice	280
A Dance of Sacrifice	320
A Hindu Idol	323
Edward Terry	332
An Engraved Title-page	392

1. See *D.N.P.* (1901), vol. VIII, p. 422.

2. *Ibid.*, vol. XVII, p. 476.

INTRODUCTION.

The narratives of travel and exploration written by the English voyagers and merchant adventurers who visited India during 1579-1630 are of great literary and historical value for many reasons. For the first time they brought the ordinary Englishman in contact with the peoples of the East and made it possible for tradesmen to see through the mind's eye new and unlooked-for splendours in the Indies, the glamour of the Mughal court, or the power of the Great Turk. The common man found in the narratives of travel not only a romantic literature more fascinating than fiction, but a call to personal adventure. These were the stories, not of King Arthur or of fabulous knights, but of men who had lived and had their being in Elizabethan England. To any apprentice might come adventures that would have dazzled even Guy of Warwick¹, as Captain John Smith² himself had witnessed. Nor was rhetorical decoration needed to adorn these tales. The plain narratives were sufficiently attractive without adornment. No one has yet appraised the influence on modern English prose of the matter-of-fact relations of the voyagers; but merely as evidence of the development towards verbal simplicity many of these accounts deserve the study of literary historians. Out of utilitarian works on geography and the homespun narratives of merchants and seamen grew a vast literature, perhaps more completely than any other inspired by and appealing to the middle class. For the modern reader, these narratives not only throw considerable light on one of the most crucial periods of Indian history, but also reveal the beginnings and gradual growth of English power in the East. Compiled

1. See D.N.B. (1908), vol. VIII, p.829.

2. Ibid., vol. XVIII, p. 478.

II.

by men to whom everything in India was new and strange, they form a valuable supplement to the records of the native chroniclers; for the latter took for granted many local institutions and customs unfamiliar to Europeans, and all too often sacrificed objectivity to eulogies of the reigning sovereign.¹

The number of English visitors to India during this period was remarkably large, and for this reason, detailed examination of all of them is outside the scope of such a study as this. In order to avoid swelling the dimensions of this already lengthy work to unreasonable proportions, I have omitted all but a few absolutely important travellers and have employed the word 'traveller' to signify only those who left extensive records of their experiences in India. Amongst them, however, I have included, at the very outset, a Jesuit who is hardly a traveller except in an extended sense of the word, since no account of the early British transactions in the East can be deemed complete unless some notice is taken of this pioneer of British travel to India. The importance of Fr. Stephens (for this was the name of the Jesuit in question), which has led me to devote one full chapter to him, will be sufficiently clear in the following pages, but the particular circumstance which has made his inclusion imperative is the fact that he is little known in this country, whereas he deserves to be much better known by his countrymen, perhaps as well known as some of the distinguished poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries or the Orientalists of later ages.

This study demonstrates that in seventeenth-century England there was not only a keen awareness of travel-literature relating to India

1. E.F. Oaten, European Travellers in India (London : Kegan Paul, 1902), p. 2.

III.

but also that her poets drew upon it. Milton, for example, sitting in blind solitude, 'by darkness and by dangers compassed round,' must have been deeply impressed by the accounts of the Mughal empire given by travellers like Sir Thomas Roe, and it is probable that he heard more than one of them at first-hand. When we read how

High on a throne of royal state, which far
Outshone the wealth of Ormuz or of Ind,
Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and gold
Satan exalted sat ...

our minds instinctively go back, as Milton's must have gone back, to Roe's dramatic first interview with the Emperor Jahangir, when high on a gallery, with a canopy over him and a carpet before him, sat in great and barbarous state the Great Mughal.¹ References to India in Milton's epic are almost too numerous to be quoted, but few can forget the wonderful description of the fig tree, beneath the branches of which Adam and Eve take refuge after eating the forbidden fruit.

It is impossible to estimate correctly or even approximately the number of English travellers who went to India in the ancient and mediaeval periods. It is likewise impossible to fix upon a particular time when the knowledge of India's existence as a great populous country, rich in gold, spices, and cotton textiles, filtered through to Britain. That such knowledge came to be possessed by Englishmen before the Macedonian invasion of India in 326 B.C., is almost, if not quite, certain. One of the most plausible pieces of evidence for this is to be found in the antiquity of both Indian and British trade. Britain, occupying a very narrow range of latitude - roughly speaking from 50°N. to 58°N. -

1. For a description of Roe's reception by Jahangir, see The Embassy (London : Hakluyt Society, 1899), pp. 106 - 109.

IV.

depended largely upon the sustenance afforded by trade. India, on the other hand, was a vast tropical country, not only self-supporting and self-contained, but also famous for her exports: valuable Sind horses, ivory, cotton goods, jewels, gold and silver. Englishmen, trading with their European neighbours across the channel and sometimes further off in the Mediterranean countries, could buy Indian commodities like spices and aromatics. Britain's commercial relations with the south-eastern European regions are indeed very ancient. Her trade with the Levant, as G.M. Trevelyan has pointed out, is far older than the Celtic conquest.¹ This region, especially its eastern coastlands, had an early commercial intercourse with the Arab merchants who brought thither articles of trade from Indian and Chinese markets.

The Arabs and Indians in those days were experienced sailors. A fairly regular sea traffic between Arabia and India had sprung up in remote times. David Macpherson believes that the Sabaeans or the ancient dwellers in south-west Arabia, who were the most distinguished for commercial and nautical enterprise, traded not only with India and Ceylon but also with the Spice Islands.² But expert navigators though these ancient Arabs were, it is doubtful whether they had reached the Malay Archipelago before the ninth century A.D.³ It must, however, be admitted that knowledge of India was conveyed to Europe through these Arab merchants. It is also likely that the Indian merchants themselves had

-
1. History of England (London : Longmans, Green and Co., 1952), p. 7. Wallace Norstein has pointed out that the beaker men who flourished about 1800 to 1600 B.C. "had considerable commerce with Ireland and some dealings with the continent." (The English People on the Eve of Colonisation, London, 1954, p.2.)
 2. The History of the European Commerce with India (London, 1812), p.2.
 3. Admiral G.A. Ballard, "The Navigators of the Indian Ocean Prior to the Era of European Dominion" in The Mariner's Mirror, April 1924, vol. X, p. 113.

carried this knowledge across the Arab Sea to Arabia and Persia and that it was carried thence by European merchants to the western world. Ctesias, who wrote his Indika somewhat later than Herodotus, says that he had seen white Indians (that is, Aryans) in Persia.¹

There are many references to sea-borne traffic in the hymns of the Rig-veda. Some of these hymns allude to men going in company to the sea (samudra) eager for gain.² There are some verses which tell us that the Asvins rescued Bhujyu, a Rajarshi, when in danger of drowning in the ocean, with a ship of a hundred oars (sataritra).³ So large a ship could be needed only for a long sea voyage. Buddhist literature in particular abounds in allusions to deep sea navigation, and it is said that Indian merchants visited Babylon, Ceylon, and the Golden Chersonese (Suvarnabhumi).⁴ Manu, India's great law-giver, provides in his Code for shipping and port dues, while Kautalyā's Arthasāstra, written in the fourth century B.C., lays down the duties of the Port Commissioner and Harbour Master.⁵

Herodotus and Ctesias, two of the earliest Greek historians to write about India, depended for their information largely upon tales which filtered through to the West in early times. Since a story is vastly changed in passing through many hands, they gave to their contemporaries many incredible fables along with some accurate historical information.

-
1. Lassen's review of the reports of Ctesias concerning India in J.W. McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Ktesias the Knidian (Calcutta, 1882), p. 65.
 2. See Ralph T.H. Griffith's excellent translation, The Hymns of the Rigveda (Banaras, 1896), bk. I, hymn 56. 2; bk. IV, hymn 55. 6.
 3. Ibid., bk. I, hymn 116. 3 ff.
 4. H.G. Rawlinson, India and the Western World (Cambridge, 1916), p. 5.
 5. K.M. Panikkar, India and the Indian Ocean (London, 1945), p.30.

VI.

All that Herodotus knew of India was that it was one of the farthest provinces of the Persian Empire towards the east, but of its extent and exact position he had no very intimate knowledge. Most of the features he ascribes to India seem, rather, to have been borrowed from those of the neighbouring mountainous districts.¹ His description of the nation as devouring raw flesh, even that of their closest friends, can be said to possess little authenticity unless it be taken to mean that this revolting practice prevailed among barbarous tribes on the borders of India proper, and not among the Aryan Indians.² Herodotus, however, mentions the existence of "many nations of Indians," all speaking different languages. This, together with the allusion to India's being more populous than the rest of the world and yielding a larger revenue than Babylon, Assyria or any other kingdom subject to Persia, leaves the impression that India was then exactly the same country it has been ever since.

Among the things alluded to by Herodotus, three are of outstanding value : boats made of reeds, cotton-bearing trees, and gold-digging ants. About the first Herodotus says that "each boat is made of one single length between the joints of a reed."³ This reed was apparently the palmyra, the diameter of which is from eighteen to twenty-four inches, and not the bamboo.⁴ He mentions cotton under the description of wool "growing on wild trees."⁵ It is "more beautiful and excellent

-
1. Hugh Murray, Discoveries and Travels in Asia (Edinburgh, 1820), p.7.
 2. McGrindle, Ancient India (Westminster, 1901), p.2n.
 3. A.D. Godley (tr.), Herodotus (London : William Heinemann, 1921), vol. II, p.127.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Ibid., p.133.

than the wool of sheep; these trees supply the Indians with clothing."¹ Herodotus is the first historian to mention the famous legend of the gold-digging ants, whose labours yielded the vast tribute in gold which in the days of Darius India paid to the Persian crown. Megasthenes, the Greek Ambassador to the court of Chandragupta Maurya, repeats the story of these gold-digging ants. His version of it is to be found in Strabo, Arrian and Pliny. Arrian, however, says that since Megasthenes wrote from hearsay, and since he himself had no more exact information to give, he would "willingly dismiss the subject of the ant."² Samuel Purchas, who had evidently read Arrian, regards the story of the ants as "an Embleme" rather than "a Story."³ Recent researches have shown that the fable is based on a genuine Indian tradition, for there did exist a race of Thibetan miners called Pippilikas (ant-gold). The ancient classical historians mistook these miners for animals and real ants, the confusion being mainly due to their Sanskrit name.⁴

Ctesias, of Cnidus in Caria, was the first writer to give Europe, and particularly the Greeks, a special account of India. That he was best fitted to do this is evident from the fact that he resided at the court of Artaxerxes Mnemon at Susa, as his physician, and thereby enjoyed the best opportunity of questioning the Persians about all the information that they had acquired concerning India. From some of his particulars regarding this country, it is apparent that he made very poor use of his opportunities. He is responsible for most of the extravagant

1. Ibid., pp.133, 135.

2. See Indika in McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian (Calcutta, 1877), pp.217 et seq.

3. Purchas his Pilgrimes (Glasgow, 1905), vol. I, p.87.

4. J.W. McCrindle, Ancient India (1901), p. 3n.

VIII.

stories and grotesque legends about India which fill the pages of classical and mediaeval writers down to Sir John Mandeville.¹ He states, for example, that there are no men who live beyond the Indians, and that no rain falls in India but that the country is watered by its rivers. His Indian animals are as fabulous as his Skiapodes and Anthropophagi.² Photios, to whom we are indebted for the abridgments of Ctesias, says that he (i.e. Ctesias) himself regarded his narrative as "all perfect truth, and, to assure us of this, asseverates that he has recorded nothing but what he either saw with his own eyes, or learned from the testimony of credible eye-witnesses."³

But what Ctesias has written about India depends more on hearsay than on personal experience. He might have tasted the cheese and the wines of the Indians, both of which he considered "the sweetest in the world," but his knowledge of the race of men living in India whose wives bore "offspring only once in their whole lifetime," of the swarthy pygmies who dwelt in the middle of India, and of many other such details must have been derived from indirect sources. The funniest of all his descriptions is that of the Kynokephaloi, a race of men who had no houses, but lived in caves. "They have no bed," says Ctesias, "but sleep on a litter of straw or leaves.... Both men and women have, like dogs, tails above their buttocks but larger and more hairy. They copulate like quadrupeds in dog-fashion, and to copulate otherwise is thought shameful. They are just, and of all men are the longest-lived, attaining the age of 170, and some even of 200 years."⁴

1. H.G. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

3. The Indika of Ctesias, Fragment I, 33, in McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Ktesias the Knidian (1882), pp. 33 et seq.

4. Ibid., pp. 24 et seq.

IX.

It is obvious that Ctesias not only did not take pains to sift the accounts which were communicated to him, but also overlaid a kernel of historical fact with a mass of picturesque fable. This is true of a great number of Greek historians who relied, for the most part, on others' reports or hearsay evidence. That their accounts contain much information that is both interesting and authentic is quite true, but we must treat with great reserve such of their accounts as are not based on personal observation.

It was not, however, until the date of the Greek invasion, B.C. 326, that the people of the West acquired any real knowledge of India. Alexander's grand expedition was partly military and partly scientific. He himself "had been a disciple of the great master of knowledge, and many among the officers who accompanied him into India, not a few were distinguished for their literary and scientific culture."¹ Some of these were appointed to record his war-like achievements, others to observe and describe the countries into which he had led his armies. Thereafter India was laid open by writers like Megasthenes, Strabo and Pliny. Their accounts contain much useful information for the historian, but they suffer from the defects inherent in the writings of foreigners ignorant of the language and customs of the country. Ptolemy and the unknown author of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea also deserve mention, because they elucidated the geography and natural history of India. The Periplus is to-day regarded as a precious document: it is "worth its weight in gold," says a modern Indian historian.² It is a practical

1. J.W. McCrindle, Ancient India (1901), p. XIV.

2. R.C. Majumdar (ed.), The Vedic Age (London : Allen and Unwin, 1951), p. 60.

handbook written by a merchant for the aid of other merchants, and contains the best account of the commerce carried on along the western coast of India during the time that Egypt was a province of the Roman Empire.

Arrian, one of the most reputed of classical historians, is best known by his history of Alexander's Asiatic expedition and the voyage made by Nearchos the Kretan from the Indus to the Pasitigris. His chief authorities were, as he tells us, Aristobulus of Cassandreia and Ptolemy, son of Lagus (afterwards king of Egypt), who both accompanied Alexander on his campaigns. Arrian's most outstanding quality, which won for him the praise of later historians, was his fearlessness. When he felt it to be his duty, he did not hesitate to criticize severely even Alexander himself. Thus he eschews, for the most part, the romantic elements in Alexander's career - an act which "gives him an especial value in view of the regrettably inadequate documentation of one of the greatest of all military exploits."¹

Arrian, on the authority of Nearchos, described the dress worn by the Indians. This was made from the cotton which grew on trees. When we meet with such frequent allusions to Indian cotton we no longer doubt the great antiquity of the cotton trade of western India. Even ancient Indian literatures prove the authenticity of these allusions. In the Rig-veda, for instance, night and dawn are compared to "two female weavers."²

1. E. Iliff Robson (tr.), Arrian (London : William Heinemann Ltd., 1929), vol. I, p. XII.

2. Rig-veda, II. 3. 6.

Arrian's Indika is not destitute of political interest. It describes Indian war equipment and dilates on the voyage made by Nearchos. It was "the earliest salt water voyage connected with operations of war, of which any complete description remains as a part of acceptedly authentic history."¹ Arrian also alludes to Nearchos to show that Cyrus came to grief in trying to invade India through the inhospitable desert of Gedrosia (Baluchistan) where the greater part of his army died. He repeats the statement of Megasthenes that none before Alexander invaded India.

The information reaching Europe slowly began to grow in bulk and authenticity after these classical accounts were written and the discovery of the monsoon winds had been made by Hippalus, a Greek Captain, in 45 A.D. Before this discovery, mariners had been content to make the long voyage to India by skirting the coast after passing Aden.² Now it became the usual practice with the larger vessels during favourable monsoons to face the open passage all the way from somewhere near Aden, whence a run of twelve or fifteen days brought them, steering by the sun and stars, to the west coast of India. But the ordinary man in Europe still had a very vague and inaccurate notion of India. He knew that it was a rich country which supplied him with spices and gold but he considered it at the same time to be full of wild races and hideous tribes. The legends of the gold-digging ants and cave-dwellers with long dog-like tails were too fascinating to be easily forgotten. Indeed, as time passed, these continued to grow more and more grotesque until they could hardly be traced to their originals. The explanation

1. G.A. Ballard, op. cit., p. 115.

2. M.P. Charlesworth, Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire (Cambridge, 1924), p. 60.

XII.

is to be found in the slow and small circulation of authentic reports. Only the advent of the printing press made rapid circulation of books possible. Until then an accurate knowledge of India in European countries was destined to remain confined to a few fortunate individuals.

During the first two centuries of the Roman Empire, when Roman rule extended over most of Europe and the Near East, India received from abroad coral, some linens, copper, tin, glass, and some drugs, unguents and perfumes. Tin used to be imported from the British Isles.¹ Under the protection of Rome, a huge increase in trade followed, for merchants could now send and receive cargoes through the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean with a degree of security which they had not enjoyed before. There is no extant record, however, of any British share in the brisk eastern trade. All that we know to-day is that throughout these years, Indian spices and aromatics played an important, if not an essential, part in the life of European peoples, and that British merchants, particularly London merchants, were increasingly active in their commercial enterprises. It is likely that both English and Indian merchants met and bargained with one another in the common markets of Constantinople and Alexandria. London, it should be noted, attained its original importance under Roman rule. The Romans for the first time realised the importance of the long-neglected Thames and "they made the fortune of London port by creating an extensive commerce with the continent."²

With the exception of the solitary military expedition of Alexander, the strong interest in India displayed by European peoples before they

1. G.B. Sansom, The Western World and Japan (London, 1950), p. 21.

2. G.M. Trevelyan, History of England (1952), p. 18.

adopted Christianity was commercial. From the first century A.D., however, India began to be regarded as a place of pilgrimage and swarms of Christians from West Asia came to visit the land where Apostle Thomas "was speared to death by four soldiers."¹ (It is interesting to note that Christianity came to India long before Europe knew much about it, and found a welcome and a home.) When Europe in one of its periods of confusion adopted an Asiatic religion the regions round the Holy City came to possess an additional meaning. Now the carriers of eastern tales from Asia to Europe were not only traders and merchants, but also devout pilgrims and soldiers of fortune. Some of them in their religious zeal might possibly have gone to India overland and brought back spices and gold, and, what is more important, all kinds of Oriental tales which, in some form or other, were eventually used in the Gesta Romanorum, the Decameron, and Chaucer's Canterbury Tales.² The crusaders also brought an increased knowledge of eastern Christendom to the countries of the West. When the crusades ended, "that great burgeoning that we call the Renaissance had just begun."³ Although the crusaders had very little direct part in this development,⁴ they had certainly opened up the East to the West, especially to Venice and Genoa.⁵

We know at least of two travellers, Arculf and Willibald, both connected with England,⁶ who had in them something of the explorer's

-
1. The Acts of Judas Thomas, quoted by J.N. Farquhar in The Apostle Thomas in North India (Manchester : The University Press, 1926), p. 5.
 2. See F. Max Müller, Chips from a German Workshop (London : Longmans, Green and Co., 1875), vol. IV, pp. 145 et sqq.
 3. S. Runciman, History of the Crusades (Cambridge, 1954), vol. III, p. 470.
 4. Ibid.
 5. H.B. Workman in E.R.E. (1911), vol. IV, p. 351. Also see David Macpherson, The History of the European Commerce with India (1812), p.5.
 6. See C. Raymond Beazley, Prince Henry the Navigator (New York and London, 1895), pp. 42 - 49.

XIV.

urge to discovery. Arculf, a Frankish or Gallican Bishop, visited about 690 A.D. Jerusalem, the Jordan valley, Nazareth, and other holy places of Syria. Willibald, a nephew of St. Boniface and "the first of English-born travellers,"¹ started out for the "region of the Saracens" about 721, and passed ten years in travel before returning to devote the remainder of his life to mission work among the heathens of Upper Germany.

Other devout pilgrims followed Arculf and Willibald, - notably Fidelis, who travelled in Egypt about 750, and Bernard the Wise of Mont St. Michel, who went over all the pilgrim ground a century later in 867. The accounts of their travels are fortunately extant. What the historian misses, however, is the account of Sighelmus's journey to India. This would have thrown an interesting light on the condition of southern India in the ninth century.

With the advent of Christianity in India in the first century A.D., Mailapur, a small village on the eastern coast, had become as important to the Christian world as the Malabar coasts. And it was here that the first Englishman is said to have come in A.D. 883. The following passage from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle testifies to this visit.

An. DCC.LXXXIII. (DCCC.LXXXIV.) In this year the army went up the Scheldt to Condé, and there sat one year. And Marinus the pope then sent 'lignum Domini' (of Christ's cross) to King Aelfred. And in the same year Sighelm and Aethelstan conveyed to Rome the alms which the king had vowed (to send) thither, and also to India to St. Thomas, and to St. Bartholomew, when they sat down against the army at London; and there, God be thanked, their prayer was very successful, after that vow.²

1. Ibid., p. 45.

2. B. Thorpe (ed.), The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1861), vol. II, p. 66.

Sighelmus was thus sent by King Alfred on a pilgrimage to India, 'to St. Thomas, and to St. Bartholomew.' This was, as is apparent from the Chronicle, in fulfilment of a vow made by the King when the Danes had over-run Wessex in 878. E.A. Freeman, a Protestant historian, says of the King:

King Alfred was very attentive to religious matters, and gave great alms to the poor, and gifts to the churches... He also sent several embassies to Rome... He also sent an embassy to Jerusalem, and had letters from Abel the Patriarch there. And what seems stranger than all, he sent an embassy all the way to India with alms for the Christians there, called the Christians of Saint Thomas and Saint Bartholomew.¹

The sending of the embassy with gifts is attested also by the early chroniclers whose works have come down to us.² William of Malmesbury, whose testimonies are quoted by Richard Hakluyt in the Principal Navigations (vol. IV, James MacLehose edition), says that "Sigelinus the bishop of Sherborne, returning home (after he had 'travailed through India') brought with him many strange and precious unions and costly spycies, such as that countrey plentifully yeeldeth." It is to be regretted that Sighelmus did not leave behind a permanent record of his experiences in India; nor did others do it for him. We have, therefore, to content ourselves with these few references to his travels.

There is a gap of centuries between Sighelmus and Thomas Stephens, the next Englishman to visit India. Throughout the intervening years European travellers continued to probe the mysteries of the distant East, but there is no evidence to show that Englishmen, too, participated in the enterprise. In fact, during the hundred and fifty years which followed the Norman Conquest, Englishmen had but a minor share in English

1. Old English History (London, 1869), p. 131.

2. See A.E. Medlycott, India and the Apostle Thomas (London, 1905), p. 82.

sea-borne trade. It was about the beginning of the thirteenth century that more of the overseas traffic began to fall into English hands. Gradually there sprang up societies of Englishmen who used to carry goods abroad as early as the reign of King John.¹ These and the crusaders, as well as other enterprising folk who went on 'pilgrimages', and palmers who sought

strange strondes,
To serve halwes couthe in sondry londes,

probably brought a knowledge of India to their own country, but there were few people in Britain in the Middle Ages who could say with any certainty what the country was really like.

It was on account of this absence of any definite knowledge about the Eastern countries, especially about India, that the name of Prester John, a fabulous medieval Nestorian potentate, so constantly recurs in the narratives of the fourteenth century. The first account of this monarch appears to have been brought to Europe in 1145 by the bishop of Gabala (Jibal in Syria), who reported that not long before a certain John, king and priest, who dwelt in the extreme Orient beyond Persia and Armenia, had made war against the Samiard kings of the Medes and Persians. Both the Nestorians and Catholics were glad to snatch at this story, the former because it increased their importance and the latter because they saw in Prester John's reported advance a counterpoise to the rising Muhammedan power. Twenty years later, a letter purporting to be from Prester John to the Emperor Manuel was in circulation, a letter full of reports of the wonders of his empire, which extended over the three Indies, including that Farther India where lay

1. James A. Williamson, A Short History of British Expansion (London : Macmillan & Co., 1945), pp. 7 et seq.

the body of St. Thomas. Another letter, written by Pope Alexander III in 1177, refers to the same John but gives no clue as to his identity. Full of absurdities and extravagant details as they were, the letters addressed by Prester John to the Emperor of the East and other Christian princes always claimed India and the tomb of St. Thomas as a prominent part of his dominions. People were so much infatuated with the greatness of this hero that when Jenghiz Khan began to make real conquests, he was invested with the character of a Christian King and was more or less confounded with the mysterious Prester John. Gradually, however, the story of Prester John as an Asiatic monarch died away, leaving the name to signify an Ethiopian king.¹

Let us consider another well-known mediaeval character, Sir John Mandeville, who has a long-standing reputation as the 'father of English prose.' When he published, between 1357 and 1371, his account of travels in the East, people thought that he had written from personal experience. His book was, in fact, a mere compilation, "as clever and artistic as Malory's Morte d'Arthur, from the works of earlier writers."² In that small portion of his book which treats of the Holy Land and the ways of getting thither, of Egypt, and of the Levant in general, he may have drawn upon facts learned through actual travel. Even this, however, appears to be based on the travels of William of Boldensele.³ In the second part of the book, which treats of nearly all Asia, "there is, apart from his own assertions, no trace of personal experience whatever."⁴

-
1. See Col. Henry Yule, Cathay and the Way Thither (London : Hak. Soc., 1866), vol. I, pp. 174 et sqq. for a letter of Prester John, see Appendix I.
 2. A.W. Pollard (ed.), Sir John Mandeville (London, 1900), p. VII.
 3. E.B. (1958), vol. XIV, p. 793.
 4. D.N.B. (1909), vol. XII, p. 910.

XVIII.

In the Middle Ages the merchants of Venice and Genoa had become the principal conductors of the European branches of the trade. They also carried on a lucrative commerce with the merchants of Constantinople, then the chief mart for Indian goods conveyed by the northern overland routes. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Genoa began to take the lead in widening the scope of commercial activity. The Venetians, who perhaps conducted a more lucrative trade, failed to compete with the Genoese in this respect. The Genoese merchants, we are told, "traversed the Old World from end to end with a vigour that is almost incredible."¹ From Tana, Trebizond and Lajazzo they crossed into India and China and also made their way into Russia. But in the fifteenth century their commerce and power declined, leaving the Venetians the unrivalled monopoly of the Indian trade with Egypt.

The most important of all the European travellers in the Middle Ages is Marco Polo (1254 - 1324), a Venetian, who was the first traveller to trace a route across the whole of Asia. He did not, however, explore all of the Indian sub-continent. His narrative mentions the Coromandel (Moabar) Coast where he had noticed fine cottons, as well as various Indian superstitions such as the worship of the cow, abstinence from animal food, the courtesans dedicated to the service of the temple, and the strange propitiatory rites before the idols. Sailing along the western coasts of India, he had noticed the abundance of pepper and ginger, as later historians also did. His narrative is based, for the most part, on actual travels and should therefore have proved a source of valuable information to people desirous of an authentic survey of southern India.

1. G.F. Hudson, Europe and China (London, 1931), pp. 19 et seq.

X

XIX.

We have already seen that India had become important to the western world not only for her spices, but also as the country of St. Thomas' martyrdom. The zeal with which mankind was now inspired for traversing the unknown regions of the East was not confined to traders and merchants. Odoric of Pordenone and Jordanus, both friars, gave valuable evidence of the strange customs of the mediaeval Indians. Odoric's narrative of eastern travel was written in 1330, shortly after his return home. (Sir John Mandeville, obviously, copied most of his details from Odoric and John de Carpini.) Because of the slow circulation of books in the Middle Ages, the narratives of these friars do not seem to have diffused their knowledge of India widely. The European travellers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries continued to approach India in a mood of child-like wonder, without the least sense of racial superiority. Until the whole of the country was traversed and laid open by European travellers, India remained a part of those regions where everything was gorgeous and splendid.

When in the middle of the fifteenth century the Turks occupied Constantinople (A.D. 1453) and obtained a grip over Europe, the age-old spice trade fell into their hands. Pepper, which ranked with precious stones in that age, could now be obtained through Persia or Egypt. Naturally the Europeans began to grow restless under the Turkish rigour. It was essential that they should find out a trade route, a new ocean route to the Indian store-house. "This Indian trade," says Beazley, "was the prize of the world, and for the sake of this Rome had destroyed Palmyra, and attacked Arabia and held Egypt, and struggled for the mastery of the Tigris. For the same thing half the wars of the Levant

had been waged, and by this the Italian republics, Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, had grown to greatness." ¹

Portugal, under Henry the Navigator, was the foremost country in Europe to take upon itself the task of opening up direct trade with India. Henry had three aims before him: to discover new lands, to add to the greatness and wealth of Portugal, and to spread Christianity. Bartholomew Diaz, a middle-aged seaman of stubborn quality, accomplished half the work for him by establishing a new line of sea communication as far as the southern tip of Africa. Lured by Columbus's tantalizing proclamations that as the world was round a direct route to Asia must lie westward, the Portuguese monarch hesitated for some time to follow up the indirect route found by Diaz. When the Papal decrees forbade him to trade in the western hemisphere, he turned his eyes once more to the Orient. Vasco da Gama was entrusted with extending Diaz's eastward exploration to India. In 1497 da Gama, following his own countryman's track, came up to Mozambique and was thereafter conducted to Calicut by an Indian pilot.

The discovery of the Cape route was "the climax of almost a century of patient economic effort." ² It was a landmark in world history. It transformed relations between the East and the West not only commercially, but also politically and culturally, - for it brought India into contact with the renascent western world. It was, in fact, primarily due to this discovery that

from ancient gloom emerged
The rising world of trade.

For a full century after the discovery of this route the Portuguese maintained their monopoly of eastern trade and regarded everyone who

1. Beazley, *op. cit.*, pp. 141 et seq.

2. R.H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (London, 1926), p. 69.

attempted to break it as a poacher. They were determined, like the Spaniards in America, to exclude all foreigners from the African and Indian ports, from, in fact, all the lands and seas which the Pope had assigned to them for ever. It was to the deliberate flouting of these claims of the Portuguese that the English energies were in the beginning directed. This action was planned as much with a view to bringing Indian spices to the English shores as for the purpose of raising English prestige in the eastern seas.

Many factors had contributed to this awakening of the national consciousness. The voyages of the early navigators, by opening new ocean routes, created an interest in strange peoples and unfamiliar lands. Already an active spirit of commerce had begun to display itself in Britain.¹ Under Cabot's leadership, the English had already explored the coast of America and discovered the islands of Newfoundland and St. John. They were conscious that they were

A populous nation, and increase so fast,
That if we by our providence, are not sent
Abroad in colonies ...
we must starve,
Or eat up one another.²

The lustre of the Portuguese transactions in their distant possessions also acted as a powerful stimulus,³ while Drake's circumnavigation of the world in 1577 gave the first direct impulse to the national desire for a place in the sun. After the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 nothing could keep the adventurers bound to their shores. Once roused to action, they could not lag behind in the race for colonial expansion nor in maritime enterprises. But they were prompted to shake

-
1. James Mill, The History of British India (London : James Madden and Co., 1840), vol. I, p. 4.
 2. Philip Massinger, The Maid of Honour (London : Robert Allot, 1632), sig. B 4 verso - C 1 recto.
 3. James Mill, Ibid. cit.

off their complacent insularity by purely commercial and nationalistic motives.

With the Portuguese, the motive of exploration was partly commercial and partly religious. The Papal Bull of 1497, while conferring upon Dom Manoel possession of lands conquered from the infidels, specially enjoined him to establish the Christian faith therein. Dom Manoel himself was, in addition to being Lord of Conquest and Navigation, also the Governor of the supreme pontifical Order of Christ.¹ While to other European countries Islam was a distant menace, to the people of Portugal, it "represented something menacing, formidable and vigilant on the doorstep."² The ultimate driving force behind all their voyages of discovery in the fifteenth century was, therefore, a desire to rid Europe of the threat of Mohammedan invasion. They endeavoured to cut off the stream of wealth which flowed from the Indies to the Turkish Empire and its allies. To achieve this they had to embark on a naval war of unprecedented length against the Turks.³ In India, though acquisition of colonial territories was not their aim, they came almost accidentally to possess Goa and Diu and thereafter found themselves obliged to acquire further bases. In the beginning, when Vasco da Gama landed at Calicut, he mistook the natives for Christians and offered prayers in their temples. But as the religion of these coastal Indian people became known, the Portuguese at once embarked on their policy of conversion. Their Christian missionaries slowly began to gain converts by methods varying from exhortation to violence.

1. G.B. Sansom, *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

2. K.M. Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance* (London : George Allen and Unwin, 1953), part I, chap. I, p. 28.

3. *J.R.A.S.*, Jan. 1921. See the article entitled "The Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean in the Sixteenth Century", by M. Longworth Dames.

That the real enemies of the English in India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were not the Mughals but the Portuguese and the Jesuits is clear from the narratives of Ralph Fitch, Mildenhall, Hawkins, Withington and Roe. The story of how the Portuguese tried to thwart the early British attempts to build up a commercial empire in the East will be related in the subsequent pages of this study.

Shakespeare,
 ... nearly seven hundred years after Sigismund of Chorborno
 returned from the East with a quantity of jewels and spices before
 any Englishman went to India. He was Father Thomas Stephens, a
 Jesuit whose services to his nation far exceeded those of most of the
 missionaries of the time. He was the first Englishman known
 to have settled in India, the first Anglo-Indian poet and the first
 European to have taken a scholarly interest in any of the vernaculars
 of India. Born in the brilliant age of Elizabeth I, he had his full
 share of poetic gifts and one of his works is the only epic of its kind
 ever written by an Englishman. It is indeed remarkable that the England
 of the early seventeenth century not only produced in Shakespeare the
 greatest poet of the English language but also, in Stephens, the greatest
 English poet to write in an Oriental language.

Thomas Stephens was also known in India as Padre Estevao or Estevao,
 less familiarly Thomas Banton or Stephen de Baston. From the very
 meagre records of his life one gathers a fair detail of an adventurous
 but busy career. He was born at Bushton, Wiltshire, in the diocese of
 Salisbury, about the year 1580. Very little is known of his early

CHAPTER I.

FATHER THOMAS STEPHENS

(1579-1619)

Wherever the bright sun of heaven shall shine,
 His honour, and the greatness of his name
 Shall be, and make new nations ...

- Shakespeare.

1.

It was nearly seven hundred years after Sighelmus of Sherborne returned from the East with a quantity of jewels and spices before another Englishman went to India. He was Father Thomas Stephens, a Jesuit whose services to his nation far excelled those of most of the well-known adventurers of the time. He was the first Englishman known to have settled in India, the first Anglo-Indian poet and the first European to have taken a scholarly interest in any of the vernaculars of India. Born in the brilliant age of Elizabeth I, he had his full share of poetic gifts and one of his works is the only epic of its kind ever written by an Englishman. It is indeed remarkable that the England of the early seventeenth century not only produced in Shakespeare the greatest poet of the English language but also, in Stephens, the greatest English poet to write in an Oriental language.

Thomas Stephens was also known in India as Padre Estevao or Estevam, less familiarly Thomas Bushton or Stephen de Buston. From the very meagre records of his life one gathers a few details of an uneventful but busy career. He was born at Bushton, Wiltshire, in the diocese of Salisbury, about the year 1549. Very little is known of his early education. Thomas Frederick Kirby's list of Winchester scholars mentions

one Thomas Stephens, aged thirteen, as a student there.¹ John Hamilton Moore, the Rev. Philip Anderson, J.A. Saldanha and a host of other writers believe him to have been educated at New College, Oxford. But there is nothing to warrant this belief except a remark by Richard Hakluyt upon which all these writers have evidently relied. A careful search of the matriculation registers of the University of Oxford would have given them sufficient evidence of the unlikelihood of his ever having been in any of the colleges of Oxford.² The error of believing Stephens to have been an Oxonian may easily have arisen from mistaking his name either for that of Richard Stephens, his brother, who studied there,³ or for that of Thomas Stevyns (or Steavens) who took his degree at St. John's College, Oxford, on 25th June 1577,⁴ when the subject of this chapter had already joined the Jesuits at St. Andrea, Rome.

Though Stephens was not a student at Oxford, he had come into familiar contact with many Oxford students of the time. This was possible because his father was a respected merchant in London⁵ and he himself was a young man of talent. Edmund Campion, a distinguished

-
1. See Winchester Scholars (London: Henry Frowde, 1888), p. 139.
 2. C.E. (1912), vol. XIV., p. 292; D.N.B. (1901), Supplement vol. III, p. 355; Albert Gray, The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval (London: Hakluyt Society, 1888), vol. II., pt. I., p. 269n.
 3. Alumni Oxonienses, Early Series (Oxford: Parker & Co., 1892), vol. IV., p.1419.
 4. Ibid., p. 1420; The Contemporary Review, vol. XXXII., April-July, 1878, p. 31.
 5. Henry Foley, Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus (London: Burns and Oates, 1878), vol. III (Fifth, Sixth, Seventh and Eight Series), p.574.

X Roman Catholic of the period, was one of his intimate friends, and so was Thomas Pounce. The latter was for some time the Queen's greatest favourite, but after his refusal to profess the reformed religion, he was thrown into prison where he languished for thirty long and painful years amidst the severest self-imposed corporal austerities.

Stephens and Pounce seem to have been especially attached to the Society of Jesus by its refusal of ecclesiastical dignities, its vow of obedience, and its devotion to the Holy See. Pounce had read letters from the Jesuit Fathers in the Indies, giving an account of their labours and sufferings and the numerous conversions they had made. The reading of these letters greatly increased his desire to enter the Society, and to devote himself wholly to it. Stephens, like Pounce, may have been inflamed with a desire to enter the Society through reading the accounts of the Indian missions.¹ For after living together for nearly two years both of them resolved to leave their affairs to chance and give themselves up to the Society. Unfortunately, Pounce was betrayed to the Queen's officers on the eve of his departure for Rome and was committed to his dreadful imprisonment, while Stephens escaped. Stephens obtained permission to be enrolled among the novices at St. Andrea on 20 October 1575. Three years later, on the recommendation of Stephens, Pounce was admitted into the Society in absentia by the Reverend Father General. This letter of recommendation, which throws a flood of light on the life, the virtues, and the other remarkable qualities of Pounce, is still preserved in the Public Record Office, Brussels, a copy of it

1. Ibid; D.N.B. (1901), Supplement vol. III., p. 355; D. Ferroli, The Jesuits in Malabar (Bangalore: The Bangalore Press, 1939), vol. I., p. 452.

being contained in the Collectio Cardwelli, vol. I., p. 16, Stonyhurst College.¹

After his Noviciate, Stephens studied philosophy in the Roman College with Father Henry Garnett, and afterwards studied theology with Fathers Parsons and Faunt. He was the first of the English members of the Society of Jesus to beg repeatedly of Father General Mercurian the favour of being sent out to the East Indies. His superiors, finding him to be a person possessed by a burning zeal to spread the gospel, agreed to send him there.² He left Lisbon on April 4, 1579, "with trumpets and shooting of ordnance," all "in the manner of war", as the Portuguese were wont to set out for India. He reached Goa on October 24 of the same year - the first Englishman to have reached the Indian mainland by the Cape of Good Hope. On his arrival he wrote his father an interesting description of the maritime routes in and around Madagascar (St. Lawrence Island). This was most valuable to English traders, adventurers and explorers.³ The rest of his long letter is mainly about the voyage which was unwholesome and monotonous. Stephens, who shows no particular enthusiasm in the description of people, products, or markets, shows keen interest in the birds and fish of the southern seas.⁴ A few lines at the end of the letter, however, describe his first impressions of the people and the places he had seen. "The people be tawny, but not disfigured in their lips and noses, as the Moors and Kaffirs of Ethiopia. They that

1. See Henry Foley, op. cit., p. 580.

2. Charles Dodd, The Church History of England (Brussels, 1739), vol. II., p. 134.

3. C. Raymond Beazley, Voyages and Travels (Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1903), vol. I, p. XXI.

4. Ibid.

be not of reputation, or at least the most part, go naked, save an apron of a span long and as much in breadth before them, and a lace two fingers broad before them, girded about with a string, and no more." These are the first words about India sent home by one of Queen Elizabeth's subjects, and even if Stephens had written no more, the people of that age were skilled enough in reading between the lines to see India as a possible market for trade.

Thomas Stephens' letters to his father are said to have roused considerable interest in Indian speculations among his contemporaries.¹ The letter which Richard Hakluyt published in his Principal Navigations and which has been alluded to above, however, is not one which could have done this,¹ nor is his other letter, written in Latin to his brother Richard Stephens (a Doctor of Theology in Paris) and preserved in the National Library of Brussels. The letters which may well have prompted in his countrymen the idea of becoming sharers in the wealth which India was then yielding to the Portuguese are unfortunately not known to be extant. That Stephens ever wrote such tempting letters seems hardly improbable.² His own country must certainly have been very dear to him by the mere fact of his having been born an Englishman.³

-
1. John Hamilton Moore points out that Stephens' letter containing the account of his voyage to India "is not so remarkable ... for anything, as for its being the first given of any Englishman of this navigation." (A New and Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels, London, N.D., vol. I. p. 338.)
 2. Stephens may have given his advice in the letters he wrote to his father before finally sailing for Goa. "I wrote unto you," he says, "taking my journey from Italy to Portugall, which letters I thinke are come to your hands." (Principal Navigations, London, 1599, vol. II, p. 99.)
 3. "Well for our countrymen was it that the first Englishman to set foot in India was a man of Stevens' calibre, who united learning, warmth of heart, and diplomacy, and who, in his attachment to his Church and Order, never forgot that he was an Englishman." (Albert Gray, op. cit., p. 270n.)

Furthermore, the writings of many historians testify to the existence of those letters which are said to have held out many commercial inducements to his countrymen. One such historian is Murray, who states that Stephens "sent home a most favourable report of the fertility of the region in which Goa was placed, the opportunities it afforded for trade, and the liberality with which the port was opened to vessels of every nation."¹ He is evidently not referring to the letter published by Richard Hakluyt, which contains no such report. J.L. Saldanha rightly believes this letter written from Goa to be "the first of a series of missives,"² and not the only letter Stephens wrote to his father. Nevertheless, the Rev. Philip Anderson makes an uncalled-for attempt to read into this letter what is simply not there. "Thomas Stephens," he says,

"is the first Englishman of whom we are sure that he visited the western shores of India... A letter which he wrote to his father, a London merchant, soon after his arrival, is printed in Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages. It contains not only a particular and interesting description of his perilous navigation round the Cape, but many sage remarks are made in quite a mercantile spirit on the state of Portuguese trade, of which he evidently desires that his countrymen should obtain a share. The reader is surprised to find a Roman ecclesiastic entering with such eagerness and penetration into commercial affairs."³

It is curious indeed how he could infer all this from the letter of Stephens written to his father from Goa in 1579. There is no mention of the state of the Portuguese trade in this letter although there are plenty of hints here and there regarding the perils of navigation in certain waters and how to avoid them. It is on this account that the

-
1. The Ind. Ant., April 1878, vol. VII, p. 118.
 2. The Christian Puranna (Mangalore, 1907), p. XXVI.
 3. History of the Settlement of the English in Western India (London, 1856), pp. 6 et seq.

letter must have been perused with avidity by his father and his numerous friends in London, and not for anything else.

2.

The first five years of Thomas Stephens's life in India were spent as rector of a college at Rachol in Salsette. In a letter to his brother dated 24 October 1583, he says that he was attacked by a serious illness in the very first year of his sojourn at Goa.¹ Soon after his recovery, owing to the vast harvest of souls and the extremely few labourers, he was advanced to Holy Orders. After this he was sent to the peninsula of Salsette, near Goa, under the dominion of the Spanish King, to help the Christians lately converted. He describes the position of Salsette with his usual minuteness, clarity and precision. He tells his brother of the warlike pagans - the Hindus - who were the sworn foes of the Portuguese and did great harm to the Christians, partly by their open attacks and partly by their conspiracies. Speaking about places governed by the Portuguese, he does not fail to observe that the Portuguese had destroyed all the pagan temples in those parts. One does not, however, know what else Stephens wrote about the Portuguese and the pagan temples, for at this point in the letter certain important details are missing. In the remaining portion of the letter he tells of the martyrdom of those numerous Jesuits who had thought of propagating the Christian religion throughout the length and breadth of the land, and describes the trees, fruits, language and climate of the place. The description of the

1. For an English translation of this letter, on which the following details concerning the early years of Stephens's life in India are based, see J.L. Saldanha's The Christian Puranna, pp. XXX - XXXIV.

martyrdom of Fr. Rudolph Acquaviva, Fr. Pietro Berno and Francis Aranha¹ makes sad reading and shows how lucky Stephens himself was to escape the ordeals sometimes inflicted upon the Jesuits by the infuriated inhabitants. Stephens, however, had nothing of the impetuosity and fanaticism of some of the Fathers who suffered martyrdom. Father Pietro Berno was one of those religious fanatics who, instead of helping the cause of their religion, hindered its propagation. He committed a number of violent and ill-advised acts, setting fire to the Cuncolim temple and slaying a cow, a beast sacred to the Hindus, upon the altar of the idol so as to clear the place of the superstitious people - acts most uncatholic and irreligious. Stephens's description of the nuts which "contain water like light beer and good to quench one's thirst," of the language in which "the phrases and constructions are of a wonderful kind," and of the climate in which "the heat, which was formerly said to render the earth uninhabitable, is so much tempered by refreshing winds that it is milder than in Italy or Spain," is obviously based on first-hand experience and is characteristically sympathetic. All these "had for him many charms which no doubt contributed to make his work of forty long years in India a labour of love."²

Although Thomas Stephens does not figure conspicuously in those years of intense commercial activity between England and the western coast of India, he must have been well-known in England through his father and through those who had returned from India.³ Indeed, one

-
1. These are the famous "martyrs of Salsette" (1583). See D. Ferroli, The Jesuits in Malabar, vol. I, pp. 439 et seq.
 2. J.A. Saldanha, Notes on the First Anglo-Indian (Mangalore, 1910), p. 4.
 3. There are only two references to Stephens in the Calendar of State Papers (Colonial Series, 1513 - 1616), on pages 94 (Oct. 1589, No. 239) and 225 (June 26 / July 6, 1611; Lisbon, No. 574). Thos. Stevens referred to in the Calendar on pages 243 (Nov. 1612, No. 623) and 294 (May 19, 1614, No. 723) should not be confused with Father Thomas Stephens.

of the most remarkable events of this period, one for which his name has become immortal and which inspires every Englishman with patriotic pride, was his rescue of the first English merchants to reach India overland. They were Ralph Fitch, John Newberry, James Story and William Leedes. Accused by the Portuguese of being "spies sent from Don Antonio," they were thrown into prison. Father Stephens, having heard of their sad plight, "travailed very much" for them and succeeded, mainly because of his personal influence, in procuring their release. "The archbishop," says John Newberry in a letter from Goa to Master Leonard Poore of London, dated 20 January 1584,

is a very good man, who hath two yong men to his servantes, the one of them was borne at Hamborough, and is called Bernard Borgers: and the other was borne at Enchuysen, whose name is John Linscot (i.e., Jan Huyghen van Linschoten), who did us great pleasure: for by them the archbishop was many times put in minde of us. And the two good fathers of S. Paul, who travelled very much for us, the one of them is called Padre Marke, who was borne in Bruges in Flanders, and the other was borne in Wiltshire in England, and is called Padre Thomas Stevens.¹

Ralph Fitch also gratefully acknowledges all that Father Stephens did for him and his friends.² Sir Robert Sherley, another Englishman under duress at Goa, is said to have received from Father Stephens a letter of recommendation to another Jesuit in 1616.³

1. Richard Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Robert Barker, 1599), vol. II, p. 243.

2. Ibid., p. 250.

3. See Boies Penrose, The Sherleian Odyssey (Taunton: Barnicotts Limited, 1938), p. 202.

4. Henry Foley, Records of the English Privileges (London, 1775, vol. III, Records Third, and Fourth Series), p. 205.

It was not long before Stephens became well-known for his kindness. Even foreigners did not fail to express genuine appreciation of his readiness to help all in distress.¹ John Hugh van Linschoten, the Dutch traveller already referred to, who was a page to D.F. Vicente de Fonseca, Archbishop of Goa, and accompanied his Grace to India in 1583, praises very much the kindness of Father Stephens.² After the publication of the narrative of Ralph Fitch by Richard Hakluyt, all Englishmen interested in the eastern venture came to know of this lone English Jesuit who was ever ready to safeguard their interests in India in the absence of any official ambassador.³ Thomas Pounce, his friend, wrote long after Stephens had become famous as a preacher at Goa:

... My first imprisonment was in the town of Ludlow, and the shortest of all other, but for one forenoon's space; but much the sweeter for my fellow and partner in that imprisonment, Father Thomas Stevens, these thirty-nine years since a famous preacher of the Society at Goa, where their colony of St. Paul's is, at the East Indies, of whose great favours there showed to many of our English Protestants there sometimes arriving, they have in the history of their navigation given good testimony.⁴

Such was the charm of Stephens's manners and personality that whosoever came in contact with him, cherished the memory of his friendship for

-
1. A French traveller, Francois Pyrard de Laval, mentions Stephens as one of the Jesuits who "worked together with such effect that we were set free after an imprisonment of nigh three weeks." He also alludes to the imprisonment of Ralph Fitch and his friends and their release "by the means of that good Father Thomas Estienne, who took much pains therein." See The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval (London: Hakluyt Society, 1888), vol. II, pt. I, p. 271.
 2. See the Ind. Ant., April 1878, vol. VII, p. 118.
 3. Commenting on F. Pyrard's narrative of his voyage to the East Indies, Albert Gray says: "Then we have a pleasing picture of the Jesuit, Father Stephen, the first Englishman in India, the learned Father La Croiz, and the more famous Father Trigaut, who, with humanity and tact, performed the part of English and French Ambassadors." See Introduction to the Voyage of F. Pyrard of Laval, vol. II, pt. I, p. XIX.
 4. Henry Foley, Records of the English Province (London, 1875), vol. II. (Second, Third, and Fourth Series), p. 595.

ever. That was why he was sent to work for the mission at Salsette, which was considered the most difficult the Society had, up to that time, undertaken in any part of the world.¹

There is no doubt that Stephens represented his country most worthily so long as he was in India. If there was any Jesuit who appears to have rivalled him in popularity and influence, it was the famous Robert de Nobili, the Roman Brahman. A comparison between the two, however, shows that though they had many qualities in common, there could be no greater difference between two persons belonging to the same profession than there was between these two Jesuits.² Both worked in India for about forty years. They loved India and Indians and their way of life. They commanded the respect of all who came in contact with them. Nobili's contribution to Tamil literature was considerable, as was Father Stephens's to Marathi. Father Robert wrote a fifth Veda propounding Christian doctrines; the English Jesuit prepared a Christian 'Puranna,' a Marathi - Konkani version of the Christian sacred scriptures. Even in his old age de Nobili engaged four secretaries to record the outpourings of his soul.³ Father Thomas was also untiringly engaged in

1. The Ind. Ant., vol. VII, p. 118.

2. The Rev. Father Peter Fallon writes: 'His (Stephens's) mode of life was not comparable to that of Fr. de Nobili, perhaps on account of the very different context of their two lives: Portuguese Goa and independent Hindu Madura. Yet, Fr. Stephens must have studied very deeply and "con amore" Indian culture and the Marathi language to be able to compose a work hailed even to-day as a great piece of Marathi literature.' (Letter to Prof. R. Saran, dated 30th August 1958.)

3. Paul Thomas, Christians and Christianity in India and Pakistan (London, 1954), p. 72. For de Nobili's literary achievements see D. Ferroli, op. cit., pp. 461-464. Julius Richter's A History of Missions in India (Edinburgh and London, 1908) gives an interesting account of de Nobili's missionary activities (see pp. 58 - 71). The best book on the subject of de Nobili, however, is Vincent Cronin's A Pearl to India (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1959) to which is appended a full bibliography.

his literary pursuits and produced works which differ so essentially, and require such varied treatment, that each could only have stemmed from a versatile personality. His Arte da Lingua Canarim, the first grammar of an Indian tongue by a European,¹ and the Christian Purāna are cases in point. Both de Nobili and Stephens knew Sanskrit and this suited them best for their literary activities. But here, the comparison ends. Never was Stephens regarded by any of his critics as an impostor, as de Nobili sometimes was. Free from the Italian's ostentatious display of strictness, he was never unwilling to meet and welcome the natives. As a result of this the inhabitants respected him as a kind of apostle.² He never declared himself a Roman Brahman. He never dissociated himself from the Portuguese who had obtained notoriety all over India for unclean living. He never himself began to live exactly like an Indian Brahman, and yet his contribution to Christianity was by no means smaller than de Nobili's who not only did all these things but also introduced modified forms of baptism, abandoned the use of leather shoes and used clean wooden sandals as gracefully as a Hindu teacher.³ Apart from some brief absences Father Thomas Stephens led a quiet missionary life in the peninsula of Salsette until his death in 1619. On his arrival Salsette had but 8,000 Christians; fourteen years later, 35,000 Christians; and by the time of his death the peninsula was almost entirely Catholic.⁴ These results were due to a small band of Jesuit missionaries, of whom Fr. Stephens - 'Padre Estevam' as he was

1. C.E. (1912), vol. XIV, p. 292.

2. Charles Dodd, Loc. cit., The Contemporary Review, 1878, vol. XXXII, p. 31.

3. Paul Thomas, op. cit., p. 66. Also see Vincent Cronin, op. cit., pp. 70 et sqq.

4. The Month, April 1955, vol. XIII, No. 4, p. 204.

called - was indisputably the most pre-eminent member. In the records of his religious Order he is described as having had outstanding missionary talents: - apostolic zeal, robust health, energy, optimism, humility, prudence, and a keen, enquiring mind.¹ He preached and heard confessions in Konkani, which he mastered, and also successfully studied the language of the higher classes or Hindustani (by which he must have meant Marathi) and actually wrote and printed a volume in that language.

3.

Stephens finds a permanent place in the history of the early Christian Missions to India not only because, like Francis Xavier and de Nobili, he made converts, or because he helped his countrymen and "opened the way as their pioneer to the future race of Anglo-Indians,"² but also because he was an uncommon scholar and poet, worthy to stand beside Eknāth, Tukārām and Rāmdās.³ The Christian Purāna, his opus magnum,⁴ written in the Marathi language, was held in great esteem by Christians of the middle and lower classes⁵ and is still a favourite book with native Christians.⁶ It deserves, therefore, to be considered at some length.

1. Ibid.
2. J.R.A.S. (Bombay Branch), extra number, 1900, p. 162. ('The Origin of Bombay' by J. Gerson da Cunha.)
3. A.M.T. Jackson in his review of the Christian Puranna, edited by J.L. Saldanha. See J.A. Saldanha, op. cit., p. 4 (Appendix)
4. "Opus magnum, cui Parana titulus est idioma Indostano, in quo praecipua fedei Mysteria metro exponit ..." Alegambe (Bibliotheca Soc. Jesu., p. 437, col. 2). Quoted by J. Gerson da Cunha, The Konkani Language and Literature (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1881), p. 28.
5. Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, N.D.), vol. III, p. 275.
6. L.S.I., vol. VII, p. 167.

The whole work is divided into two parts, called 'Pailem Puranna' and 'Dussarem Puranna'. The first part, corresponding to the Old Testament, contains licenses, dedication, introduction and thirty-six auasuarus or cantos; the second, corresponding to the New Testament, is sub-divided into four parts and fifty-nine cantos. In all it contains 11,018 strophes of four lines each, 4,296 of which belong to the first part, and 6,722 to the second.

It appears from the evidence of the Censures and Licenses¹ that three editions of the work were printed in the seventeenth century, in the years 1616,² 1649 and 1654, all within less than forty years of the date of its first publication. In 1647 it was revised by Father Gaspar of St. Michael, O.S.F., and in 1722 Father Pascoal Gomes de Faria, Priest of the Order and Habit of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, a native of Bathim in the parish of N.S. de Guadalupe of the Island of Goa, added 237 strophes to cantos 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50 and 51 of the second Purana.³ Only two editions of Stephens's Purana have been published in the twentieth century, in the years 1907 and 1956. The idea of publishing the book in the present century originated from a lecture delivered by Jerome A. Saldanha, Sub-Judge of Sirsi, on 28 October 1903, in the Union Club Hall, with the Rev. Father Rector, St. Aloysius' College, Mangalore, in the chair. "At the conclusion of the Lecture the chairman proposed to the audience to have the Purana printed here in Mangalore, and met with a hearty response on the part of Mr. Martin Pais, who generously offered to guarantee the amount necessary to have

-
1. For these see Joaquim H. da Cunha Rivara, Grammatica da Lingua Concani (Nova-Goa, 1857), pp. CXX-CXXII.
 2. This work was undoubtedly published first in 1616 in the lifetime of the author, and not in 1626 as Albert Gray thinks. See his Voyage of Francois Pyrard, vol. II, pt. I, p. 270
 3. The Mangalore Magazine, Christmas 1903, vol. II, p. 372.

a thousand copies printed in the format of this Magazine by the Codialbail Press."¹

Before J.L. Saldanha brought out the modern reprint of the book in 1907, it existed only in facsimile MS. copies of about a thousand folio pages, which were treasured as heirlooms in several families. This utter absence of even a single printed or lithographed copy of the seventeenth-century editions of the book is, as A.C. Burnell believes, mainly due to "the fatal climate of this part of India to books."² This may have been one of the reasons why the book came to be obtainable only in MS. copies, but some better and more convincing explanation is needed to account for this mysterious occurrence. Was it due to the wholesale destruction of Hindu works by the early Portuguese missionaries that the Purāna was lost? There is no doubt that the Portuguese, in their blind zeal to propagate Christianity, resorted to such means. They destroyed the Hindu temples³, burnt all the books written in the vernacular language,⁴ and intended to exterminate all that section of the population which would not easily be converted. Their Indian policy in these early years of conquest has been described by J.H. da Cunha Rivara in the following lines:

... In the first fever of conquest the Pagodas were thrown down, all the emblems of heathen worship were broken up, and all books written in the vernacular were burnt, as guilty or under suspicion of containing the precepts and doctrines of idolatry. There was a desire to exterminate also all that part of the population which did not become converted there and then. This was not only the desire at that time

1. Ibid.

2. Specimens of S. Indian Dialects (Mangalore, 1872), p. IV.

3. L.S.I., vol. VII, p. 166.

4. Ibid.

but even two centuries later there were those who advised the government with magisterial gravity to carry this out.¹

As late as the eighteenth century the Portuguese Jesuits advised their government to abolish Konkani, a Marathi dialect, as if it were a mere custom to be easily dealt with by a legislative enactment. In a letter to the King written in 1731, the Inquisitor of Goa complains of "the non-observance of the law of His Most Serene Lord Dom Sebastião and of the Goanese councils which forbids to the natives of the country to speak in their idiom, compelling them to speak only the Portuguese language."² This explains why, by the beginning of the twentieth century, no printed copy of the Christian Purāna was available.

The Purāna is said to have been originally written in Portuguese and then translated into Marathi, which language Stephens called lingua bramana marastta.³ The work was finished in 1614, five years before its author's death, and was dedicated to Dom Fr. Christovão de Sá e Lisboa, Archbishop of Goa and Primate of the East, on 29 April 1616. It was submitted to the Inquisitors along with a copy in Portuguese,

-
1. Literal translation by Mr. L.J. Thomas of the British Museum Library. The Passage in Portuguese is as follows:

"No primeiro fogo da conquista derrubaram-se os Pagodes, esmigalharam-se todos os emblemas do culto gentilico, e queimaram-se todos os livros escriptos na lingua vernacula, como convictos, ou suspeitos de conterem os preceitos e doutrina da idolatria. O desejo era exterminar tambem toda a parte da população, que se não convertesse logo; e não só era este o desejo de então, mas ainda passados dous seculos havia quem com gravidade magistral aconselhasse ao governo esta providencia." See Grammatica da Lingua Concani (Nova-Goa, 1857), p. XLIX.

2. L.S.I., vol. VII, p. 166.

3. J.H. da Cunha Rivara, op. cit., p. CXX.

and was found to agree with the latter. D. Fr. Christovão granted the necessary sanction for the printing of the book on 2nd June 1615. This was followed in the same month by the approval of Francisco Vieira, Provincial of the Society of Jesus for the Province of Goa, who had received a commission from the Very Rev. Father Claudius Aquaviva, General of the same Society, to examine the book. Francisco Vieira in his letter given at Goa on 22nd June 1615, says that the book has been examined and approved por algumas pessoas doutas e graves de nossa Companhia - by some learned and competent members of our Society. Passing through such severe hands, the book at last came out into the world and found a ready welcome. The Christians of Salsette, especially those of the lower classes, found in it a wonderful abridgement of the New Testament and many explanatory remarks on the subjects of the incarnation, passion, and resurrection of the Saviour. Its musical qualities endeared it to the masses who found its verses easy to sing. Gradually it became so popular that passages from it began to be sung at the ceremony of soti - shasti - pujan - observed on the sixth day after a child's birth. Where originally profane songs were chanted, which evoked an edict from the Inquisition forbidding the practice, the Christian Purāna of Father Stephens began to be read instead.¹

The book was submitted to Paulo Mascarenhas, João Fernandes de Almeida, D. Fr. Christovão, and others under the title Discurso sobre a vinda do Salvador ao mundo. By the year 1646 permission was being sought to bring out the second edition of the book. This time its title was changed into Purāna, a word with which the new converts from

1. Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale Degli Orientalisti (Firenze, 1881), vol. II, p. 197.

Hinduism were quite familiar. Stephens had made it clear, in his Dedication of the book to the Archbishop of Goa, that it was composed for the welfare of the new Christian flock: it was intended to be "the food for these sheep", a work prepared for the instruction and edification of this mystical body, and written after the fashion of the country, and in a style most acceptable to the natives. Indeed, the intention of the poet to make his work resemble a Hindu purāna¹ is quite obvious. Instead of presenting the story of the Gospels in its undiluted form, he interlards it with "miraculous events and stories which are not in the original, but which served to attract the attention of the converts from Hinduism to the book, and make them read it in the same way as their discarded puranas, without however lessening their relish for the puranic style."² He describes, for example, the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary and her stay with the consecrated virgins till her fourteenth year (Canto III, Part II), about which the Holy Scriptures are silent, and devotes the whole of the thirty-sixth canto of the 'Pailem Puranna' to the Prophecies of the Sibyls. The choice of verse as his medium was also prompted by his desire to appeal to the Hindu mind. He knew that most of the religious compositions of the Hindus were written in verse, the Hindu mind being more attuned to poetry than prose.³ He also omits sundry difficult expressions used by the older poets and introduces here and there many of those to be found in the simple language of the Brahmans. This device

-
1. According to A.A. Macdonell, the word signifies a "tale of past ages," an "ancient legend," or the name of a class of "eighteen legendary works treating chiefly of cosmogony and divine genealogy." See A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary (Oxford University Press, 1924), p. 165.
 2. Atti, pp. 197 et seq.; also J.L. Saldanha, op. cit., p. XLV.
 3. J.A. Saldanha, op. cit., p. 9.

"serves to keep the Hindu reader constantly regaled with familiar pictures and sentiments, which heighten the effect of the contrast existing between the essence of his puranas and the Christian Puranna." ¹

But while taking care to write his book in such a manner that its benefit might be reaped by many people, Stephens was also aware of the "gross and false things" which the Indian puranas contained. Being a Christian and therefore a monotheist, he disliked the idolatrous practices of the natives and their worship of a thousand and one gods. The puranas of the Hindus, about eighteen in number, exalt various gods, whereas the Christian Purāna maintains throughout a monotheistic outlook and is primarily what its original title signified: a discourse on the coming of Jesus Christ, the Saviour, into the world. Thus the difference between this and the Hindu puranas was, as Stephens rightly believed, "as great as that which exists between light and darkness, truth and falsehood, heaven and hell, God and the devil." ² Father Stephens, however, eschews all invectives and tirades, showing complete trust in the motto: satyameva jayati. "I did not make any effort," he says, "to show that other scriptures are wrong and ours right. Everyone can see that for himself... As when the watches of the night being passed, the sun rising scatters his rays in all the ten directions, no one asks whether light is not better than darkness, nor doubts that it is; even thus the light of the Holy Gospel shines before all, so clear, so bright, so pure that whoever shuts not his eyes

1. J.L. Saldanha, op. cit., p. XLVII.

2. "... zituquẽ antara uzuuadda va andharassi, satea va latticassi, vaincunthta va yemaconddassi, Paramesuara va deuacharassi ahe." See The Christian Puranna (1907), p. XCIV.

deliberately against it, must behold it in very deed and proclaim it in words; no other thing, so good, so holy, so excellent can be found in this world to liken unto it." ¹

In a succession of splendid Oriental images the poet sings the praises of the Marathi language:

Zaissy harallã mazi ratnaquilla
 Qui ratnã mazi hira nilla
 Taissy bhassã mazi choqhalla
 Bhassa Maratthy
 Zaissy puspã mazi puspa mogary
 Qui parimallã mazi casturi
 Taissy bhassã mazi saziry
 Maratthiya
 Paqhiã madhẽ maioru
 Vruqhiã madhẽ calpataru
 Bhassã madhẽ manu thoru
 Maratthiyessi
 Tarã Madhẽ bara rassy
 Sapta varã mazi raury sassy
 Yã dipicheã bhassã madhẽ taissy
 Boly Maratthiya²

("Like a jewel among pebbles, or like a sapphire among jewels, even so excellent is the Marathi tongue: like the 'mogri' among flowers or musk among perfumes, even so beautiful is Marathi among the tongues: like the peacock among birds, or the wishing tree among trees, high is the rank of Marathi among the tongues: like the Zodiac among the stars, or Sunday and Monday among the days of the week, such is Marathi speech among the languages of this world."³)

The Rev. H. Staffner of St. de Nobili College, Poona, was once told by a Hindu well-versed in Marathi literature that the Purãna is "the most beautiful work we have in Marathi."⁴ After consulting a number of people acquainted with old Marathi literature, the reverend

1. The Examiner, April 7, 1956, p. 178

2. The Christian Puranna (1907), pp. 6 et seq.

3. A.M.T. Jackson's review of the Christian Puranna. See J.A. Saldanha, op. cit., p. 5 (Appendix).

4. The Examiner, 22 December 1956, p. 685.

gentleman found that none of them considered the language of the Purāna very different from that of other old Marathi poets.¹ There is a total absence of punctuation in the text of the epic and the metre employed throughout is the popular Ovi metre of Marathi religious poetry. It was in this metre that Ramadas Swami wrote his Dasabodha, an exposition of the teachings of Vedanta philosophy in verse, and Sridhara his Ramavijaya, a metrical version of the Ramayana, and Pandavapratapa, an abridged metrical version of the Mahabharata. The poems of Mukteshwar and the Dnyaneshwari, a commentary in Marathi on the Bhagvad-Gita by Dnyanoba, are also in this measure.² For various obvious reasons Stephens chose to write his Purāna in Roman, not in Devanagari characters. This was necessary, as there was, at that time, no Devanagari type available in India and the poet could not have published his book in a printed or lithographed edition. Furthermore, the Devanagari alphabet in which Marathi was written was associated by the Portuguese with Hindu idolatry and was therefore not to be encouraged by allowing publication of any literary work in it. Taking all these factors into consideration with his own convenience in writing, he chose to use Roman characters. Similarly, many good reasons prompted him to do away with punctuation marks. One of these was that punctuation marks were not used in Marathi verse. Verses, which were written like prose in lines running from end to end of the page, were separated from one another by vertical lines or bars. Stephens, who adopted Roman characters, could not have used these bars for the simple reason that these would have made his work appear quite ridiculous. He uses,

1. Ibid., p. 686.

2. J.R.A.S. (Bombay Branch), 1900, p. 164.

instead, the usual modern device of writing the lines of a stanza one below the other and separating the stanzas from one another by broad spaces between them.

But a Marathi poem written in Roman characters also had its own limitations. One can write Marathi in whatever character one chooses, but the people whose mother tongue it is would generally find it easier to read their language in the usual Devanagari character. Naturally, therefore, Father Stephens "was very keen on seeing his Puranna (sic) printed in Devanagari characters. Already in 1608 he had written to Rome requesting Fr. General to use his influence in support of this scheme."¹ It is difficult at this date to ascertain the name of the scribe who prepared his book in Devanagari characters. A manuscript copy of this version is preserved among the collection of books and manuscripts formerly belonging to the library of William Marsden and now in the possession of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University.² This manuscript, more than the "sumptuous and scholarly edition" of J.L. Saldanha, resolves the controversy about Stephens's language. A perusal of it is enough to convince the reader of Stephens's mastery of the Marathi language. Here one meets with more dignified Sanskrit formations to express theological and ecclesiastical technical terms and with fewer foreign words. In the Devanagari MS., for instance, words like Bautismu, Trinidad, Sacrament, Nava Testament, Padre Guru, Tempal, Saderdot, Meditacao, Altara, Sacrificiu, Propheta have been given their Sanskrit equivalents: Dnyanasnan, Tritva,

1. The Examiner, 7 April 1956, p. 178.

2. The Adi-purāna, or Pahila purāna has 36 prasangas, comprising altogether 4035 verses, and the Deva-purāna (also called in final colophon Dusarā purāna) has 58 prasangas, comprising 6686 verses.

Devadravya, Nava Granth, Shri Guru, Deval, Guru, Dhyana-japa, Devara, Devapuja, Duradrashtā.¹ Dr. Justin E. Abbott explained this difference between the Devanagari and Roman versions of the poem by saying that the original author of the latter took great liberties and used in spelling and idiom the Konkani form of Marathi then current among Christians.² This view is evidently not baseless, for we know that the book underwent two revisions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and that Father Pascoal Gomes de Faria, from Batim in the island of Goa, added 237 stanzas about the Passion of Our Lord to the second Purāna.

Father Stephens employed three principal devices in order to turn a humdrum catechetical instruction into a literary masterpiece. First of all, he chose a grand central theme, grouping all the details of the Catholic faith around it; then instead of merely recounting the Bible history, he offered a meditation on the biblical events; and lastly, he used a rhythmic, picturesque language of extraordinary flow and sweetness. His theme, without doubt, is the overthrow of Satan and the advent of Christ's kingdom. The second device enabled him to "introduce many vivid colourful descriptions of scenes and events, to introduce imaginary dialogues, to give expression to the feelings of the chief actors in prayers, reflections, hymns and lamentations. This of course is a dangerous device. It might leave the reader bewildered and confused, unable to discern where revealed truth ends and where imagination begins. Fr. Stephens has carefully considered this difficulty and in the second canto of the second Purāna gives a detailed

1. Justin E. Abbott in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, 1921-23, vol. II, p. 680.

2. Ibid.

Juburo.

Taina	}	Pl.	Tau	}	Eumefaru
Tally.			Taxalha		
Taita			Tati.		

Juburo futuro.

+ Dizi? Confessar Tancha na nad negawafes 122.	Tatalom, lim, lem	}	Pl.	Tatalem	}	Eumei defaru, ou en meguero fajer. Negabuo hi. Hozza. Vg. Confessar Tatala? Guero me confessar. Dig. Confessar norta. nad mequero confessar. Tabe? #
	Tataloss: ett			Tatãhaldã		
				Tatãleti ett		

Imperativus

Ta	}	Pl.	Taxija	}	fajele tu
Tau			Taca		
			Taunti		

Optativus. Taliapuro. prazaad q mefaca

Subjunctivus.

Tori.	Tatom, ti, te	}	Pl.	Tatãu	}	seu fite, ou fosa fite.
	Talossi ett			Tatãaldã		
				Tatã, ti, te?		

Jubis.

Taesto, si, se. I se, siu, sim, com parita
fajer q sefaca.

Verbis perfectis.

Talom, lim, lem, kari	}	Pl.	Taleum tari.
Talossi ett			Talãatha.
			Taliti ett.

Ainda q eufora fite, ou
mefaca.

Facsimile of a page of a manuscript (18th cent of Fr. Thomas Stephens's Arte de lingua Canari, a Portuguese grammar of the Konkani language.

account of his method. He claims to leave the reader never in doubt as to where revealed truth ends and pious meditation begins. And this claim is very skilfully realized." ¹

The Christian Marathi-speaking public is said to have taken to the Christian Purāna at once. Readings were made from it after mass on Sundays and feast days. They memorized large portions of it and chanted its lines when at work in their homes and in the fields. It is also said to have sustained the faith of 60,000 Christians captured in Mangalore by Tipu Sultan and forced by him into slavery at Seringapatam from 1784-1799. As late as 1926 one observer found the Purāna still very much in popular use. Now with the Devanagari edition printed, ² the Marathi epic is made available for a still larger audience. Here and there throughout the Poona-Bombay locality today the strains of Stephens's Christian Purāna are again being taught. ³ This opus magnum not only set its author at the head of truly great Marathi poets, but also marked the beginning of a rich Christian literature in Goa. ⁴

Father Stephens's next work, though only of bibliographical interest, is his Arte da Lingoa Conarin (Art of the Kanarese, i.e., Konkani, Language), printed in the College of St. Ignatius at Rachol, in Goa, in 1640. (A Second edition was published in 1857 at Nova Goa.) It

-
1. The Examiner, December 22, 1956, p. 685.
 2. In 1956, Stephens's epic was edited in Nagari script by a Poona publisher: Prasad Prakāsan, Poona - 2. The editor is Shantārama Bandētū, lecturer in Marathi, Ahmadnagar College, India. Besides the full text of the Purāna, this volume contains many appendices, notes, and some letters of Fr. Thomas Stephens himself.
 3. In 1956, the Poona University included an extract from the Christian Purāna among the texts prescribed for the B.A.
 4. For some stanzas of the Christian Purana rendered into English, see Appendix II.

is, as modern scholars have found, a poor production¹ despite numerous additions made to it by Padre Diogo Ribeiro, S.J., and four other priests of the same Society. Only two copies of the first edition are known to exist.² Whatever the faults of this book, it is said to have proved an invaluable aid to Stephens's fellow missionaries.

Father Stephens also translated³ the Catechism of Father Marcos Jorge which is commonly associated with the name of its reviser, Father Mestre Ignacio Martins. Stephens's work was issued with the title Doutrina Christa em Lingua Brahmana-Canarim etc..⁴ It was printed in 1622, three years after Stephens's death, at the College of St. Ignatius at Rachol, and in 1945 at Lisbon. That it was decidedly a useful book is evident from the fact that even so popular a book as Doutrina Christa, or the Catechism written by the famous St. Francis Xavier himself, could not entirely displace it.⁵

From what has been said in the foregoing evaluation of Father Stephens's achievements both as a zealous Christian missionary and as a poet, it must be clear that he occupies a unique place in the history of early Elizabethan ventures in the East. While some other

-
1. J. Gerson da Cunha, The Konkani Language and Literature (Bombay, 1881), pp. 28 et seq.
 2. The Ind. Ant., vol. VII, p. 118.
 3. See Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale (1881), vol. II, p. 198.
 4. That is, "Christian Doctrine in Brahman-Kanarese Language." It was arranged in dialogues to "suit the tinies."
 5. The Library, Dec. 1939, vol. XX, No. 3, p. 245 (an article entitled "The First Press in India," by J.B. Primrose). Mariano Saldanha of Lisbon University published in 1945, a facsimile reprint from the first edition (Rachol, Goa, 1622) with an Introduction, Notes and Glossary in Portuguese. Its title page in English reads: "Christian Doctrine in the Konkani Language by the first Englishman in India and British Pioneer in the study of Indian languages Thomas Stevens, S.J. Missionary at Goa, Author of a Konkani Grammar and of a Marathi Poem: <<The Christian Puranna>>." To this book is appended a valuable "bibliografia relativa a Tomás Estêvão e a sua obra."

CHAPTER II.

travellers possessed an appreciable measure of literary talent, he was, beyond doubt, the greatest of them all in the matter of literary excellence. If a classic is a work of abiding value and richness, his "Puranna" is certainly a magnificent classic, for its popularity has not waned during the three centuries which have passed since it was first composed.

- Richard Hakluyt.

1.

In the preceding chapter reference has been made to certain Englishmen who had gone to India overland and were arrested on their way thither by the Portuguese who suspected them of spying for Don Antonio, the Portuguese Pretender, and in some sort the protégé of England. Of these Englishmen, Newberry and Ralph Fitch are of great historical importance, for with them England's intercourse with India, hitherto sporadic and irregular, becomes continuous and eventually culminates in the foundation of a vast trade-empire in South Asia. Newberry and Ralph Fitch were not the real architects of this empire, even the information given by them to London merchants was not the only guide to the organised effort of the next decade. Nevertheless they have found a permanent place in all historical books tracing the beginnings of the British commercial enterprise in India. Theirs was the onerous task of exploration and reconnaissance, of showing the proper road to wealth, and mapping out the markets where trade could bring prosperity to the English nation. In this they succeeded as no other Englishmen before

CHAPTER II.RALPH FITCH.

(1583 - 1591)

For, which of the kings of this land before her Majesty, had theyr banners ever seene in the Caspian sea? ... who ever found English Consuls & Agents at Tripolis in Syria, at Aleppo, at Babylon, at Balsara, and which is more, who ever heard of Englishmen at Goa before now?

- Richard Hakluyt.

1.

In the preceding chapter reference has been made to certain Englishmen who had gone to India overland and were arrested on their way thither by the Portuguese who suspected them of spying for Don Antonio, the Portuguese Pretender, and in some sort the protégé of England. Of these Englishmen, Newberry and Ralph Fitch are of great historical importance, for with them England's intercourse with India, hitherto sporadic and irregular, becomes continuous and eventually culminates in the foundation of a vast trade - empire in South Asia. Newberry and Ralph Fitch were not the real architects of this empire, even the information given by them to London merchants was not the only guide to the organised effort of the next decade. Nevertheless they have found a permanent place in all historical books tracing the beginnings of the British commercial enterprise in India. Theirs was the onerous task of exploration and reconnaissance, of showing the proper road to wealth and mapping out the markets where trade could bring prosperity to the English nation. In this they succeeded as no other Englishmen before

them had done. Their account of the romantic journey to the East and of their innumerable adventures, exploits and experiences, published first by Richard Hakluyt¹ and later by a number of other compilers of collections of travellers' tales, is fascinating. It brings us face to face with two simple sixteenth-century London merchants who had in them all the qualities that distinguished the Elizabethan heroes, like John and Sebastian Cabot, Francis Drake and John Hawkins, from those of the subsequent ages. It is, therefore, expedient to examine this account first before passing on to the story of Ralph Fitch which, as J. Horton Ryley has observed, embodies "the first English account of the great resources of India and the Further East".²

The joint boards of the Levant and Muscovy Companies, under Osborne and Staper, selected John Eldred, Leedes and Story to accompany John Newberry and Ralph Fitch. The first of these was a merchant who had lived in Baghdad for over two years and knew the route from Aleppo to Baghdad very well. Leedes was a jeweller and Story a painter. They were both men of singular courage and were chosen³ because such men "were known and welcome enough at the Mughal court".

-
1. Hakluyt in his Principal Navigations (London, 1599), Vol II, pp 245 et sqq., collected six, out of eight, letters of Newberry, one of Ralph Fitch, and two narratives, one by Eldred and the other by Ralph Fitch. There are five more letters concerning this expedition, all addressed to William Hareborne, the English ambassador at Constantinople. Two of these were written by Newberry, one by Eldred, and the rest jointly by Eldred and Shales. All the five letters are printed in Purchas his Pilgrimes (1625) Vol. II., pp. 1642-1645.
 2. Ralph Fitch (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1899), p. VII.
 3. J. Courtenay Locke, The First Englishmen in India (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1930), p.9.

Newberry, merchant "right beloved friend" of Hakluyt, knew Arabic and had voyaged to Tripoli and Syria once in March 1578, returning in November 1579, and again in September 1580, returning in August 1582. Though little is known of Ralph Fitch before this time, the very fact that he was chosen to accompany this party indicates that he must have been known for his practical sagaciousness and courage. The subsequent events in which this party of English adventurers was involved reveal Fitch as a man of exemplary patience and resolution, decidedly the most good-humoured, discerning and fearless person in the whole group. That he was best fitted to play the leading role must be clear to those who are familiar with the closing part of this great enterprise. It was from Ralph Fitch and no other person that the merchants of London for the first time received a most useful account both of India and of the possibilities and prospects of trade with that country.² Ralph Fitch alone returned home to tell them of his experiences of the East, and his story, as Beazley points out, was the main, though not the only, guide to the efforts of the merchants that culminated in the formation of the East India Company of 1600.³

-
1. Ibid., p. 8. For Newberry's voyages see Purchas his Pilgrimes (1625), vol. II., pp. 1410-1421.
 2. Though Drake had obtained from the captured Portuguese carrack (the San Felipe) of 1587 many valuable documents concerning the most hidden secrets of the East India trade, they did not furnish a detailed and connected picture of the eastern trade, and Linschoten's great book was translated into English in 1598, about seven years after Fitch's return. It is, however, correct that Drake's captured documents, Linschoten's work and the information given to London merchants by Ralph Fitch all combined to inspire them to "get leave from Elizabeth to form a company for trading with India direct by sea".
 3. Voyages and Travels (Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1903), Vol. I, p. xxviii.

Newberry and his party left London on 12 February 1583, with letters from Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor Akbar and the King of China. Sailing from Falmouth on 11 March¹, they arrived at Tripoli in Syria on the last day of April², and stayed there for fourteen days. The journey was by no means free from danger, for on "the thirteenth day the winde came contrary with a very great storme, which continued eight dayes"³, and in that great storm their goods got wet, but fortunately no great harm was done. From Tripoli they proceeded with a caravan to Hamah and on to Aleppo where they arrived on the 20th of May 1583. Both at Tripoli and Aleppo Newberry made earnest enquiries regarding Abulfeda Ismail's book of cosmography⁴ which Richard Hakluyt had asked him to obtain for him, but he did not hear anything of it. They departed from Aleppo with their camels on May 31 and in three days came to Bir, a small town on the Euphrates. Finding plenty of victuals here, they furnished themselves for a long journey down this river, and in the manner of those who travelled down by water they prepared a small boat for the conveyance of themselves and their goods. From Bir they came to Felluja, a village

-
1. The delay, as Newberry informs us, was due to contrary winds.
 2. Apparently, however, they lay aboard all night, and landed the following day early in the morning. See John Eldred's Relation in Hakluyt's Principal Navigations (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newbery, and Robert Barker, 1599), Vol. II, p. 268.
 3. Newberry to Master Leonard Poore.
 4. This was the famous Geography of Abulfeda Ismail (1273-1331), a descendant of Ayyub, the father of Saladin. See E.B. (1957) Vol. I, pp. 70 et. seq. For Richard Hakluyt's interest in cosmography see George Bruner Parks' Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages (New York: American Geographical Society, 1928), pp. 1-24.

of some hundred houses, and stayed there for seven days, for lack of camels to carry their goods to Babylon. The journey between Bir and Felluja provided many novel experiences. They saw at many places upon the river's side troops of Arabians whose "haire, apparell and colour are altogether like to those vagabond Egyptians, which heretofore have gone about in England".¹ Their women wore massive ornaments like great round rings in their nostrils and hoops of gold, silver or iron about their arms and calves. John Eldred, however, had the additional experience of being robbed of a casket containing "things of good value", which his man had under his head while he was asleep. "It is not good", wrote Ralph Fitch, "that one boate goe alone, for if it should chance to breake, you should have much a doe to save your goods from the Arabians, which be alwayes thereabouts robbing: and in the night when your boates be made fast, it is necessarie that you keepe good watch."²

In those parts, the heat at this time of the year was such that people were loath to let out their camels to travel. But neither heat nor the excessive burden of the merchandise could daunt these intrepid travellers. Hiring some hundred asses to carry their goods they crossed the short desert that lay between Felluja and what they called New Babylon, travelling by night and early morning to avoid the great heat, and arrived at Babylon, "a place of very great traffic, and a very great thoroughfare from the East Indies to Aleppo".³

1. Richard Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

2. *Ibid.* p. 251.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 270.

From there they went to Balsara to which, as Eldred observed, came monthly sundry ships from Ormuz, laden with all sorts of Indian merchandise, such as spices, drugs, indigo and calico. Here Eldred took leave of the party to carry on his trade, and Newberry and Ralph Fitch, with Leedes and Story, proceeded for the Indies.

On the 4th of September 1583, Fitch and his companions came to Ormus where within a week they were committed to prison. Explaining what led the Portuguese to take this drastic measure, John Newberry wrote to Leonard Poore from Goa:

There were two causes which moved the Captaine of Ormus to imprison us, and afterwards to send us hither. The first was, because Michael Stropene had accused us of many matters, which were most false. And the second was for that M. Drake at his being at Maluco, caused two pieces of his ordinance to be shot at a gallion of the kings of Portugall, as they say. But of these things I did not know at Ormus: and in the ship that we were sent in came the chiefest justice in Ormus, who was called Aveador generall of that place ... and among the rest, he said, that Master Drake was sent out of England with many ships, and came to Maluco, and there laded cloves, and finding a gallion there of the kings of Portugall, hee causes two pieces of his greatest ordinance to be shot at the same ... He said moreover, that the cause why the captaine of Ormus did send me for Goa, was, for that the Viceroy would understand of mee, what newes there was of Don Antonio, and whether he were in England, yes or no..¹

Though Ralph Fitch does not enumerate all the causes of their imprisonment, his statement corroborates the substantial accuracy of Newberry's observations. In his narrative he finds occasion to refer to his imprisonment which, he says, was due to the charge brought against them by the Portuguese that he and his companions were spies.² Whose spies they were accused of being Fitch does

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 248 et. seq.

2. *Ibid.* p. 253. In a letter to "G.S." written from Balsara, the 6th of November, 1583, John Eldred and William Shales wrote that Newberry arrived at Ormuz on "the fourth of September, and the ninth of the same, was committed to Prison with all his Company, accused for Spies from Don Antonie, and that his Painter was to draw the plats (plans) of Castles and Fortresses, in the behalfe of Don Antonie". Purchas his Pilgrimes (Glasgow, 1905), Vol. IX. p. 498.

not say, but that is not important, for to the historian, aware of the course of events in Europe and of the rivalry that existed between Spain and England throughout the sixteenth century, the name that easily suggests itself is that of Don Antonio, the claimant of the throne of Portugal. It is a well-known fact of European history that Antonio, while claiming the Portuguese throne, to which Philip II of Spain was also a claimant, obtained some support from France and England for political reasons. Thus instigated by Venetian merchants¹ who feared that the English would wrest their trade from them, the Portuguese put them in prison and shipped them to Goa to be examined by the Viceroy, Don Francisco de Mascarenhas.

J.H. van Linschoten who, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, was at Goa in the Archbishop's service, throws some additional light on the situation arising out of the Englishmen's arrival at Ormuz. He informs us, evidently on the authority of the English travellers themselves, that having arrived at Ormuz, they hired a shop and began to sell their wares there - an act which the Venetians could hardly tolerate. They reported the matter to the captain of Ormuz, called Don Gonsalo de Menezes,² "telling him that there were certaine English men come into Ormus, that were sent onely to spie the countrey; and sayd further, that they were heretikes..."³ But the captain, instead of taking any action against the Englishmen, one of whom had on a previous occasion given him some presents, sent them to Goa to be

-
1. See Linschoten's report in Richard Hakluyt's Principal Navigations, Vol. II, p.266.
 2. Fitch informs us that the captain of Ormuz at this time was Don Mathias de Albuquerque, and not Don Gonsalo de Menezes. Linschoten did not know that Albuquerque had taken over the office of Captain from de Menezes in January 1583. (See J. Courtenay Locke, op. cit., p. 186.)
 3. Richard Hakluyt, op. cit., p. 266.

tried by the Viceroy. Linschoten does not mention the laudable efforts made by Father Stephens to secure the release of his countrymen, but observes, no doubt correctly, that he, together with another Dutchman, did all he could to help the English prisoners. Newberry and Ralph Fitch, however, speak in glowing terms of the help they received from Father Stephens and the Dutchmen.

After about thirteen days in prison, James Story became a Jesuit "partly for feare, and partly for want of meanes to relieve himselfe".¹ The other three, however, were firmly opposed to all such steps. When at last they were released they set up a shop at Goa and soon became very popular with all the merchants "because they alwaies respected Gentlemen, specially such as brought (sic) their wares, shewing great curtesie and honor unto them, whereby they wonne much credite, and were beloved of all men, so that everie man favoured them, and was willing to doe them pleasure".²

These are the tributes of a foreign traveller who had no cause to flatter them, but every reason to write candidly of their bearing and to be jealous of their popularity. But if Linschoten was not jealous of them, certain other people were. The Jesuits, for instance, had hoped that they would intimidate the Englishmen into conversion to Roman Catholicism, but their mounting popularity "hindered them from what they hoped for".³ They were warned that if they did not "yeeld themselves into their (Jesuits') Cloyster,"⁴ they would be sent to

1. Ibid.

2. The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies (London: Hak. Soc., 1885), vol. II, p. 163.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p. 164.

Portugal and there subjected to all kinds of hardships. Fitch and his two companions asked for some time to consider the matter. All this time, however, they went on preparing to leave Goa secretly, and when all preparations were made they left the city for Belgaon, about fifty miles west-north-west of Old Goa. From here they proceeded to various other places like Bijapur, Golconda, Masulipatam and so on to Burhanpur, Mandu, Ujjain and Agra. Fatehpur Sikri, the newly built palace city of Akbar in the vicinity of Agra, was, from 1569 to 1585, the principal seat of the court.¹ Here the travellers came in 1585, just before Akbar left for the north in order to assume control of Kabul and to prevent an Uzbek invasion.² After staying there until the 28th of September 1585, John Newberry left his companions for his journey homeward through Lahore and Persia and thence through Aleppo and Constantinople.³ William Leedes entered the service of the Emperor, leaving Fitch alone to explore the eastern markets and return home. Fitch returned to Agra and from there went to Bengal through some of the most well-known cities of north India, cities like Allahabad, Banaras and Patna. He went thereafter to Bassein, Pegu and Malacca, making useful inquiries about trade and about the route to China and

1. Vincent A. Smith, Akbar the Great Mogul (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1917), p. 107.

2. Ibid. For Akbar's campaign against Kabul and his relations with the tribes see Sir Olaf Caroe's The Pathans (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1958), pp. 205-220.

3. It was agreed that he would meet Fitch "in Bengala within two years with a shippe out of England". (cf. Richard Hakluyt, op. cit., p. 252.) Newberry was determined to return to London via Persia and to bring not only fresh supplies of merchandise but also an interpreter and rich presents to smooth the way to Akbar's confidence. He had reckoned that the journey there and back would take two years. Unfortunately, however, he died "unknown how or where" on the caravan route from India to Mesopotamia through Persia.

Japan. Returning from Malacca he visited Pegu a second time and remained there until the 17th of September 1588, after which he sailed to Bengal. He arrived there in November and stayed on until the 3rd of February 1589, for want of a passage. He came to Cochin on the 22nd of March after sojourning in Ceylon for some time. From Cochin he went to Coa, where he stayed for three days, and then back to Ormus, Basora, Babylon, Birejik, Aleppo, Tripoli, and finally, to London on the 29th of April 1591.

2.

The dozen letters these English pioneers wrote home contain some useful items of information which are not touched upon either by Fitch's or Eldred's narrative. John Newberry, for instance, discloses in a highly interesting manner the intimate relations in which the Rev. Richard Hakluyt stood to the leading explorers and travellers among his countrymen, and how he availed himself of their services in the work he loved and carried out so well. He also fills in one or two details of the voyage and writes about all those business transactions that took place as he travelled towards India. Since, however, the letters were written by men who travelled in company and had therefore many identical experiences to recount, they contain much that is repetitious, and the uniqueness and individuality we expect from letters written by different writers are conspicuously lacking. This, as well as their dry conciseness, can be accounted for by the

fact that they were merchant travellers whose mission was to tell their countrymen in a close, naked and natural manner what they saw and experienced and not to parade their epistolary style. Even the narratives of Eldred and Fitch are written in a matter-of-fact and scrupulously simple and direct manner which is eminently suited to "the utilitarian rather than the romantic side of the tour" they aimed at presenting.¹ Indeed, both in their letters and their narratives these pioneer adventurers of England stick to bare facts, refusing to treat a subject imaginatively even where they could conveniently do so.

They, however, were not the only persons to write simply, bringing all things as near the mathematical plainness as they could. "In the long age of travel-book writing that extends from the mid-sixteenth century to the first quarter of this eighteenth," wrote R.W. Frantz,

there is an unbroken tradition of stylistic simplicity, compared with the elaborate periods of Euphues, the long and involved sentences of the Arcadia, the magnificent phrases and noble rhythm of Raleigh's History of the World, the style of Elizabethan voyagers must be pronounced plain. There is the direct style of eminently practical men whose daily idiom passed freely into the records of their hazardous undertakings. Yet within the limits of direct and forcible utterance it varies from the concise brevity of a seaman's diary to the slightly more spacious prose of the typical travel-book.²

Some notable tourists like George Sandys, William Lithgow, Thomas Coryat, Edward Terry and Thomas Herbert were no doubt exceptions to the rule. Unlike Fitch and his companions, they wrote in a

-
1. Arnold Wright, Early English Adventurers in the East (London: Andrew Melrose, Ltd., 1917), p.31.
 2. The English Traveller and the Movement of Ideas (Lincoln: The University Studies of the University of Nebraska, 1934), p.48 (University Studies, Vols. XXXII-XXXIII).

scholarly manner¹, discarding the normal, workaday prose of the average Elizabethan traveller. Voyager after voyager in this period, however, quite frankly acknowledged that to write plainly was his purpose. George Beste openly avowed that his was a "rude order of writing, which proceedeth from the barren brayne of a souldier and one professing armes, who desireth rather to be wel thought of with your honour, for his well meaning, than for anye hys cunning writing at all".² Baffin, in his letter to Sir John Wolstenholme, requested him to forgive him if he took "the plaine highway in relating the particulars, without using any refined phrases, or eloquent speeches".³ Robert Knox found his relations and accounts of things "strange" and "uncouth",⁴ and the anonymous writer of A True Relation of a Brave English Stratagem stated that "you shall here ... receive a plain, full and perfect relation".⁵ Captain John Smith averred that if on occasion he became too plaine, it was because he wrote "for plane mens satisfaction".⁶ Dedicating to John Weddell his account of a famous fight with the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf, John Taylor said that "my Pen hath but only superficially pratted of those things which you

-
1. Herbert quotes Strabo, Pliny, Curtius and Herodotus. Lithgow refers, in his account of Greece, to these ancient authors: Homer and Virgil, Strabo, Horace, Aristotle, Pliny, Epimenides, Ovid, "Demostenes and Eschines", Plutarch, Ptolomaeus. The poets most quoted by Sandys are: Homer (always in Latin), Lucretius, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Seneca, Martial, Silius Italicus, Lucan, Juvenal, and Statius. For comments on Coryat's and Terry's prose style see Infra pp. 205, 221, 370-372.
 2. The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher (London: Hakluyt Society, 1867), p.23.
 3. Narratives of Voyages towards the North-West (London: Hakluyt Society, 1849), p. 144.
 4. Edward Arber, An English Garner (London, 1877) Vol. I, p. 324.
 5. Ibid., p. 603.
 6. See R.W. Frantz, op.cit., p.54.

saw, did, and suffered. I therefore humbly entreat you to accept this poore Fish out of your owne Ocean, this sheepe of your owne fold, this cloath of your owne weaving, and this deserved memorie of part of your worthy won Reputation".¹

But howsoever plain the narratives of the early voyagers may be, they are not tedious. Fitch's narrative, which is an integral part of the Voyages, "the prose epic of the modern English nation"² is not without such gleams of wonder as follows: "Jamba (Jambi) is an Island among the Javas also, from whence come diamants. And the king hath a masse of earth which is gold: it groweth in the middle of a river: and when the king doth lacke gold, they cut part of the earth and melt it, whereof commeth golde. This masse of earth doth appeare but once in a yere; which is when the water is low; and this is the moneth of April".³ Descriptions such as these prevent it from falling "into the danger of the plainly told, the danger of dullness". Moreover, like many other tales in the Principal Navigations, Fitch begins his narrative almost abruptly, and without much flourish, "In the yeere of our Lord 1583, I Ralph Fitch of London marchant being desirous to see the countreys of the East India, ... did ship my selfe in a ship of London called the Tyger...⁴ And "the drama of exotic customs is frequently played before the

-
1. Boies Penrose, Sea Fights in the East Indies (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1931) pp. 235 et seq.
 2. J.A. Froude, "England's Forgotten Worthies", in Westminster Review (July 1852). See George Bruner Parks' Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages (New York, 1928), pp. 186-199, for his excellent treatment of Richard Hakluyt's Voyages as a work of literary distinction. I am indebted to Mr. Parks throughout this paragraph.
 3. Hakluyt. op.cit., p.263.
 4. Ibid., p. 251.

armchair of the quiet reader, as another view of the mysterious in human form".¹ Consider, for example, Fitch's description of the Hindus of Banaras:

Here amongst the waters side bee very many fairehouses, and in all of them, or for the most part, they have their images standing, which be evill favoured, made of stone and wood, some like lions, leopards, and monkies ... They sit crosse legged, some with one thing in their hands, and some another. And by breake of day and before, there are men and women which come out of the towne and wash themselves in Ganges. And there are divers old men which upon places of earth made for the purpose, sit praying, and they give the people three or foure strawes, which they take and hold them betweene their fingers when they wash themselves; and some sit to marke them in the foreheads, and they have in a cloth a little rice, barlie, or money, which, when they have washed themselves, they give to the olde men which sit there praying.²

Descriptions of sacramental customs given profusely by Ralph Fitch "must have dazzled an age without newspapers to feed it with mysteries"³ Some of these, to be sure, might have been conveyed by Fitch orally to his contemporaries over their cups of sack or Gascony. Those who were wont to discuss the latest news in their taverns could not have failed to discover Fitch and listen amazedly to his romantic adventures. This may sound impossible today, but in those days London was a small place and expeditions to the Orient were not so frequent, though no doubt many attempts were made to discover a north-east or north-west passage to the far Cathay and India. The very fact that these efforts had hitherto failed must have drawn the attention of patriotic Elizabethans to Fitch's successful overland journey and his subsequent return.

1. G.B. Parks, op. cit., pp. 197 et seq.

2. Hakluyt, op. cit., p. 255.

3. G.B. Parks, op. cit., p. 198.

That Fitch was a popular figure and his expeditions to the East had created a stir is evident from some allusions to him in the literary works of the period. William Warner's historical poem, Albions England, has the following lines:

Of These, East-Indian Goa, South, and South-east People moe,
And of their memorable Names those Toyles did under-goe,
Is (sic) one elaborated Pen compendiously doth floe,
Omitted then, and named Men, and Lands (not here indeede,
So written of as they deserve) at large in Hakluyt reede. ¹

The first line of the above passage clearly refers to the voyage of Ralph Fitch "by the way of Tripolis in Syria, to Ormus, and so to Goa in the East India".² It was from Goa that both John Newberry and Ralph Fitch wrote their Tales of woe, to which the poet is perhaps alluding in "those Tayles".³ Michael Drayton also praises the heroism of Fitch in the following passage of the Poly-Olbion:

With Fitch, our Eldred next, deserv'dly placed is,
Both travelling to see the Syrian Tripolis.
The first of which (in this whose noble spirit was shown)
To view those parts, to us that were the most unknown,
On thence to Ormus set, Goa, Cambaya, then,
To vast Zelabdim, thence to Echubar, again
Cross'd Ganges' mighty stream, and his large banks did view,
To Bacola went on, to Bengola, Pegu;
And for Mallaccan then, Zeiten, and Cochin cast
Measuring with many a step, the great East-Indian waste.⁴

The citation plainly echoes Richard Hakluyt's summary of Ralph Fitch's voyage:

-
1. Albions England: A Continued Historie of the same Kingdome from the Originals of the first Inhabitants thereof ... (London: Printed by the Widow Orwin, for the I.B. 1597), (chap. 72).
 2. Hakluyt, op.cit. p.250.
 3. See Modern Philology, vol. XX, No. 2, November 1922.
 4. The Works of Michael Drayton (London: Printed by J. Hughs, 1748), the 19th song, pp.334, et. seq.

The voyage of M. Ralph Fitch marchant of London by the way of Tripolis in Syria, to Ormus, and so to Goa in the East India, to Cambaia, and all the kingdome of Zelabdim Echebar the great Mogor, to the mighty river Ganges, and downe to Bengala, to Bacola, and Chonderi, to Pegu, to Iamahay in the kingdome of Siam, and backe to Pegu, and from thence to Malacca,¹ Zeilan, Cochin, and all the coast of the East India

Drayton, however, has not followed his source unerringly to the end. Coming as it does amidst the names of countries and cities "Zelabdim Echebar" suggests to him two separate places, instead of the name Jalaluddin Mohammed Akbar, the Great Mughal, and he makes the joke better by blindly inserting "vast". The excerpt, however, suggests the keen interest which Drayton displayed in his countrymen's commercial enterprises in the East.

It is difficult to ascertain precisely whether Shakespeare knew Ralph Fitch personally or not, but it appears from the dramatist's works that he not only studied Hakluyt's accounts but also derived inspiration concerning sea life from them.² Arnold Wright, therefore, conjectures that Shakespeare, "ever on the lookout for local colour, would have quickly discovered Fitch and drawn upon his vast store of out of the way knowledge for those wonderful studies on human nature which still hold a unique place in the world's literature"³. In Act I, Scene III,

-
1. Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, p.250
 2. See The Cambridge History of English Literature (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1909), vol. IV., pp. 78 *et sqq.* For Hakluyt's influence and popularity, see Louis B. Wright's Religion and Empire (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1943), pp. 33-56.
 3. Early English Adventurers in the East (London: Andrew Melrose, Ltd., 1917), p.32.



They lie flat upon the earth...and use to heave up
their hands to the sunne, and to kisse
the earth.

of Macbeth the line:

Her husband's to Aleppo gone, Master o' the Tyger
is said to echo the opening passage of Fitch's narrative:

In the yeere of our Lord 1583, I Ralph Fitch of London,
marchant... did ship my selfe in a ship of London called
the Tyger, wherein we went for Tripolis in Syria; and
from thence we tooke the way for Aleppo.....

It must, however, be admitted that the Tyger was a well-known boat which made many voyages to Tripoli and Alexandria. Shakespeare's reference may not, therefore, be specifically to any particular voyage. But there are in some of Shakespeare's plays many scattered allusions that seem to reveal the dramatist's familiarity with Ralph Fitch's narrative. Biron in Love's Labour's Lost (Act IV, iii, 219-222) pays tribute to Rosaline; who can see her, he asks, who

Like a rude and savage man on Inde,
At the first opening of the gorgeous east,
Bows not his vassal head, and strooken blind,
Kisses the base ground with obedient breast?

Shakespeare, it seems, derived his knowledge of the Indian religious practices from Ralph Fitch who in one place observes:

They (the Brahmans) pray in the water naked, and dresse their meat and eate it naked, and for their penance they lie flat upon the earth, and rise up and turne themselves about 30, or 40 times, and use to heave up their hands to the sunne, and to kisse the earth, with their armes and legs stretched along out, and their right leg always before the left...

Ralph Fitch in his narrative had described those several places in India where precious stones and spices could be found in plenty and where trade possibilities were inexhaustible. These places

"naturally drew Europeans into the East, if not in person, at least in imagination".¹ In The Merchant of Venice there is an allusion to Antonio having "an argosy bound to Tripolis, another to the Indies".² In a passage showing an acute awareness of his seafaring countrymen, Shakespeare makes Titania say:

His mother was a vot'ress of my order:
 And, in the spiced Indian air, by night,
 Full often hath she gossip'd by my side;
 And sat with me on Neptune's yellow sands,
 Marking th' embarked traders on the flood;
 When we have laughed to see the sails conceive,
 And grow big-bellied, with the wanton wind:.....³

A little earlier in the same scene Titania says to Oberon:

why art thou here,
 Come from the farthest steep of India?

James E. Gillespie has collected a number of examples from Shakespeare's plays to show the dramatist's keen interest in the voyagers to the New World and the Orient.⁴ The difficulty is not that one does not find many passages in the plays of Shakespeare which refer to India, but rather that one does not always know whether Shakespeare's references are to India or the West Indies. Indeed, as Benjamin Bissell pointed out, when the Elizabethans

-
1. Robert Ralston Cawley, The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama (Boston and London, 1938), p. 138. For a similar study, see this writer's Unpathed Waters (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940).
 2. Act I, Sc. III, 18.
 3. Act II, Sc. II, 63 ff.
 4. See The Influence of Overseas Expansion of England to 1700 (New York: Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, 1920), Vol. XCI, No.1, pp. 295-298.

speak of the Indies, one is seldom sure whether they mean the East or the West, or they viewed the two as one and the same; nor is the reader's curiosity satisfied by the mention of pearls, flowers, spices, or other indications of exotic colouring.¹ Even if we admit that Shakespeare refers to the Orient in such expressions as "the spiced Indian air", there will still be some doubt as to the source of his knowledge. He may have relied upon the traditional concept of India as the home of all kinds of spices and aromatics, rather than have derived the information from Fitch and his narrative. In the absence of any substantial evidence one cannot with any amount of certainty affirm that Shakespeare studied Fitch's relation in Hakluyt's Principal Navigations.

References to Ormus in early seventeenth-century English literature are numerous. Richard Hakluyt speaks of it as the "most famous Mart town of all East India". Fulke Greville places his Alaham in this city,² and the Prologue is spoken by the ghost of "one of the old Kings of Ormus". In The Alchemist of Ben Jonson, Subtle refers to a ship

coming from Ormus,
That shall yield him such a commodity
Of drugs ...³

Later, Milton describes his Satan sitting exalted

on a Throne of Royal State, which far
Outshon the wealth of Ormus and of Ind 4.

Ralph Fitch's narrative and Newberry's letter had something to do with this popularity of Ormus. Their contemporaries knew well

-
1. The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century (New Haven: Yale University Studies in English, 1925), No. 68, p.163.
 2. See Poems and Dramas of Fulke Greville, ed. by Geoffrey Bullough (Edinburgh & London: Oliver & Boyd, 1938) vol. II, pp. 138 et sqq.
 3. Works (London: Bickers and Sons, 1875), vol. IV, Act I, p.39.
 4. Paradise Lost, Bk. II. ll. 1-5.

that this was one of the most important trading centres in the Persian Gulf, but what brought it sharply to their attention was Newberry's letter as well as Fitch's narrative.¹ It was here that they were arrested by the Portugese who resented their trade rivalry and sent them therefore to Goa to be tried by the Viceroy, Don Francisco de Mascarenhas.

An important feature of the narrative of Ralph Fitch is its indebtedness to Caesar Frederick's account of his eastern travels which appeared first in Venice in 1587 and then in London the following year.² There is no doubt that Fitch not only made use of Frederick's narrative for the information he needed, but also copied his language and style. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the Principal Navigations, Hakluyt should allow only a few letters of Newberry and Eldred to intervene between Caesar Frederick's and Ralph Fitch's narratives. Fitch's indebtedness to Caesar Frederick can be clearly perceived by comparing a number of parallel passages from both authors. Quite apart from the question of plagiarism, their interest is sufficient to justify their quotation in extenso here:

1. R.R. Cawley, Milton and the Literature of Travel, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1951), p. 78.

2. It was "translated out of Italian by M. Thomas Hickocke". See Hakluyt, op cit., p.213.

In the yere of our Lord God 1563, I Caesar Fredericke being in Venice, and very desirous to see the East parts of the world, shipped my selfe in a shippe called Gradaige of Venice, with certain merchandise ...

Feluchia is a village where they that come from Bir doe unbarke themselves and unlade their goods, and it is distant from Babylon a dayes journey and an halfe by land: Babylon is no great city, but it is very populous, and of great trade of strangers because it is a great thorowfare for Persia, Turkia and Arabia: and very often times there goe out from thence Carouans into divers countreys: and the city is very copious of victuals, which comme out of Armenia downe the river of Tygris, on certaine Zattares or Raffes made of blowen hides or skinned called Utrii

The Tower of Nimrod or Babel is situate on that side of Tygris that Arabia is, and in a very great plaine distant from Babylon seven or eight miles: which tower is ruinated on every side, and with the falling of it there is made a great mountaine: so that it hath no forme at all, yet there is a great part of it standing, which is compassed and almost covered with the afore-sayd fallings: this Tower was builded and made of fouresquare Bricks, which Bricks were made of earth, and dried in the Sunne in maner and forme following...

In the yeere of our Lord 1583, I Ralph Fitch of London marchant being desirous to see the countreys of the East India, in the company of M. John Newberie marchant (which had been at Ormus once before) of William Leedes Jeweller, and James Story Painter, being chiefly set foorth by the right worshipfull Sir Edward Osborne knight, and M. Richard Staper citizens and marchants of London, did ship my selfe in a ship of London called the Tyger ...

Felugia where you unlade your goods which come from Birra is a little village: from whence you goe to Babylon in a day.

Babylon is a towne not very great but very populous, and of great traffike of strangers, for that it is the way to Persia, Turkia and Arabia: and from thence doe goe carovans for these and other places. Here are great store of victuals, which come from Armenia downe the river Tygris. They are brought upon raftes made of goates skinned blowen full of winde and bordes layde upon them ...

The Tower of Babel is built on this side of the river Tygris, towards Arabia from the towne about seven or eight miles, which tower is ruinated on all sides, and with the fall thereof hath made as it were a little mountaine, so that it hath no shape at all: it was made of bricks dried in the sonne, and certaine canes and leaves of the palme tree layed betwixt the bricks... It doth stand upon a great plaine betwixt the rivers of Euphrates and Tygris.

Ormus is an Iland in circuit five and twenty or thirty miles, and it is the barrenest and most drie Iland in all the world, because that in it there is nothing to be had, but salt water, and wood, all other things necessary for mans life are brought out of Persia twelve miles off, and out of other Ilands neere thereunto adjoining, in such abundance and quantity, that the city is alwayes replenished with all maner of store: there is standing neere unto the waters side a very faire castell, in which the captaine of the king of Portugall is alwayes resident with a good band of Portugalles, and before this castell is a very faire prospect In this city there is a very great trade for all sorts of spices, drugges, silke, cloth of silke, brocardo, and divers other sorts of marchandise come out of Persia

Goa is the principall city that the Portugals have in the Indies, where is resident the Viceroy with his Court and ministers of the King of Portugall. From Ormus to Goa is nine hundred foure score and ten miles distance, in which passage the first city that you come to in the Indies, is called Diu, and is situate in a little Iland in the kingdome of Cambaia, which is the greatest strength that the Portugals have in all the Indies, yet a small city, but of great trade, because there they lade very many great ships for the straights of Mecca and Ormus with marchandise, and these shippes belong to the Moores and Christians, but the Moores can not trade neither saile into those seas without the licence of the Viceroy of the king of Portugall, otherwise they are taken and made good prises . . .

Ormus is an Iland in circuit about five and twentie or thirtie miles, and is the driest Iland in the world: for there is nothing growing in it but onely salt; for their water, wood, or victuals, and all things necessary come out of Persia, which is about twelve miles from thence. All the Ilands thereabout be very fruitfull, from whence all kinde of victuals are sent unto Ormus. The Portuguese have a castle here which standeth neere unto the sea, wherein there is a Captaine for the king of Portugale having under him a convenient number of soldiers, whereof some part remaine in the castle, and some in the towne. In this towne are marchants of all Nations, and many Moores and Gentiles. Here is very great trade of all sortes of spices, drugs, silke cloth of silke, fine tapestrie of Persia, great store of pearles which come from the Isle of Baharim

(Goa is the most principal citie which the Portugals have in India, wherein the Viceroy remaineth with his court. . . .) Diu. . . standeth in an Iland in the Kingdome of Cambaia, and is the strongest towne that the Portugales have in those partes. It is but little, but well stored with marchandise; for here they lade many great shippes with diverse commodities for the streits of Mecca, for Ormus, and other places, and these be shippes of the Moores and of Christians. But the Moores cannot passe, except they have a passport from the Portugales. . . .

By the Helpe of God we came safe to Pegu, which are two Cities, the old and the new, in the old Citie are the Merchant strangers and Merchants of the Countrie, for there are the greatest doings and the greatest trade. This Citie is not very great, but it hath very great suburbs. Their houses be made with canes and covered with leaves, or with straw, but the merchants have all one house or Magason, which house they call Godon (godown, a warehouse), which is made of bricces..

Pegu is a citie very great, strong, and very faire, with walls of stone, and great ditches round about it. There are two Townes, the old Towne and the new. In the old Towne are all the Merchants strangers and very many Merchants of the Countrie. All the goods are sold in the old Towne which is very great, and hath many suburbs round about it, and all the houses are made of canes which they call Bambos, and be covered with straw. In your House you have a warehouse which they call Godon, which is made of bricke...

Explaining why Ralph Fitch copied Frederick's narrative, Sir William Foster observed that "probably he kept no journal, and had therefore to rely mainly on his recollections. This, and possibly a distrust of his own literary abilities, may explain why he copied so closely the narrative of Cesar Federici, the Venetian merchant who, starting in 1563, travelled by way of Basra and Ormus to Goa.." ¹ That Fitch wrote his narrative long after his first impressions had lost their original vividness is quite true, but we find scarcely tenable the view that Fitch had a distrust of his own literary abilities. Shakespeare, who never had such distrust, is well-known for having liberally exploited all the resources of literature he could lay his hands on. In fact, as Cecil Tragen points out, the "Elizabethans had no more scruples about literary piracies than they had about any other kind of piracy, and Hakluyt appreciated Fitch's difficulties and saw nothing wrong in such methods". ² If,

1. W. Foster, Early Travels in India (London: Oxford University Press, 1921), p.8.

2. Elizabethan Venture (London: H.F. & G. Witherby Ltd., 1953), p.147.

therefore, Fitch copied Frederick's narrative, he did it because it was the most convenient thing to do. He could hardly add anything to the great mass of valuable information collected by Frederick. When, however, he had to describe a place not visited by his Venetian predecessor, he depended entirely on his own unusually retentive memory and literary abilities. The reader does not fail to notice that even where Fitch owes much to Caesar Frederick, he, unlike other merchants of his class whose diaries and letters have been published, displays a talent for getting at the main point. Like them, again, he had ability, practical ability, of a rather high order. This accounts for the fact that in many instances he gives fewer details than Caesar Frederick, so that his version often reads like an abridged edition of the latter's. Here is an example of how Fitch occasionally summarises Caesar Frederick. The latter's description of the city of Satgāon runs thus:

In the port of Satagan every yeere lade thirtie or five and thirtie ships great and small, with rice, cloth of Bombast of diverse sortes, Lacca, great abundance of sugar, Mirabolans dried and preserved, long pepper, oyle of Zerzeline, and many other sorts of marchandise. The city of Satagan is a reasonable faire citie for a citie of the Moores, abounding with all things, and was governed by the king of Patane, and now is subject to the great Mogol. I was in this kingdome foure moneths, whereas many marchants did buy or fraight boates for their benefites, and with these barkes they goe up and downe the river of Ganges to faires, buying their commoditie with a great advantage, because that every day in the weeke they have a faire, now in one place, and now in another.... Those people especially that be within the land doe greatly worship the river of Ganges: for when any is sicke, he is brought out of the countrey to the banke of the river, and there they make him a small cottage of strawe, and every day they wet him with that water.....1

1. Hakluyt, op cit., pp. 230 et seq.

Fitch's précis of this passage is as follows:

Satagan is a faire citie for a citie of the Moores, and very plentifull of all things. Here in Bengala they have every day in one place or other a great market which they call Chandean, and they have many great boats which they call pericose (Port. barca), where withall they go from place to place and buy Rice and many other things: these boates have 24 or 26 oares to rowe them, they be great of burthen, but have no coverture. Here the Gentiles have the water of Ganges in great estimation, for having good water neere them, yet they will fetch the water of Ganges a great way off, and if they have not sufficient to drinke, they will sprinkle a litle on them, and then they thinke themselves well. ¹

Surprising as it may seem, Fitch's description of his journey from a town called by him "Cosmin", probably near the present port of Bassein, to "Cirion" (Syriam) has no counterpart in the Venetian narrative, and, indeed, reads like an account of first-hand experience. Nor is Fitch obliged to Caesar Frederick for his interesting and faithful picture of the Buddhist monks of Burma - a picture that even to-day strikes the Burmese as being remarkable for its accuracy and liveliness.² Yet another narrative which may have been accessible to Ralph Fitch was Gasparo Balbi's Italian Relation which was published in Venice in 1590.³ Balbi, a jeweller of Venice, had left his country in 1579 to travel in the Orient, and was in Pegu about the same time as Fitch. His "large discourses" of the various countries visited by him might have provided Fitch with some pieces of information, but there is "no convincing evidence that he made use of it".⁴

1. Ibid., p. 257.

2. Prof. D.G.E. Hall of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, informed me that his Burmese students found Fitch's description very engaging and that some of the things Fitch said hold true even to-day. (Interview on 5 December 1958)

3. For extracts from it see Purchas his Pilgrimes (London, 1625), vol. II, pp. 1722-1729.

4. Foster, loc cit.



On his return home, Fitch was specially consulted by the founders of the East India Company on all Indian affairs. On 2nd October 1600 they "ordered that Mr. Eldred and Mr. Fitch shall in the meeting to-morrow morning confer of the merchandise fit to be provided for the voyage", and in the Court Minutes of the Company, dated 31st December 1606, it is said: "Letters to be obtained from King James to the King of Cambaya, the Governors of Aden, and two more places not far from Aden; their titles to be inquired of Ralph Fitch".¹ This second reference to him shows that he survived his pioneering journey for at least fifteen years, and took part in the affairs of the Company down to the third voyage.

3.

In assessing the historical and literary value of Fitch's narrative it is essential to examine its contents in some detail. The present study, which is primarily intended to examine the experiences of some early British travellers in India, naturally precludes any discussion of those parts of their narratives which deal with (for instance) Pegu and Ceylon and other adjacent regions. As an integral part of his narrative, Fitch's relation of his experiences at these places is of the same literary value as that larger portion concerning India, but from a historical point of view his account of India is by far the most important. Moreover, his much fuller descriptions of the social customs and religious

1. Calendar of State Papers (Colonial Series, East Indies; London: Longman, Green, Longman & Roberts, 1862), p. 145.

practices of India suggest that Fitch valued his travels there more highly than any of his experiences in neighbouring countries. His description of the city of Banaras and its ghāts, for example, is probably the liveliest and most vivid piece of description in his entire work, its only possible rival being the account of the elephant hunt at Pegu.

The first and last parts of Fitch's narrative - portions which do not deal with his experiences in India - will not therefore be touched upon. His account, for example, of the Arabian thieves or of the women of Busra will not be examined, and since Burma and Malacca are not parts of India as the school maps very often show, it has been found expedient to exclude from this study a discussion of that part of Fitch's account which deals with these two places.

The picture that emerges from Ralph Fitch's narrative is that of a prosperous India. The traveller does not seem to be interested so much in the political condition of the country as in its wealth. Remarks about the Mughal administration are therefore very few and incidental, whereas there is hardly a place whose affluence or indigence he has not dwelt upon. He begins with Goa, a Portugese city, and pays it the following tribute:

It is a fine citie, and for an Indian towne very faire. The Iland is very faire, full of orchards and gardens, and many palmer trees, and hath some villages. Here bee many marchants of all nations. And the fleete which commeth every yeere from Portugal, which be foure, five, or sixe great shippes, commeth first hither. And they come for the most part in September 1

1. Hakluyt, op. cit., p. 253.

This is no doubt Fitch's "rather grudging summing-up of a place which by reason of its wealth, had earned the title of Golden Goa".¹ He must, in the first instance, have been jealous of the growing prosperity of the Portuguese who had deprived his country of its due share in the eastern trade, and in the second, annoyed because he and his companions had to undergo many hardships at Goa. For a better description of this city one should read the accounts of John Hugo van Linschoten and Francois Pyrard, to name only two of at least have a dozen travellers who fortunately happened to visit Goa in its palmy days. The aspect of the city at this time is described by them in such glowing terms as to justify the appellation of "Goa dourada" ("golden Goa") which was given to it, and the proverb "Quem vio Goa excusa de vêr Lisboa", i.e., "Whoever has seen Goa need not see Lisboa (Lisbon)".²

Fitch's tone changes when he comes to describe Bijāpur and Golcondā, places not under Portuguese control. It is a tone unimpaired by envy or malice. About Bijāpur he says:

From Belleragan we went to Bisapor which is a very great towne where the king doeth keepe his court.....Here be very many elephants which they goe to warre withall. Here they have good store of gold and silver: their houses are of stone very faire and high.³

Ludovico di Varthema, describing this city in the first decade of the sixteenth century, says:

-
1. Cecil Tragen, *op. cit.* p. 62.
 2. Jose Nicolau da Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa (Bombay: Thacker & Co., 1878), pp. 151 et sqq.
 3. Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, p. 253

This city is extremely beautiful, and very fertile... This city is walled after the manner of the Christians, and the houses are very beautiful... There is a mountain in his kingdom where they dig out diamonds, which mountain is a league distant from the city, and is surrounded by a wall, and is kept by a great guard.¹

The reigning prince in Varthema's time was Yusuf Khan, the reputed son of Murad II, and in Fitch's time Ibrahim Adil II, an infant nephew of Ali Adil Shah who had joined the kings of Ahmadnager and Golconda against Raja Ram, the Hindu sovereign of Vijaynagar, and with the exception of the Great Mughal, was the greatest potentate in India. After the death of Ali Adil Shah in 1579 conditions did not deteriorate, for his widow Chand Bibi, a woman celebrated for her talents and energy, continued to manage the affairs of the state on behalf of the infant ruler. Even Ibrahim grew up to be a great ruler who maintained the dignity of his ancestors.

Our traveller's account of the magnificence and prosperity of the city is attested by the accounts of a native historian, Asad Beg, who wrote his memoirs during the later years of Akbar's reign. "All round the gate", observed Asad Beg, "were lofty buildings with houses and porticos; the situation was very healthy and airy". The bazārs were extremely clean and pure and filled with precious goods "such as are not seen or heard of in any other town". The historian concludes his account with the following words:

In short, the whole bazār was filled with wine and beauty, dancers, perfumes, jewels of all sorts, palaces, and viands. In one street were a thousand bands of people drinking, and dancers, lovers, and pleasure-seekers assembled; none quarrelled or disputed with another, and this state of things was perpetual. Perhaps no place in the wide world could present a more wonderful spectacle to the eye of the traveller.²

-
1. The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema (London: Hak. Soc., 1863). pp. 117 et seq.
 2. H.M. Elliott and John Dowson. The History of India as told by its own Historians (London: Trübner & Co., 1875), Vol. VI, p. 164.

Having come from other lands the foreign travellers recorded with meticulous care seemingly unimportant matters which a native of India would ordinarily have dismissed as commonplace. This is evident in the description given by Fitch and Asad Beg. To Fitch this prosperous region of the noble savage was full of idols and idolaters. About the various mumbo-jumbos standing in the woods round the town he remarked that "some bee like a Cowe, some like a Monkie, some like Buffles, some like peacockes, and some like the devill"¹. Asad Beg does not say a word about these effigies and idols.

Golconda, not far from the modern town of Hyderābād, fascinated Fitch most. "Here", he says, "and in the kingdome of Hildalcan, and in the countrey of the king of Decan bee the Diamants found of the olde water". He also noticed that apart from its diamond wealth, it was a promising commercial centre, and a river port. Methold, another English traveller to this part, confirmed all that Fitch said about Golconda. As regards the diamonds found there, it is no secret that many of the famous gems of India came from the mines of this part of the country. Tavernier, Bernier, Thevenot and many other foreign travellers mentioned the Golconda and Bijapur diamond mines in their narratives.

1. Hakluyt, loc cit. This evoked the following interesting comment from Cecil Tragen: 'Exactly how he knew what the devil looked like he does not explain; nor did he ever really bother to understand the significance of these "idols" as he contemptuously calls them. He was of far too practical a turn of mind to delve into religious theories and philosophies. "A good store of gold and silver," which he noted at Bijapur was of more lasting interest'. Elizabethan Venture (London: H.F. & G. Witherby, Ltd., 1953) p.73.

Fitch throws a flood of light on the social and economic conditions of some other cities in India. From Golconda he went to Masulipatam, "a porte or haven ... which standeth eight dayes journey from hence toward the gulfe of Bengala, whither come many shippes out of India, Pegu (in Burma), and Sumat̄ra, very richly laden with pepper, spices, and other commodities." This was for him very important information. After his return to England, he passed it on to those interested in trading ventures. As a result Masulipatam became one of the earliest British settlements on the Coromandel coast. An agency was established in 1611 by Captain Hippon, who commanded the Globe on the East India Company's seventh voyage. In 1632 the English were granted a fir̄mān by the Muslim king of Golconda, which is called the "Golden fir̄mān".

Before leaving Batapur, Fitch witnessed some strange and interesting marriage-customs. Mandu, a sad sight now in its shabby decay, was once the capital of the Muhammadan kingdom of Māl̄wā, and for hundreds of years the scene of extensive commercial activity. Here Fitch found an immense fortress standing on a rock two thousand feet high. At Sironj, a large town famed for its muslins and chintzes, he "overtooke the ambassadour of Zelabdim Echebar with a marveilous great company of men, elephants, and camels". The sight was probably enough to convey to him a vivid impression of Oriental splendour. He came to Agra, but was disappointed to find that the Emperor had removed the seat of government to Fatehpur Sikri. His description of these two places shows that the citizens were generally free from want and penury: they were rich and prosperous under a benevolent monarch.

Fitch found Agra to be a great and populous city, built with stone, having fair and wide streets. What he calls "a very great citie" evokes but a brief description, comprising about half a dozen lines, but it is undoubtedly a faithful account. Francisco Pelsaert described Agra as "exceedingly large, but decayed, open, and unwalled".¹ De Laet, who copied many a detail from Pelsaert, observed that Agra "is said to have been a mere village before the times of King Achabar, but is now a spacious and very populous city ..."² Peter Mundy wrote from personal knowledge that Agra "was very populous by reason of the great Mogolls keeping of his Court heere ..."³

As the one great desire that had brought Fitch to this place was to see Akbar, he could not but go to Fatehpur Sikri to get first-hand knowledge of the Great Moghal's wealth. He does not say anything about his interview with the Emperor, nor does Newberry tell us if Akbar condescended to look at the letter of Queen Elizabeth which they had so jealously guarded throughout their dangerous journeyings. There is, however, some reason to believe that Fitch must have seen the Emperor personally and talked to him. Vincent Smith argues that Akbar must have had some communication with John Newberry and Ralph Fitch as otherwise he could not have taken their companion, William

-
1. W.H. Moreland and P. Geyl, Jahangir's India (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., 1925) p.1.
 2. J.S. Hoyland and S.N. Banerjee, The Empire of the Great Mogol (Bombay : D.B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 1928), p.37.
 3. The Travels of Peter Mundy, in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667 (London : Hakluyt Society, 1914), vol. II., p. 207.

Leedes, the jeweller, into his service. That Leedes was employed by the Emperor does not necessarily mean that the Emperor had personally seen the leading English merchants; Leedes himself might have found a way to be introduced to the Emperor. Fitch, who is generally reliable, speaks thus of Akbar:

The king is apparelled in a white Cabie (i.e. a muslin tunic) made like a shirt tied with strings on the one side, and a little cloth on his head coloured oftentimes with red or yealow. None come into his house but his eunuches which keepe his women.¹

The excerpt furnishes better evidence for the belief that Fitch had seen the Emperor personally. It is difficult to conjecture to-day what they talked about. After having enquired about their health and welfare, the Emperor probably asked them to tell him about England and the Queen. G.R. Elton goes to the extent of saying that "Fitch came to some sort of agreement" with the Mughal Emperor.² He was probably thinking of John Mildenhall, who, as we shall see in the next chapter, was "the only other British subject known to have conversed with Akbar"³.

Fitch found Fatehpur Sikri "greater than Agra, but the houses and streetes be not so faire". He was told that the king had in Agra and Fatehpur one thousand elephants, thirty thousand horses, fourteen hundred tame deer, eight hundred concubines, and "such store of ounces, tigers, buffles, cocks and haukes, that is very

1. Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

2. *England under the Tudors* (London: Methuen & Co., 1955), p.339.

3. Vincent A. Smith. *Akbar the Great Mogul* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1919), p. 297.

strange to see". Fitch saw no reason to disbelieve this report, for what he saw in the capital was enough to corroborate it. "He keepeth a great court", is all that he says about the magnificence of Fatehpur Sikri. One would have liked him to describe in some detail the splendid halls, the spacious court yards and stables, the beautiful houses of the queens, the graceful mosque, and the numerous other edifices devoted to business or pleasure. If, however, the historian is disappointed by the omission of a full description of the royal palace in all its splendour, he is amply compensated by the more useful general description which follows. Akbar's friend and minister, Abul Fazl, had in some respects a better eye for detail than Ralph Fitch, but the latter attains to beauty by other means. Fitch, writing for his own countrymen, drew only the outlines of the picture, leaving his readers to develop them for themselves. This method had some obvious disadvantages in comparison with Abul Fazl's, but was quite in keeping with the imaginative spirit of Elizabethan England.

The great architectural monuments of Agra and Fatehpur Sikri belong to a later date, but even then there were many beautiful buildings designed and constructed under the Turko-Afghan rulers of India. It is a pity that Fitch writes nothing about the new Indian style of architecture at Bijapur, which he had visited, and that he did not visit Delhi, for centuries the capital of the Turko-Afghan rulers and noted for its magnificent buildings, towers and mosques, especially for its Qutb group of mosques, the most famous of which was the Qutb Minār.

Agra and Fatehpur naturally reminded Fitch of his own country; he found both "very great cities, either of them much greater than London and very populous." But it was the continuous market, crammed with foodstuffs and other commodities and linking the two cities, that seems to have impressed him most. He says:

Between Agra and Fatepur are 12.miles, and all the way is a market of victuals & other things, as full as though a man were still in a towne, and so many people as if a man were in a market. They have many fine cartes, and many of them carved and gilded with gold, with two wheeles which be drawn with two litle Bulls about the bignesse of our great dogs in England, and they will runne with any horse, and carie two or three men in one of these cartes: they are covered with silke or very fine cloth, and be used here as our Coches be in England.¹

When Fitch talks of foodstuffs, markets and means of conveyance, he reminds the reader of the guide-books that were so popular in the Elizabethan age. To compile such a book was not his principal aim, but he furnishes sufficient information to minister to the needs of the tourists who were expected to enquire "concerning the district, its names, past and present; its language; its situation; measurements; number of towns, or villages; its climate, fertility; whether maritime or not, and possessing forests, mountains, barren or wooded; wild beasts, profitable mines; animal or vegetable life peculiar to itself; navigable or fish-yielding rivers; medicinal baths; efficient fortresses".² An ideal traveller himself, Fitch took great care in treating of a town to tell of its situation, its general appearance, its size, and the materials of which it was built. Unfortunately, his taste in architecture was not good, and he usually refrains from commenting on a building that Baedeker would star to-day.

1. Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

2. See E.S. Bates' Touring in 1600 (London: Constable & Co., Ltd., 1911), p. 38.

Quite naturally the markets and the commodities available there appealed most to his taste and he was delighted by their commercial possibilities.

It is obvious, from what we have seen of his descriptions, that Fitch was well aware of India's prosperity. At Patna he saw people digging gold from the earth, in Orissa he saw "very rich rice, and cloth made of cotton, and great store of cloth which is made of grasse...."¹ Similarly, he found Satagam "a faire citie...and very plentiful of all things"², and he described Sonārgāon in East Bengal as "a towne sixe leagues from Serrepore (Serampur), where there is the best and finest cloth made of cotton that there is in all India".³ The people of Sonargaon were very rich, but lived simply. "Here they will eate no flesh, nor kill no beast: they live of Rice, milke, and fruits. They goe with a little cloth before them, and all the rest of their bodies is naked. Great store of Cotton cloth goeth from hence, and much Rice, wherewith they serve all India, Ceilon, Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra, and many other places".⁴

At Golconda and Tanda, too, Fitch had noticed men and women going "with a cloth bound round their middles without any more apparell". The remark is certainly interesting. A typical Indian, says Minoo Masani, is a man "with his body bare to the waist, his feet bare, the rather thin pagri on his head and a short dhoti being all the clothing he wears. He carries a sickle in his hand".⁵ Thus Fitch's remark was calculated not so much to startle his countrymen as to enlighten

1. Hakluyt, op. cit., p. 257.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p. 258.

4. Ibid.

5. Our India (London and Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1940), p. 35.

them. His statement is also attested by many other writers. Speaking about the Hindus of the Deccan, Barbosa noted that they went naked from the waist upwards and wore small turbans on their heads. Ludovico di Varthema said that the Nairs of Malabar "go naked and unshod, with a cloth around them, without anything on their heads...."¹ He said the same thing about the Hindus of Gujarāt and the common people of Vijayanagar. Linschoten records that the peasants near Goa "go naked, their privy members only covered with a cloth", and Pietro Della Valle says that the "people is numerous, but the greatest part are slaves, a black and lewd generation, going naked for the most part, or else very ill clad, seeming to me rather a disparagement than an ornament to the city".² Two native accounts corroborate these observations. The first Mughal Emperor of India, Babar, says that "peasants and people of low standing go about naked,"³ and Abul Fazl in the Ain-i-Akbari remarks that men and women of Bengal for the most part go naked, wearing only a cloth.⁴

It would be unwise to assume that these observations indicate in every case what Masani calls "poverty in the land of plenty". Poverty there was in India then as now, and a large number of people whom Fitch had met must have been poor, but apparel does not "oft proclaim the man" in this country. The climate here, its sweltering heat, compels even the rich to dress themselves as lightly as they can. Those who could afford did actually dress themselves properly

-
1. The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema (London: Hak. Soc., 1863), p. 124.
 2. The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India (London: Hak. Soc., 1892), vol. I, p.157.
 3. See W.H. Moreland's India at the Death of Akbar (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1920), pp. 274-276.
 4. Ibid., p. 276.

in winter, as is apparent from Fitch's remark about the people of Banaras.¹ It is also significant that apart from poverty and climate, there was a tradition of nakedness that prevented people from using too many clothes.² It was a tradition established by Indian sannyāsis to put on as little clothing as possible. Instead of covering their bodies from head to foot, as, for instance, the Roman Catholic priests do, they believed, and still believe, in the raiment of the spirit, not of the body. (Mahatma Gandhi in our own times used very little cloth to dress himself.). The villagers, naturally unaffected by the pomp and glitter of the townsmen and more faithful to the living traditions of their country, did not dress themselves as Fitch had probably anticipated. Digambaras³ or Digvasanas who formed one of the two branches of the Jains, were so called because they were naked monks in contradistinction to the monks of the other branch of the Jains, the Svetāmbaras, who wore white garments more suited to the northern climate. One of the tenets of the Digambaras was that a monk who owns any property, e.g. wears clothes, cannot reach nirvāna. Like those living in modern nudist colonies, they probably sought to re-establish the same primeval contact with nature that the pagan, "suckled in creeds outworn", used to enjoy. People in the West should not find it difficult to understand the significance of this practice, for does not the Book of Genesis associate nudity with a state of innocence?

1. Ibid., p. 275.

2. W.H. Moreland has referred to "the tradition of nakedness in the south". This tradition found general support also in the north.

3. See E.R.E. (1911), vol. IV, p. 704.



Indian Marriages. "The Man, the Woman, and a Bramen
Priest, a cow and a calf, go down
together into the water."

Although Fitch did not dwell on the feudal structure of the society in Mughal India, he referred to some of the prominent social practices of the period. These are sati, child-marriage and polygamy.

Near Burhanpur, a town in the Nimar district, Fitch found "marriages great store both in townes and villages in many places where wee passed, of boyes of eight and ten yeeres, and girles of five or sixe yeeres old. They both so ride upon one horse very trimly decked, and are caried through the towne with great piping and playing, and so returne home and eate of a banket made of Rice and fruits, and there they daunce the most part of the night and so make an ende of the marriage".¹ The feasting and dancing over, the children went back to their own parents' homes for a few years. A second ceremony² was performed and the girl, now ten years of age, rejoined her husband who was thirteen or fourteen.

Fitch tries to go into the causes and antecedents of these early marriages. He is told that "they marry their children so yoong, because it is an order that when the man dieth, the woman must be burned with him: so that if the father die, yet they may have a father in lawe to helpe to bring up the children which bee married: and also that they will not leave their sonnes without wives, nor their daughters without husbands".³ In reality, however, the information was only partially correct. The early marriages fitted

1. Hakluyt, op. cit., p. 253.

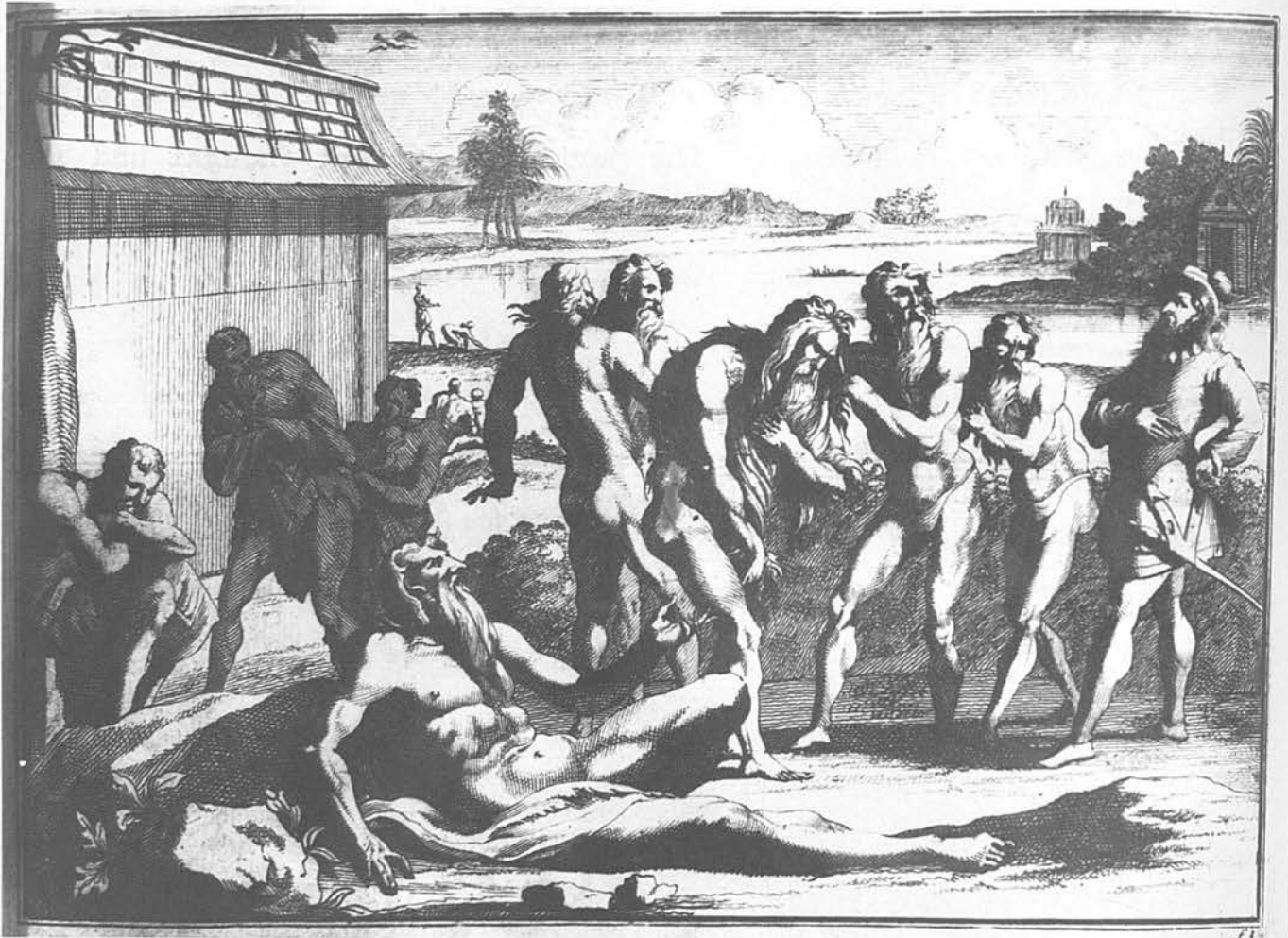
2. This is known by different names in different places, such as dwiragaman, gauna, ritushanti, garbhadan, rukhsati, doli and the like.

3. Hakluyt, op. cit., pp. 253 et seq.

in well with the older scheme of life when the exigencies of the joint family required the early introduction of young pliable girls into the family circle to be brought up according to the traditions of the family under the stern discipline of the mother-in-law. Fitch's informants should have told him that the custom of early marriage did not exist in Vedic times. From the evidence of ancient Sanskrit dramas and Puranic literature it is obvious that at that time marriages were contracted between grown-up men and women and that often they chose their partners of their own free will.¹ There are instances in the Purānas of young women and men marrying each other even against the wishes of their parents. The later custom of svayamvara or "self-choice" which prevailed amongst the Rajput Kshatriyas proves that till as late as the tenth or twelfth century A.D., girls were free to choose their own husbands - which, it is evident, they could not possibly have done in their infancy. The large majority of the Hindus, however, led by the orthodox Pandits, think that the custom has its sanctions in the Hindu religion and, therefore, is as old as the Hindu dharma itself. With the spread of women's education and the rapid change in economic and social conditions this practice is less rigorously observed, and among the educated classes the marriage age of girls all over India is steadily rising.

Referring to the well-known practice of widow-immolation, Fitch remarks that "the wives here do burn with their husbands when they

1. For an excellent treatment of the question of child marriages, see Prof. A.L. Basham's The Wonder that was India (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1954), pp. 165 et seq.



"...a barbarous countenance, overgrown nails, and long shaggy Hair, does better than a good Stock of Piety and Vertue..."

die; if they will not, their heads be shaven, and never any account is made of them afterwards". It appears from his description of the social and religious practices of the Hindus that rural society (and more than nine-tenths of India must have been rural) was vitiated by taboos and inhibitions of its own making: the iniquities of caste and untouchability; the ritualism that passed for religion; the wide flung cobweb of superstitious faith. It was all an outgrowth of centuries of decadence. The purity of ancient thought had been lost through misinterpretation so that the dignity of man had become a mere plaything of vested interest. The ancient quest of the Hindus, the quest for satyam, sivam, sundaram - Truth, Goodwill and Beauty - had disappeared and in its place, misguided faith burned like a great lamp of oil that gave little light but a great deal of smoke. It was this smoke which was pouring over India and making it stifling. Time and again, Fitch makes a point of sweeping away common superstitions and dissipating vulgar errors. At Patna he "saw a dissembling prophet which sate upon an horse in the market place, and made as though he slept, and many of the people came and touched his feete with their hands, and then kissed their hands. They tooke him for a great man, but sure he was a lasie lubber". Such hypocrites should have been thrown out on the street with twenty thrashings of a broom-stick. They were like the tomcat who became an ascetic when he was too old and crippled to run after rats. The saying goes:

Fish he won't eat, nor meat, rid of greed and wed to
 religion,
 Rosary on neck and begging-bowl on paw, he makes a
 pilgrimage to Sri Brindavan!

At Allahabad Fitch found a beggar being made great account of by credulous people. This man was "a monster among the rest" with a long beard, and having nails two inches long. The Brahmans whom the "Gentiles" revered were "a kind of craftie people, worse than the Jewes", and the Hindus were a little more than "the greatest idolaters that ever I sawe". The sacred thread appeared to Fitch to be nothing but a mere "string", and the three white stripes, the emblems of the Lord's threefold aspect as creator, protector and destroyer, which some Brahmans painted in sandal paste on their foreheads, nothing but a "marke".

His remarks about Hindu women coming to the water-side in groups and singing religious songs are not based on cheap gossip. The Hindu maiden, born and bred in the ancient starlight of Vedic civilization, washed by the running stream of the centuries, sheathing her limbs and her thoughts in a conversational dress to suit the needs of each passing age, is innately unchanged: she has retained all her ancient hunger to come to the water-side with her companions to offer worship to the gods. Foreigners visiting sacred places may even to-day see her doing the same thing. When, however, Fitch saw her with her companions, she no longer had the freedom enjoyed by the Vedic women who lived a thousand years before the beginning of the Christian era. By the sixteenth century A.D. she had become a household drudge, or a mere decorative being, and had ceased to be an intellectual, striding beside man in a tireless quest for knowledge.¹ A widow's was naturally a more hopeless plight,

1. The Vedic women like Gargi and Maitreyi were not merely bodiless thinkers, but women who had married, performed trivial household duties, borne children, and yet they were free.

for no one volunteered to marry a widow against social sanction. The ancient books approved such a union,¹ but later, degenerate ages stripped the widow of her human right. To-day, a dependent widow's lot is often bad enough. The pressure of circumstance and, even more, the repeated waves of alien invasion have reduced the status of Indian women almost to that of helpless chattels. Even reformers like Kabir and Nanak have had the painful realization that the knot hardened by centuries would not yield to a mild sword stroke and that a rock-like false decorum blocked their road to fulfilment.

We are not concerned with what the Brahmans were like in the ancient ages, but with what they had become in the days of Ralph Fitch. In order to find out how much authenticity is to be credited to Fitch's account of their practices, we need only quote a few extracts from other travellers who have written on the subject of the Brahmans. Tomé Pires, writing in the first half of the sixteenth century, observed that the "Brahmans are priests who wear a cord hanging from the left shoulder and under the right arm....They are men who do not eat anything which has been living (Flesh and) blood; and for this reason the ancients said of them that no person in Malabar should have the power to eat beef on pain of death, and that this would be a great sin".² To Tomé Pires, however, the Brahmans appeared "well versed in the things of their faith".³ Like Fitch, he also noted that they worshipped the cow as a sacred animal and had the power of excommunication and absolution. Duarte Barbosa, a

1. "All evidence shows, however, that the remarriage of widows was fairly common in earlier times". See A.L. Basham, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

2. The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires (London: Hak. Soc., 1944), vol. I., p. 68.

3. Ibid.

Portugese traveller who wrote his description at the beginning of the sixteenth century, observed that the Brahmans "do not eat flesh nor fish, they are much revered and honoured by the Indians, and they are not executed for any offence which they may commit....They believe many more vain things, which they speak of. These people each time that they wash put some ashes upon their heads, foreheads and breasts"¹ Barbosa concludes his account of the Brahmans with the remark that they were well read in their law of idolatry, possessed many books, and were learned and masters of many arts; and so the kings honoured them as such.²

Peter Mundy, whose travels in Asia are well known, confirms all that Fitch has written about the Hindus of Banaras. Like Fitch, Mundy too found that Banaras was "of verie much esteeme and resorte (if not the cheifest in India) by the Hindooes for sanctitye, Pilgrimages, etts., Washinges, which must bee performed 40 mornings with a thousand Ceremonies by those that resort thither (which is from all parts of India)".³ Like him, again, he found many "fackeeres" and "joogues" there, the latter wearing "Yellowish Clayish Coulored Clothes".⁴ The most interesting description of Banaras, however, is that which Bernier wrote in a letter to Jean Chapelain. "The town of Benares, seated on the Ganges, is a beautiful situation, and in the midst of an extremely fine and rich country," wrote he

-
1. A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar (London: Hakluyt Society, 1866), pp. 121-123.
 2. Ibid., p. 123.
 3. The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia (London: Hakluyt Society, 1914), vol. II., pp. 175 et seq.
 4. Ibid., p. 177.

may be considered the general school of the Gentiles. It is the Athens of India, whither resort the Brahmens and other devotees; who are the only persons who apply their minds to study. The town contains no colleges or regular classes, as in our universities, but resembles rather the schools of the ancients; the masters being dispersed over different parts of the town in private houses, and principally in the gardens of the suburbs, which the rich merchants permit them to occupy....It is usual for the pupils to remain ten or twelve years under their respective preceptors, during which time the work of instruction proceeds but slowly; for the generality of them are of an indolent disposition, owing, in a great measure, to their diet, and the heat of the country....¹

Bernier goes on to describe the languages and books taught by the Pandits in these schools, comments on the subject-matter of the sacred writings of the Hindus, and throws a flood of light on their general behaviour, customs and practices. Ralph Fitch, whose main concern was the exploration of India's commercial possibilities, had neither time nor reason to go into such elaborate details. No wonder, then, that his narrative is sketchy and his observations somewhat crude in comparison with those of Bernier, whose Travels exercised an enormous influence on his contemporaries and on later generations, and directed their attention still more to the Orient and its literature.

Those drawbacks of Fitch's narrative which seem to be quite indefensible to-day result mainly from the nature and purpose of his enterprise. The golden age of Asiatic researches was yet to come, but who will deny that Fitch and his compatriots, as well as some enterprising continental European travellers, qualified in many respects to observe with penetration and record with accuracy, had all unknowingly made a start in this direction? Their writings may

1. Travels in the Mogul Empire (London: Oxford University Press, 1914), pp. 354 et seq.

not have been scholarly, but for centuries they remained the well-head of inspiration for the poets and story tellers who wrote about the Orient.

When E.F. Oaten sought to round off his account of Ralph Fitch, his narrative, and his achievements, he wrote:

Fitch's observations, as recorded in Purchas his Pilgrimes, are not of any special value, and we can never forgive him for dismissing the great Akbar so curtly, and for failing to see that he was a far different personage from the numerous lordlings whom he met in his wanderings....¹

A few more limitations of Fitch's narrative may here be pointed out. Not only does our traveller dismiss the great Akbar rather curtly, but he fails also to mention any of those personalities who later came to be known as navaratna, or the nine gems, of the court of Akbar. Nor does he care to write about the religious books of the Hindus.² "A rich and prosperous country inhabited by cruel and credulous gentiles" is all that he has to say to his European contemporaries about India. Although he is fully justified in referring to child marriage, he does not show any awareness of the attempts made by Akbar to check them. Akbar, whose dominions Fitch visited, made a laudable attempt to regulate social usages; he tried to make the consent of both bride and bridegroom, as well as the permission of the parents, necessary for marriage contracts. He also sought to check marriage before puberty by either party, marriages between near relatives, acceptance of high dowries, and

1. European Travellers in India (London: Kegan Paul & Co., 1909), p. 110.

2. It is strange that although he comes from a country remarkable for its literary efflorescence in his own time, he fails to observe a similar development of literature in India in the reign of Akbar.

polygamy. His attempt does not, however, seem to have been practically effective. Even then, however, there were certain states where child marriages were not practised. Unfortunately, its most rigorous practice was found in the states that Fitch visited - the Central Provinces (now, of course, the Madhya Pradesh), Berar, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and also in the United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh) where it was equally practised by the Muslims and the Hindus. The Frontier Provinces (now not a part of India), the Punjab, Madras and Assam were not affected by it.

To the simple sensibility of Fitch, many of the profound implications of the Hindu religion were naturally unintelligible. What therefore he did was merely to dwell on its outward forms - on sati, child-marriage and polygamy. These seem to have struck his imagination and assumed an importance which they have never had for Hinduism as a whole. He does not realise, as the later Orientalists like Sir William Jones, Sir Charles Eliot and Sir George Grierson did, that "if Hinduism were really bad, so many great thoughts, so many good lives could not have grown up in its atmosphere".¹ What is conspicuous in the narrative is the writer's lack of correct historical perspective which alone could have revealed to him India's social and religious picture in its completeness. Its spiritual and moral aspects, which either remained hidden from him or manifested themselves only in warped forms such as the contemporary (but not universal) practice of child-marriage, would in that case have revealed themselves to him. Given this insight, he would have been

1. Sir Charles Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism (London: E. Arnold & Co., 1921), vol. I., p. xci.

a social interpreter and historian rather than a superficial recorder of insignificant details.

In spite of all these defects, Fitch, to quote E.F. Oaten again, "stands high among the famous travellers of England. Not only was he the first Englishman to emulate the experiences and adventures of the famous Portuguese and Italian travellers of former years, and the first to examine with his own eyes the commercial possibilities for Englishmen of the countries of the East, but the many difficulties which he overcame and the wide extent of ground which he covered make him a worthy predecessor of some of the better known English travellers of the seventeenth century".¹ One may safely presume that Fitch's narrative of his travels, by virtue of its very understatement, must have quickened the curiosity of other explorers and adventurers and spurred them on to continue the work he had begun. For although there is no elaborate description of the Mughal court in all its glory in his narrative, as there is, for example, in Hawkins's narrative or in Roe's journal, there is some reason to believe that his account in Hakluyt's Principal Navigations created a stir. "Its appearance," says Cecil Tragen, "at the height of the discussions which were then taking place about fresh ventures to the Indies, was admirably timed to produce the desired effect. Once more Fitch was the man of the moment, consulted by all who wanted further details about points in his story. They admired a man whose work had been achieved almost single-handed and without force of arms, who had no bands of

1. Op. cit., p. 110.

followers to help and encourage him, no armies and no fleets at his command. They could read how Fitch's only weapon had been his native shrewdness, his courage and two letters of introduction from Queen Elizabeth - neither of which was of any use."¹

His hap was hard, his hope yet nothing frail:
 Not ragged recks, not sinking series or sands,
 His stoutness stayed from viewing foreign lands...
 - Abraham Fleming.

The next English traveller to journey to the East overland like Ralph Fitch and his companions was John Widdeshall, or Widdall, self-styled ambassador of Queen Elizabeth to Akbar, the Great Moghal. Nothing is known of his early life before he came in contact with the East India Company, not even as much as we know of a man like Father Thomas Stephens whose works have in recent years led many scholars to investigate his life and achievements with a thoroughness which has indeed proved singularly fruitful. Widdeshall's obscurity is not due to any carelessness on the part of scholars who have failed to see in him a man of some historical importance: rather it is his relative failure both as a man of letters and as a leader of British commercial enterprise in the East, that accounts for the neglect he has received. He neither left any comprehensive account of his journey nor achieved any permanent success in his mission which brought him to the court of the Great Moghal.

But success, commercial or literary, has not alone been the source of a traveller's popularity. If that were the only thing needed,

1. Op. cit., pp. 147 et seq.

CHAPTER III.

JOHN MILDENHALL

(1599-1606)

His hap was hard, his hope yet nothing fraile;
 Not ragged rocks, not sinking sertes or sands,
 His stoutness stayed from viewing foreign lands...

- Abraham Fleming.

1.

The next English traveller to journey to the East overland like Ralph Fitch and his companions was John Mildenhall, or Midnall, self-styled ambassador of Queen Elizabeth to Akbar, the Great Mughal. Nothing is known of his early life before he came in contact with the East India Company, not even as much as we know of a man like Father Thomas Stephens whose works have in recent years led many scholars to investigate his life and achievements with a thoroughness which has indeed proved singularly fruitful. Mildenhall's obscurity is not due to any carelessness on the part of scholars who have failed to see in him a man of some historical importance: rather it is his relative failure both as a man of letters and as a leader of British commercial enterprise in the East, that accounts for the neglect he has received. He neither left any comprehensive account of his journey nor achieved any permanent success in his mission which brought him to the court of the Great Mughal.

But success, commercial or literary, has not alone been the cause of a traveller's popularity. If that were the only thing needed, Father Stephens would have been as popular in England to-day as his famous contemporaries Shakespeare, Ben Jonson and John Donne. Nor

has failure always given occasion to obscurity. Hawkins, it will be seen, did not achieve any success as King James's ambassador to Jahangir, nor was Sir Thomas Roe's mission to the Mughal court as remarkable in its results as it is sometimes taken to be. But both Hawkins and Roe are popular figures, well known to the students of history. In both cases character, personality and family connections played an important part. Though Hawkins returned to England a failure as a commercial agent, he had, during some years spent in the Levant, mastered the Turkish language and with it had been able to acquire in India a knowledge of Oriental manners and customs, and what was, perhaps, more important, had gained an insight into eastern character. Moreover, there was a popular belief that he was the nephew of Sir John Hawkins of Armada fame, who had served in Sir Francis Drake's voyage to the South Sea in 1577 and in October 1581 was nominated as Lieutenant to Edward Fenton, appointed to command an expedition to the East Indies and China. Thomas Roe was esquire of the body to Queen Elizabeth I in the last years of her reign, and after her death was knighted by James I. He was popular at court, especially with Henry, Prince of Wales, who gave him his first opportunity of distant travel by sending him upon a voyage of discovery to the West Indies. But Mildenhall had no such achievements to his credit. His literary work is much shorter than either Hawkins's or Roe's and his style does not compensate for the want of information that is so evident in his letters.

The editors of the Dictionary of National Biography and of the various encyclopaedias do not mention this traveller, though there are

many references to him in the court records of the East India Company. His name appears for the first time there in connection with a letter which he had sent "to his master Rich Stapers, declaring what privileges he had obtained in the Indies, and offering them and his service to the Company for 1,500 l. in hand."¹ The Court in its deliberations on 21 June 1608, decided to leave consideration of his demand until his return to London or to the Netherlands. In the entry under July 27 it is said:

...Petition of John Midnall to the King, declaring his ten years' travels, and charge of 3,000 (sic) in the discovery of a rich trade in the dominions of the Great Mogul, and praying that he and his co-adventurers may be permitted to enjoy the privileges he had obtained there. Referred by the Lord Treasurer to Sir Walter Cope, Arthur Ingram, Hewett Staper, and Nicholas Leate, to deal with the East India Company and report thereon; the petition read and a committee appointed on the part of the Company.²

On October 6 the committee resolves to confer with Mildenhall.³ Probably as a result of this he, along with Lawrence Femell and Edward Abbott, is nominated a factor,⁴ but he still persists in his demands. The committee therefore decides to confer with him once again concerning his demands to be employed. The negotiations having failed, the Court decides not to engage Mildenhall: he is, in fact, "not thought fit to be engaged".⁵ In a letter to Sir Henry Middleton dated 23rd May 1611, Lawrence Femell and John Williams write that they

1. Calendar of State Papers, East Indies, 1513-1616, p.174.

2. Ibid. p.190.

3. Ibid. p.194.

4. Ibid. p.195.

5. Ibid. p.198.

"fear the news from Surratt to be too true, for when John Mednall was in Agra, a friar wrought him out of the country, fit instruments of evil." ¹ Peter Floris's letter from Masulipatam to Thomas Aldworthe at Surat refers to him as "a certain English merchant John Bednall." ² Thomas Aldworthe and William Biddulph in a letter from Surat dated the 19th of August 1614, addressed to the East India Company, inform them that Newman was employed by Stapers, Abbott, and others, to recover goods from John Mildenhall who died at Ajmer, and that there was some hope of getting them back. ³ They tell us further that

This Midnall aforesaid came to the king's court at Agemere (Ajmer) in the beginning of April last and died there in June following, making a Frenchman, that came with him from Persia, his executor, on condition he should marry with a daughter of his now is Persia. ⁴

The news of the death of Mildenhall at Ajmer ⁵ in June 1614 is also confirmed by a letter of Thomas Aldworthe written at Surat on 19 August 1614, to Peter Floris at Masulipatam. But the most important letter, which throws an interesting light on the activities of this traveller in India and elsewhere, is that of Thomas Kerridge who held a responsible position in the service of the Company. Written at Ajmer on September 20 the letter informs the Company that

here came unto me one Richard Steele an Englishman, that came from Aleppo in company of Richard Newman, in the pursuit of John Midnall, who with a cavidall (stock) of goods and monies appertaining to some particular merchants of your Worshipful Company fled from Persia to come into the Indies,

1. F.C. Danvers (ed.), Letters received by the East India Company (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company, 1896), vol. I, p.123.

2. William Foster (ed.), Letters received by the East India Company (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company, 1897), vol. II, p.60.

3. Ibid. p. 98.

4. Ibid.

5. John Crouther wrote to the Governor and Committees of the East India Company from Ahmadābād on 26 December 1614 that John Mildenhall died at Agra (Letters received,) vol. II, p.242.

but the said Newman overtook him at Tombaz, near the confines, and carried him back again at Espahaune (Ispahan), where he received from him in goods and monies the value of some nine thousand dollars, giving him a full discharge from all future demands; which ended, Midnall undertook again his journey into these parts, and Steele upon some discontent betwixt Newman and him left him, and came along in the company of Midnall, who falling sick at Lahore, he left him there also, and came hither unto me, where failing of his expectation he returned back to Agra, there to attend Midnall's coming.¹

From the same letter we learn that when Kerridge came to Ajmer "to prosecute against Midnall for the rest of the goods", he found him at the point of death, lodged by the Jesuits in a Frenchman's house,² and that he died the same night, having left his goods to his two bastard children in Persia by an Indian woman "at his former being here". He had appointed as his executor the Frenchman, who promised to marry his daughter and bring up his son. The property amounted to about £500, being the proceeds of goods sold by Midnall at fifty per cent. less than their value. This money was recovered from the Frenchman; whose house was searched and who was himself imprisoned and disgraced.

Nicholas Withington, whose narrative of Indian travels we shall have occasion to discuss at some length later, informs us that Mildenhall used to write a journal.³ Thomas Aldworthe knew its value and made anxious enquiries about it; but, unfortunately, it was all burnt by the Frenchman, as soon as Mildenhall was dead. The journal was, as Withington puts it, "a long paper book he used daily to write in."

1. Foster, op. cit., pp. 104 et seq.

2. William Foster identifies this man with Austin of Bordeaux whose name is so often mentioned in connexion with the decoration of the palace at Agra and the Taj Mahal. (See J.R.A.S., 1910, p. 494.)

3. Foster, op. cit., p.141.

References to Mildenhall in the Calendar of State Papers and in the Letters received by the East India Company continue to be made, but they add little to the information contained in the letters already used and such new light they shed on him is neither very pertinent nor useful. Thomas Kerridge's letter to Thomas Aldworthe and William Biddulph, written at Ajmer on 15 November 1614, informs us, for instance, that some of Mildenhall's goods were "disposed of to the king's use" and that he believed it would be some time before the king would pay for them. He once again refers to Mildenhall's goods in his letter to Captain Downton written on November 22. On January 19 of the following year Kerridge informs the Company that he has recovered Mildenhall's goods from the Frenchman almost to the value of 100 l., besides some 3,400 rupees in money. Thomas Mitford's letter to Sir Thomas Smythe, governor, and the Committees of the East India Company, written on 26 December 1614, which contains a reference to Mildenhall, likewise conveys no fresh information.

These references to Mildenhall, however numerous, do not help us to fit together a connected history of his activities even after he had come into familiar contact with the personalities that were shaping the history of the East India Company in India. But one thing is quite apparent: he was not an estimable character. He cheated his own employers, the merchants of London, who had entrusted him with goods to sell in the Levant. On arriving there, he fled into Persia with this merchandise, pursued by Richard Newman and Richard Steel. From the presence of his tomb in the old Romas Catholic Cemetery at Agra

1. See J.R.A.S., 1910 pp. 495 et sqq.

and from what Purchas tells us, it is obvious that religion sat loosely on such a character, and as soon as he found it expedient to be a Roman Catholic he threw off his Protestant faith.¹ Purchas, evidently on the authority of Nicholas Withington, also states that Mildenhall "had learned (it is reported) the art of poysoning, by which he made away three other Englishmen in Persia, to make himself master of the whole stock ..."² Robert Orme accepts the story of the murder but says that Mildenhall "returned to Persia with some commissions, in which two others, young men, were joined; whom it is said he poisoned, in order to embezzle the effects committed to their common charge."³ Philip Anderson believes with Orme that Mildenhall murdered his countrymen, but that they were only two, and not three as stated by Purchas.⁴

It is also evident from references to Mildenhall in the records of the East India Company that he went to India twice. The two documents printed in Purchas's Pilgrimes (Part I, Bk.III, Chap. 1,3), are concerned with his experiences on his first journey and help us to gather some more valuable information about him. From the first we learn that he was, like Fitch, a merchant of London. William Milburn points out that in the year 1599 Queen Elizabeth I sent him

-
1. Philip Anderson, The English in Western India (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1856), p. 11.
 2. Pilgrimage (1626), p.528.
 3. Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire (London: F. Wingrave, 1805), p.342.
 4. Loc. cit.

overland via Constantinople to the Court of the Great Mughal, to apply for certain privileges for the English Company for whom she was then preparing a charter.¹ Mildenhall himself does not name the person or organisation that sent him to India. Philip Anderson believes that he was sent thither by "a commercial association",² while Robert Orme asserts that he was employed "to bear a letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Mogul, Acbar, requesting the freedom of trade in his dominions."³ There is little evidence to support the view put forward by these historians. If Mildenhall had been sent by the Queen or by a commercial organisation he would not have spent six months at Constantinople (from 29 October 1599 to 1 May 1600), nor taken more than three years to reach Lahore from London. It is evident that both William Milburn and Robert Orme mistook Mildenhall's personal letter to Akbar for that of Queen Elizabeth and thought that since Fitch had carried a letter to the Indian Emperor, Mildenhall too must have done so. Moreover, it appears from John Sanderson's Diary and Correspondence⁴ that Mildenhall had contemplated a venture to

1. Oriental Commerce (London: Black, Parry & Co.), vol. I, p. iv. The same statement has been made by James Mill in the History of British India (London: James Madden, 1858), vol. I, p. 16.

2. Op. cit., p. 10.

3. Historical Fragments, p. 341. Vincent Smith (Akbar the Great Mogul, Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1919, p. 292) observes, evidently on the authority of Orme, that "Mildenhall, a merchant, was employed in 1600, while the establishment of the Company was under adjustment, to bear a letter from Queen Elizabeth to Akbar requesting liberty to trade in his dominions on terms as good as those enjoyed by the Portuguese. The text of the letter does not seem to be recorded." Also see James Mill, op. cit., p. 16n.

4. Br. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. No. 241, ff. 75, 78.

Cairo, but later altered his plans and went to Aleppo instead.¹ Sir William Foster observes that Mildenhall's journey to India was thus "an afterthought, prompted, perhaps, by the receipt at Constantinople of the news of the attempt made in the autumn of 1599 to launch an East India Company in London."² This statement is consistent with Mildenhall's later activities. He hastened to India to get the Mughal Emperor to sign a commercial treaty and to obtain from him some trading concessions for his countrymen. Thus, he thought, he would be able to obtain a handsome reward from the Company.

2.

John Mildenhall left London on the 12th of February 1599 in the Hector with Richard Parsons as its master. On the 27th of April they arrived at Zante, where Mildenhall hired a saettia and went to Scio, Smyrna and on to Constantinople where he arrived on 29 October 1599. After having stayed there for six months he resumed his journey and on 24 May 1600 arrived at Aleppo, where he stayed for forty-two days. On 7 July he left Aleppo in company with about six hundred people, all of divers nations, and came to Bir upon the edge of the river Euphrates. Travelling through Urfa, Diarbekr, Bitelis under Kurds, Van, Nakchivan, Julfa, Sultanieh, Kazvin in Persia, Kum, Kashan, Kerman and Sagistan, Mildenhall at last reached Kandahar. Here the document concludes leaving the reader curious to know of Mildenhall's experiences of his journey from Kandahar to Lahore, where he arrived in 1603.

1. "John Midnall and Tient hath altered the purpose and ar (sic) bound together for Alepo" (ibid. f. 77).

2. Early Travels in India (London, 1921), p.48.

The document which has here been summarised is little more than a catalogue of the names of places visited by Mildenhall in his journey from London to Kandahar. It does not describe the writer's experiences of his journey in any detail.¹ At one place only has Mildenhall evinced some interest in natural description. Speaking about Van, which is reached from Bitelis in three days, he says that it is

a City of great strength, and by the side of the Castle is a great Lake of salt water, navigable, and is in compasse nine dayes journey about, which I my selfe have rowed round about. And once a yeere, at the coming down of the snow waters from the Mountaines, there is abundance of Fish, which come of themselves to one end of the Lake, which I may compare to our Herring-time at Yermouth, where the Countrey-people doe resort from divers places, and catch the said Fish in great abundance, which they salt, and dry, and keepe them all the yeare for their food: the Fish are as big as Pilcherds.²

This is undoubtedly one piece of interesting description in the midst of a jejune catalogue of oriental place-names: if Mildenhall had tried to record his experiences at some length, he would certainly have succeeded, for it is evident that he had some descriptive ability. It is the second document, however, that shows that he could write in a very plain and simple manner which is neither uninteresting nor

-
1. "He only gives us in a very few Lines, a Scheme of his Journey from Constantinople to Candahor. And since he either neglected making due Observations by the way, or at least met with nothing that he thought worth his Observation, the Reader must be contented: neither is there any Course to find out the Cause of this defect, but by taking a Journey after him, and going his Road between Constantinople and Candahor, to see whether it affords anything that deserves Notice or no." John Harris, *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca* (London: Thomas Bennet etc., 1705), vol. I, p. 48.
 2. Purchas his Pilgrimes (London: Henry Fetherston, 1624), Part I, Bk. III, Chap. 1, 3, p. 114.

monotonous. It reads like a piece of narrative, bringing us for the first time face to face with the Great Mughal whom none of the English travellers before Mildenhall had described in either narratives or letters.¹ It marks the beginning of a kind of writing that not only portrays the historical personalities of India in the early Mughal period, but also describes graphically the fortunes of at least three Englishmen² involved in pleasing Akbar, the great Mughal and Jahangir, his son.

Before the second document is dealt with, however, it is pertinent to point out that there are some allusions, by no means very important, to the early stages of Mildenhall's journey in Sanderson's Correspondence. John Sanderson, writing from Pera to Nicholas Salter in London on 12 March 1600, observes:

...I perceave Master Brikhead (Birkhead) is ill conceipted of his son. Indeed it appeareth he hath ben somewhat wild in times past, but now he wilbe tamer. Nether is he so bad or madd as som would make him. He hath ben hear a lettle hardlie use(d), as his feet tasted for being accused to caule John Midnall cuckold; and yet it was not proved to the ambassiator. Indeed Midnale and Lumberd had most knavishly abused him.³

He recalls a similar incident when writing to the same gentleman on 19 July 1600:

...My hartie comendations to Master Paule Pinder. Midnall and (William) Lumberd in som sort abused him hear presently after his departuer...⁴

Mildenhall himself does not help us to discover more about his quarrels.

-
1. "The Letter is the more valuable because we have here the Relation of a very early Visit made to the Great Mogul, and the Original, as it were, of our Correspondence with that Country." (Harris, loc. cit.)
 2. John Mildenhall, William Hawkins and Sir Thomas Roe.
 3. William Foster (ed.), The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant (London: Hakluyt Society, 1931), p.197 (f.74b).
 4. Ibid., p.205 (f.280a).

Sampson Newport, in his letter dated 20th November 1600 from Aleppo to John Sanderson at Pera, informs us that Mildenhall had sent him a letter and that he was "well and in good health".¹ He had also made "accompt it wilbe February next twelfmounth before he retorne for Alepo, if God send health and libertie..."² Thomas Freake at Aleppo wrote to John Sanderson on 21st March 1601 that

By a letter from Master Cartwright of ther voyage into Percia, hee advizeth that he hath ben robbed in those parts of d (ollar)s in d(ollars) 1600 in mony and jewells, which the company here adventured with him, and so is gone nowe to bee entertayned by Master Robert Sherly; but Master Mydnall, havinge escaped that danger, prosedithe of his voyage for Lahoare.

Mildenhall refers to John Cartwright as the only English traveller who accompanied him in his journey from Aleppo to Kashan.³ Although neither Cartwright nor Mildenhall refers to the robbery here spoken of by Thomas Freake, it is evident that it was something not very unusual those days and that the journey undertaken by Mildenhall was certainly fraught with serious dangers. That indeed is one of the reasons why E.A.H. Blunt observes that Mildenhall "was of some note - of a kind - even in his own day; he was a pioneer of Anglo-Indian enterprise, not less enterprising than his many enterprising successors."⁴

For a detailed account of Mildenhall's journey from London to Zante we are indebted to Master Thomas Dallam's Travels with an Organ⁵ to the Grand Signieur. It is evident from both Mildenhall's and

1. Ibid., p.210 (f.80a).

2. Ibid., p.211.

3. Purchas, loc. cit.

4. J.R.A.S., 1910, p.498.

5. J. Theodore Bent (ed.), Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant (London: Hakluyt Society, 1893), pp.4-25.

Dallam's narratives that they did not arrive together at Constantinople, their immediate destination. Mildenhall had parted from his friends on board the Hector at Zante, reaching Constantinople on 29th October¹ 1599, whereas Dallam says that he arrived there on the 15th of August. John Cartwright's The Preachers Travels furnishes an elaborate account of their journey from Aleppo to Kashan. Both Cartwright² and Mildenhall had, in fact, proposed to travel together to Lahore, but the former, for certain reasons which he does not set down, parted company, allowing Mildenhall to travel to Lahore alone and himself "setting forwards to the great Citie of Hispaan (Ispahān), three daies travell distant from Cassan."³

3.

The second document, a long letter addressed to Mr. Richard Staper, written at Kazwin (Casbin) in Persia on October 3 1606, nearly a year after Akbar's death, is a description of all that befell Mildenhall in the Mughal court in India. At his arrival at Lahore, he sent his letters to Akbar, seeking permission to present himself before him and acquaint him with his mission. Permission granted, he proceeded to Agra which he reached in twenty-one days. In his first interview with the Emperor, Mildenhall presented him with "nine and twentie great Horses, very faire and good, such as were hardly found better in those parts: some of them cost me fiftie or threescore pounds an horse, with diverse Jewels, Rings, and Earerings, to his great liking."⁴ In the second interview, the Emperor himself demanded what

1. Ibid., p.57.

2. John Cartwright, The Preachers Travels (London: Thomas Thorppe, 1611), p.10.

3. Ibid., p.59.

4. Furchas, loc. cit.

he (Mildenhall) would have and what his business was. Mildenhall flatteringly replied that "his greatnesse and renowned (sic) kindnesse unto Christians was so much blased through the World, that it was come into the furthest parts of the Westerne Ocean, and arrived in the Court of our Queene of Englands most excellent Majestie; who desired to have friendship with him, and as the Portugals and other Christians had trade with his Majestie, so her Subjects also might have the same with the like favours; and further, because there have beene long Warres betweene her Majestie and the King of Portugall, that if any of their ships or Portes were taken by our Nation, that he would not take it in evill part, but suffer us to enjoy them to the use of our Queenes Majestie."¹

Akbar got all this written down by his secretary and promised Mildenhall that he would look into his requests. More than a week later, Mildenhall received a present from the Emperor to the value of five hundred pounds sterling. But this was merely a formal gift, having hardly anything to do with the grant of privileges he had sought. Shortly afterwards, Akbar consulted the Jesuits regarding Mildenhall's demands. This was enough to turn the scale. The Jesuits, ever anxious to discredit the English in the eyes of the Emperor, "flatly answered him that our (English) nation were all theeves and that I was a spye, sent thither for no other purpose to have friendship with His Majestie but that afterward our men might come thither and get some of his ports, and so put His Majestie to much trouble; saying withall that they had eleven yeares served His Majestie and were bound by their bread and salt that they had eaten to speake the truth, although it

1. Ibid., p. 115.

1

were against Christians."

These and many more speeches turned the King and his principal advisers against Mildenhall, but they did not show any open disrespect to him. Mildenhall's friends at the court reported to him all that happened there. They also succeeded in procuring for him sanction for all his demands but one; the English were not permitted to seize Portuguese ships and ports. This obviously did not satisfy Mildenhall. He went to the King and asked for permission to include the last demand in the privileges he had been granted. The King, however, answered that he would again speak with his councillors before making any decision.

"In this manner", says Mildenhall, in a tone that reminds us of that of Sir Thomas Roe in a similar situation a few years later, "rested my businesse, and every day I went to the court, and in every eighteene or twentie dayes I put up Ars (Arz) or petitions; and still he put mee off with good words and promised that this day and tomorrow I should have them."² Sick of the whole business and seeing himself delayed, he stopped going to the court, and for a month did not see the King. At length Akbar remembered him and sent a messenger to bring him to the Court. The King demanded to know why he had been absent all those days. Thereupon Mildenhall, seeing an opportunity of pressing his demands once again, said that he "had come into his Countrey only upon the great renowme (sic) of his Excellencie, and had wasted five yeares in travaile, and could not obtaine so much as a Commandement at his hands,³ which was wholly for his profit, and nothing for his losse." Hearing this the king called for garments

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

for him made in the Christian fashion "very rich and good" and desired him not to be sad.

Thus assured, Mildenhall spent six months more in the Mughal capital. Finding, however, that nothing had come of the King's promise, he was "exceeding wearie of my lingering, and could do nothing." In the meanwhile he had come to know that the Jesuits had bought over the chief councillors of the King and had also enticed away his Armenian interpreter. Mildenhall thus found himself in a most miserable situation, without friends, money or an interpreter. Afterwards, however, he happened fortunately to meet a schoolmaster who undertook to teach him the Persian language. For six months he studied it day and night and began to "speakeit something reasonably."¹ Thus equipped with a language which he did not know before, he went one Wednesday to the King "in great discontentment". He again resorted to the customary device of pleasing a powerful monarch; he told him flatteringly

how small it would stand with so great a Princes honour, as his Majestie had report to be, to delay me so many yeares only upon the reports of two Jesuites, who, I would prove were not his friends, nor cared not for his profit, nor honour; and desired a day of hearing

Impressed with the sincerity of the envoy, the King promised to hear his case before the Jesuits on the Sunday following. Everything this time was unexpectedly favourable. All the councillors of the King, the Jesuits, and Mildenhall himself assembled to hear the King. At first Mildenhall was called upon to recount the injuries he had

1. Ibid.

received from the Jesuits. He had not the slightest fear when he repeated all that the Jesuits had said, adding that "if they had been of another sort and calling, I would have made them eate their words, or I would have lost my life in the quarrell."¹ He further argued that

in saying, That under colour of marchandise wee would invade your Countrey, and take some of your Forts, and put your Majestie to great trouble. Now that your Majestie may understand, the untruth of these mens false suggestions; know you all, that her Majestie hath her Ambassador Leiger in Constantinople, and everie three yeares most commonly doth send a new, and call home the old, and at the first comming of every Ambassador shee sendeth not them emptie, but with a great and princely present; according whereunto her Highnesse intent is to deal with your Majestie. This profit of rich presents and honour, like to redound to your Majestie by having league of amitie, and entercourse with Christian Princes, and to have their Ambassadors Leigers in your Court, these men by their craftie practices would deprive you of. And our Ambassadors being resident, as pledges in your Court, what dare any of our Nation doe against your Highnesse, or any of your subjects.

When Mildenhall found that the King was pleased to hear all this he turned to the Jesuits and asked them what presents they had brought to the King. Prince Salim at this time intervned, supporting Mildenhall in his charge against the Jesuits. The King thereupon commanded his chief minister, the Khan-i Azam (Aziz Koka), called the Viceroy by Mildenhall, to concede all the privileges sought without any more delay or question. After this brilliant success, Mildenhall went to the Prince and demanded similar privileges for his countrymen and for himself, which the Prince most willingly granted. Thus

1. Ibid, p. 116

2. Ibid.

3. Vincent A. Smith, Akbar the Great Mogul (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1919), p.294.

crowned with laurels Mildenhall left the Mughal court and went to Kazwin on his way home.

The letter containing this narrative poses a very important question - did Mildenhall actually receive those concessions he here speaks of. Robert Orme believes that Mildenhall did obtain a "phirmaund, Acbar being dead, from Jehangire."¹ Vincent Smith accepts Orme's view and adds that Akbar and his son, in granting the requests of the English envoy, were evidently influenced by "the expected gratification of their vanity and cupidity."² Samuel Purchas, it must be noted, does not comment on Mildenhall's claim that he had obtained "Articles of Trading".³ There is, moreover, no convincing evidence, other than his own statement, that Mildenhall obtained any trading privileges. Those who support his claim are the historians who accept uncritically all that the merchant adventurers said and did. If Mildenhall had succeeded in obtaining the privileges he had sought, the subsequent dealings of the East India Company with the Mughal Emperor would have been different. "What four years' negotiation on the part of Hawkins and Roe did not obtain" observes Oaten, "it is very improbable that Mildenhall obtained in half that time."⁴ The same writer further observes that Mildenhall

did not obtain any sort of treaty in the usual sense of the term ... It is possible that he obtained some sort of a local "firman", which naturally became waste paper on the death of Akbar; but this hardly harmonises with Mildenhall's account.

1. Robert Orme Historical Fragments (1805), p.341.

2. V. Smith, Loc cit.

3. Purchas his Pilgrimage (1626), Bk. V, Chap. 7, p.531.

4. E.P. Oaten, European Travellers in India (London; Kegan Paul etc., 1909) p.115.

Whether the envoy was duped, whether he deliberately tried to cover his failure with the story of a fictitious treaty, or whether Akbar's greatness appeared in this transaction as in all else, and some real arrangement was made, are questions it is impossible to decide.¹

A.E.H. Blunt, however, is more decided in his pronouncement. Concluding his article on "The Tomb of John Mildenhall" in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1910), he points out that Mildenhall was a "dishonest scoundrel" and that he tried to cheat both Akbar "with an assumption of ambassadorial dignity" and the East India Company "with concessions that, in all probability, he had never received."²

Vincent Smith gives undue importance to Mildenhall's letter when he observes that it "is of special value as giving a lively picture of the corrupt intrigue prevalent at the Mogul court, and as affording conclusive proof of the activity of the Jesuit missionaries in their capacity as political and commercial agents."³ There are better and more detailed descriptions of these in the narratives of Hawkins and Roe. One thing, however, is certain. Mildenhall's letter deals with the reign of Akbar, whereas Roe and Hawkins describe the practices of the Jesuit missionaries in the court of Jahangir. The Jesuits, invited by Akbar for the first time in 1578 to inform him of their "faith and its perfection",⁴ did not confine themselves to purely religious activities. Only a few years after their arrival at the Mughal court, they began openly to participate in political concerns.

1. Ibid., pp. 115 et seq.

2. J.R.A.S. 1910, p. 497. "Even after his death", Blunt goes on, "he keeps up his evil courses; in the pages of many historians, not to mention occasional periodicals, he still masquerades as 'Sir' John, ambassador of Elizabeth." (p.498) It is not surprising therefore that as great an authority as William Milburn should write to him as "Sir John Mildenhall." (op. cit., p.iv.)

3. V. Smith, loc. cit.

4. J.A.S.B., 1896, vol. 65, p.48.

To frustrate the plans of Mildenhall was their first political game, one which they unfortunately lost.

Mildenhall's letter also pays tribute to Akbar's independence of outlook and judgment, for which he has rightly been praised by later chroniclers, both native and foreign. In fact, the credit for Mildenhall's success, if success it was, goes as much to Akbar as to the English envoy. The influence of the Jesuits and the Portuguese, coupled with the unpredictable character of Jahangir, was responsible for the failure of the next embassy. But Akbar, who was a better judge of human beings than his son, as well as a better politician and ruler, was taken in by Jesuits intrigues for a time. As soon as he saw through their game, he granted all the privileges Mildenhall had asked for, and made no demur. That he consulted the Jesuits time and again and thus made delay in granting trading concessions to the English was due to his extreme respect for the saintliness of some of the Jesuits he entertained in his court. Mildenhall found "certain Jesuits" living there "in great honour and credit, two in Agra and two others in Lahore." When Father Xavier laid before the Emperor a book describing, in Persian, the life, miracles and doctrine of Christ, Akbar was so pleased that he frequently had it read to him by Aziz Koka.¹ The influence of Xavier was in fact so great that some time during the year 1602, he was able to obtain the release from durance of some fifty ship-wrecked Portuguese who had been seized by the Governor of Cambay and sent to the Court.² Father Pierre du Jarric

1. Ibid., p. 87

2. Ibid., p. 88

gives innumerable examples of such favours shown to the Jesuits by Akbar. If, therefore, Mildenhall did not succeed in influencing the Emperor at the outset, his failure is to be attributed more to Akbar's respect for the Jesuits and what Philip Woodruff calls his 'imaginative tolerance' than to his inability to weigh things all independently.

But if Mildenhall's account is to be depended upon, we cannot fail to remark that all was not well with Akbar's court. The practice of present-giving, which in the reign of his son was carried to extremes and was indulged in by all from the Emperor down to his petty officers, had evidently begun much earlier; for the courtiers of Akbar felt no scruples in freely accepting gifts. But Akbar was not so dependent upon his corrupt officers as his son, Jahangir. The real opposition to Mildenhall's demands came from the Jesuits and not from the courtiers. This is all too evident from Mildenhall's letter to Mr. Staper.

Neither of Mildenhall's two letters has outstanding literary value. Except for one brief description of Van already alluded to, there is nothing in these documents that can be strictly called a vivid piece of description. Although according to his own letter he had been to the royal court times without number, he does not give any idea of its splendour or magnificence. In fact, none of the English travellers to the court of Akbar does. "For one really complete European picture of Akbar", says Oaten, "we would gladly exchange any number of the sketches that later travellers give us of his less famous son."¹ We do indeed lament the absence of a complete European picture

1. E.F. Oaten, op. cit., p. 89.

of Akbar. Mildenhall, we find, was eminently suited to undertake this sort of description, for what is left of his work is enough to testify to his potential skill in effective writing. At times he succeeds in rousing our sympathy by his naivete, as when he describes his initial frustration:

In this manner rested my businesse, and every day I went to the Court, and in every eighteene or twentie dayes I put up Ars or Petitions: and still he put mee off with good words, and promised that this day and tomorrow I should have them. In this manner, seeing myselfe delayed, and being at exceeding great expenses of eighteene or twentie Servants, Horsemen and Foot, I withdrew myselfe from going to the Court, in so much that in thirtie dayes I went not.¹

or when he describes his discomfiture a little later:

I should have declared before how the Jesuites day and night sought how to work my displeasure. First, they had given to the two chiefest Counsellors that the King had, at the least five hundred pounds sterling a piece, that they should not in any wise consent to these demands of mine: so that, when I came to present them, they would not accept of anything at my hands, although I offered them very largely: and where I had any friendship, they would by all meanes seeke to disgrace me. But God ever kept me in good reputation with all men.²

The document which contains these lines is wholly personal in character. But it is obvious that Mildenhall could have given us an important journal, no less valuable perhaps than Sir Thomas Roe's, if Austin of Bordeaux had not had the audacity to destroy it.

Mildenhall left England on his second journey to the East some time in early 1611. Some of the important events concerning this expedition have already been related. Before he reached India, he made good his escape with the merchandise entrusted to him by Staper

1. Purchas his Pilgrimes (Glasgow, 1905), vol. II, p. 301.

2. Ibid., p. 302.

and other London merchants. He was not only overtaken but also forced to disburse the value of the stolen property. With Steel as his companion he proceeded farther, but when he reached Lahore, he fell ill; and, though he managed to reach Agra and went on to Ajmer in April 1614, he died at the latter place in June of the same year.

Mildenhall was the last of the early English pioneers in the East, engaged in surveying the ground for the operations of future generations. With his death ends the first period of British intercourse with India and there ensues a period of keen competition when the English desperately endeavoured to wrest from the Portuguese their commercial supremacy in the East. The journals of the English ambassadors who followed Mildenhall and of the merchant adventurers who succeeded Ralph Fitch are of utmost importance to the students of Indian history as well as to those of Anglo-Indian literature. They are indeed the principal European source of information about Mughal India and were for centuries drawn upon for many a simile and metaphor by writers and poets in England who sought to make forceful and vivid their works. These will, therefore, be discussed in the subsequent pages of this study.



DEN
GROOTEN
MOG-OL
SELIM
SHA

A.

B.

تاج محمد و سلطان محمد در این جا ساکنند

Afbeeldingen, gemaakt na de oorspronkelyke, van den Schilder des grooten Mogals. A. Gekroonde Sultan. B. Zyn Vrouw en Slavin.

CHAPTER IV.

WILLIAM HAWKINS

(1608-1613)

O piteous lot of man's uncertain state!
 What woes on Life's unhappy journey wait!
 When joyful Hope would grasp its fond desire,
 The long-sought transports in the grasp expire.

- Luis de Camoëns, The Lusiad, bk. I

1

A controversy has sprung up in recent times regarding the identity of William Hawkins, commander of the Hector, which sailed to the East along with two other vessels on the Company's third voyage. On the ground that Hawkins was for some time in the West Indies, W. Noel Sainsbury suggests the possibility of his identity with the William Hawkins who was a nephew of the celebrated Sir John Hawkins and Lieutenant-General in Fenton's abortive expedition of 1582.¹ Sir Clements Markham, on the basis of this conjecture, maintains that William Hawkins bore the same name as his father, who was brother of Sir John and uncle of Sir Richard Hawkins.² Both Professor J.K. Laughton³ and Sir William Foster⁴ are inclined to distinguish William Hawkins from the person of the same name who belonged to the illustrious family of the naval Hawkinses, who accompanied Drake in 1577, who was Edward Fenton's assistant, and who commanded the Griffin against the Armada. They

-
1. Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1513-1616, p. xliii; also General Index, p. 519.
 2. The Hawkins' Voyages (London: Hakluyt Society, 1878), pp. xli et seq.. F.R. Dulles observes that "William Hawkins was a nephew of Sir John Hawkins of Armada fame." See Eastward Ho! (London: John Lane etc., 1931), p. 189.
 3. See D.N.B. (1908), vol. IX, p. 230.
 4. See England's Quest of Eastern Trade (London: A. & C. Black Ltd., 1933), pp. 184-185n; Early Travels in India (London, 1921), p. 61.

regard him as a Levant merchant, like so many of the East India Company's servants at this time. He was appointed commander of the Hector, they argue, mainly because he knew the Turkish language and not because he was a sea-captain¹ nor because he had an expert knowledge of navigation; for a commander did not necessarily possess this knowledge, navigation being generally the province of the master. It is certain that Hawkins in his journal of the mission to Agra gives no clue of ever having been on active naval service, nor does he ever refer to his family. The nineteen years of silence between the Armada and his departure from England is only additional evidence that he was not the same man.

The first two ventures of the East India Company, directed to the countries of the Malay Archipelago, had brought into England considerable knowledge of eastern markets and had demonstrated the necessity of opening up direct commercial relations with Indian merchants. By the year 1606 it was clear to the Court of Directors that the cotton goods and calicoes imported from Gujarat in India were in great demand in the Indies and that these commodities might be exchanged, with extraordinary profit, for the spices and other productions of the islands. Encouraged by the handsome profits of the first two voyages and by the cessation of hostilities against the Portuguese with the Treaty of London (August 1604), they began preparations for sending out another expedition to the East with instructions to find a good safe harbour for the maintenance of trade in India. A fresh stock of £53,500 was raised, of which

1. Stanley Lane-Poole describes Hawkins as a "simple honest sailor," "a bluff sea-captain," etc. See Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903), pp. 295 et sqq.

£28,620 was spent on repairing and equipping the fleet, and £7,280 on cargo, while £17,600 was sent out in money.¹ Two ships, the Dragon and the Hector, and a pinnace of 115 tons, named the Consent, were obtained and Captain William Keeling was appointed to the chief command, while David Middleton, a younger brother of Sir Henry, was given the command of the pinnace. On 31st December 1606, the Company resolved to obtain letters from King James to the King of Cambay, the Governors of Aden, and "two more places not far from Aden."² Ralph Fitch, who had visited the East Indies in 1583, and had experience in "the strange rites, manners, and customs of those people," was consulted as to the titles of these kings and princes,³ and the advice and opinion of Sir James Lancaster seems to have been obtained upon almost every subject of moment relating to this third voyage.

Elaborate instructions were given to the commanders - instructions which are still extant in the Register of Letters of the East India Company.⁴ We are concerned with them only inasmuch as they throw some useful light upon the subject of this chapter. William Hawkins, we are told, was "to be leiuetenante of the shippes and men," and "to take

-
1. John Bruce, Annals of the Honourable East-India Company (London: Black, Parry, and Kingsbury, 1810), vol. I, p. 154.
 2. W. Noel Sainsbury, Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1513-1616, p. 145. The knowledge that Akbar had been dead for some time had not reached England when the letter was addressed to the King of Cambay, "the most puissant Prince Ackbarir ba Leidg Ackbursha Kinge of Suratt." (See the First Letter Book of the East India Company, p. 103.) Mahomed Jalaluddin Akbar, the third Mughal Emperor of Hindustan, was born in 1542, and died on his 63rd birthday, 15th October 1605.
 3. W. Noel Sainsbury, loc. cit.
 4. See George Birdwood and William Foster, The First Letter Book of the East India Company, 1600-1619 (London, 1893), pp. 114 et sqq.

passadge in the Hector." On account of his experience and language, he was also ordained to deliver King James's letters and presents to the Princes and Governors of Cambay; and Reave and Marlowe were to act as his assistants. His apparel was to be of scarlet and violet, and his cloak lined with taffeta and embroidered with silver lace, befitting his dignity.¹ He was also authorised to exercise the power granted to Keeling in the event of the latter's death. They were all to avoid stopping at the Cape, replenishing instead at St. Augustine in the island of Madagascar, and, if necessary, at Zanzibar, "verie ffitt for refreshinge yo^r people." After that, they were advised to shape their course to the island of Sokotra, then noted for "the best Alloes Zacatrina," and to furnish themselves with a pilot. Then, they were to make for Aden, or some other place thereabouts which they might learn to be more fit for their entertainment and their ships. At Aden they were to inform the Governor of the place who they were, and that they had brought letters to him from their King, seeking only peaceful trade. William Hawkins was to deliver his King's letter to the said Governor along with a suitable gift, and was also to treat with him for privileges and freedom of trade "for soe many yeares as you cann, declaring that o^r kinge is in league wth the Grand Signio^r that o^r people doe trade into Cairo, Aleppo, Damasco, Constantinople, & in all other his dominions freelie."² From Aden they were to proceed to Cambay and endeavour to find out what good saffe Harbo^{rs} are thereaboute ... to trust to, for a mayntenance of a trade" in those parts "in saffetie from the daunger of the Portingalls, or other enymies." In the event of the fleet's being unable to

1. W. Noel Sainsbury, op. cit., pp. 147 et seq.

2. George Birdwood and William Foster, op. cit., p. 120.

reach Aden in the first instance, they were all to proceed to Cambay; and there, if upon diligent inquiry they found a certain and safe expectation of trade, the Hector and Consent were to be left to trade, while the Dragon proceeded to Bantam (in Java). "By some of the people w^{ch} come out eu^ry tyde from Suratt," the Governor, Deputy, and Committees of the merchants of London enjoined,

we wys^h you m^r Hawkins to send word to the Gou^rno^r or Comaunder in Suratt, that there is a messenger arrived wth l[']res from the kings matie of England vnto their kinge, praying the Gou^rno^r to send him a Boate wth saffe Conveyaunce to bringe him to Suratt, wth w^{ch} Conveyaunce yf any come to you from the Gou^rno^r, we wish you m^r Hawkins to repaier thither, taking wth you his maties l[']res & such other provisions as you haue for that purpose ... & comeing to the Gou^rno^r att Suratt, present him wth some such guifte as you shall thinke meete & desire him to assist you wth meanes & guides to the kinge, that yo^u may deliue^r his maties l[']res vnto him according to yo^r chardge¹

A holograph copy of Hawkins' journal, now in the British Museum (Egerton MS., 2100), has been reissued in a modern edition by Sir Clements R. Markham for the Hakluyt Society.² From this as well as from the narratives of Keeling and Finch printed by Samuel Purchas, one gathers many important details regarding this expedition.³ The vessels set out from Plymouth on April 16, 1607. The Consent unfortunately lost company, and was never overtaken. On the 7th of May they reached

1. Ibid., pp. 124 et seq.

2. See The Hawkins' Voyages (London, 1878), pp. 364 et sqq.

3. Purchas his Pilgrimes (London: Henrie Fetherstone, 1625), Part I, Bk. III, Chap. VI, p. 188 et sqq. and Part I, Bk. IV, Chap. IV, pp. 414 et sqq. "This Journall of Captaine Keelings and that of Captaine Hawkins, written at Sea-leasure, very voluminous in a hundred sheets of Paper; I have beene bold to so to shorten as to expresse only the most necessary Observations for Sea or Land Affaires." (Ibid., p. 188.) Purchas did not print Hawkins's journal of the voyage as far as Surat because he had already printed Keeling's. (See his marginal note on p. 206 of the Pilgrimes, Part I, Bk. III.)

a place called Mayo and anchored there to see if they could find fresh water and food. The following day they set sail once again and continued their course against baffling winds. On June 25, however, Hawkins and Keeling consulted about their course, for the west winds and a mighty current had drawn them far to leeward of the small island called Laranja where Keeling wanted to anchor. All attempts to get to this island were foiled by contrary winds, and Hawkins's men began to grow weak. It was therefore decided that they should proceed to Sierra Leone straight away and replenish their dwindled reserve of water and provisions. On August 6 they reached Sierra Leone and remained there till the 13th of September, buying hens, lemons and fish and learning Shakespeare in their spare time. It is recorded in the Dragon's log that 'when the fleet cast anchor off Sierra Leone the crew gave performances of Hamlet and Richard II on the Dragon's deck, before a host of enthusiastic natives. As E.I. Fripp, in Shakespeare, Man and Artist, graphically puts it: "What a picture the entry (in the Dragon's log) calls up! - the little English Dragon anchored with her sister-ships in the bay of Sierra Leone, not ten degrees north of the equator, and her crew, encouraged by the captain, entertain the chief's able interpreter and his fellow darkies with a performance in Elizabethan costume of 'The Prince of Denmark'. This was a means of promoting trade and friendship hardly within the calculation of modern advertising, but entirely in the spirit of the Romantic Queen."¹ Before leaving Sierra Leone they went to a fair stone at the watering place to engrave their names, the year of the Lord, and the month wherein they departed, as

1. Boies Penrose, Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1952), p. 207.

they had seen Sir Francis Drake and Captain Cavendish had done, who had been there before them.¹

Thenceforth they made but slow progress. On the 17th of December, they saw land, "the Table at Saldania," and here they anchored finding, to their extreme joy, these words engraved upon a rock: "The foure and twentieth of July, 1607. Captaine David Middleton in the Consent." ² The first of January 1608, they were again under sail, proceeding towards St. Augustine's Bay (Madagascar), which they reached by the middle of the next month. Their next port of call was Sokotra which was reached in April 1608, more than a year from the commencement of the voyage. On April 27, they had a talk with the crew of a Gujarat ship, who gave them encouraging reports of trade prospects at Aden and advised them not to stay too long at Sokotra.³ Unfortunately, however, contrary winds foiled all attempts to reach Aden, and compelled them to give up that plan and proceed separately to the East. 'General' Keeling proceeded to Bantam in the Dragon, while Hawkins sailed for Surat in the Hector. On 4 August, the latter sailed from Sokotra for the second time, and on 24 August 1608, sixteen months from home, the Hector dropped anchor off the mouth of the Tapti, the first ship to fly the English flag off the coast of India.

The Hector remained there for six weeks before proceeding to Bantam. The Dragon, which had already reached Bantam, took on a cargo there, and returned direct to England, where she arrived about September 1609.

1. C.R. Markham, op. cit., p. 371.

2. Purchas, op. cit., p. 190

3. C.R. Markham, op. cit., p. 384.

Another feature of this voyage was the opening of a factory at Banda, an important seat of the spice trade in the eastern seas. Captain Keeling sailed triumphantly with a cargo of pepper on 3 October 1609, arriving in the Downs on 10 May 1610.

2

Making his début at Surat not as a simple seaman, but as an ambassador, William Hawkins sent messengers to the Governor of Surat informing him of his wish to see him.¹ When after some delays the messengers returned with a cordial invitation, Hawkins went up by boat to the city, where "after their barbarous manner" he was kindly received. When, however, he was near the Governor's house, he was told that he (the Governor) was not well, which led him to decide to see the Shāhbandar, the Chief Customs Officer, instead. His request for permission to establish a factory at Surat was referred to a higher officer, Mukarrab Khan, who was in charge of the administration of the Gujarat ports and was then at Cambay. In the morning Hawkins made another attempt to see the Governor, and this time he succeeded. He gave him

1. Samuel Purchas has divided Hawkins's Relations into four parts under the following titles:

- I. His barbarous usage at Surat by Mukarrab Khan: the Portuguese and Jesuit treacheries against him.
- II. His journey to the Mughal at Agra, and entertainment at Court.
- III. The Mughal's inconstancy, and Captain Hawkins's departure with Sir Henry Middleton to the Red Sea: thence to Bantam, and after for England.
- IV. A brief discourse of the strength, wealth, and government, with some customs of the Great Mughal: which I have both seen and gathered by his chief officers, and over-seers of all his estate.

Some of the principal events relating to Hawkins's mission to the Mughal Court are here briefly described before his account of the conditions prevailing in the Great Mughal's dominion is considered. Needless to say, the summary is based mainly on Hawkins's own narrative.

displacement," David Harvey, *Ships and Men* (London: Duckworth, 1910), p. 136. In the days later it was still a small open galley.

a suitable present and received from him a seemingly warm welcome. But when the Governor was requested to grant him permission to establish a factory there, he showed his helplessness by referring the matter to Mukarrab Khan, just as the Shāhbandar had done.

Mukarrab Khan sent Hawkins permission to land his goods, and to buy and sell them for the present voyage, but he also wrote to the Customs Officer to keep everything Hawkins had brought in the customs house till Shaikh Abdurrahim, his brother, came to examine the cargo. Hawkins accordingly brought ashore all the heavy burden of his ship and kept the goods in the customs house. Fully alive to the benefits that Indian traders and merchants derived from the sale of the commodities they carried to Priaman and Bantam, Hawkins began to purchase the same with a view to sending them to the islands in his ship, which was soon to sail thither. The local merchants - the Gujarat traders - began to grumble and complain to the Governor and Customs Officer, but ignoring all this, Hawkins made the most of the permission he was granted. At last Abdurrahim arrived, and allowed him to ship the goods he had purchased. Anthony Marlow, one of the merchants who had come with Hawkins, was appointed commander of the Hector and the goods were dispatched in two boats, manned by about thirty men. The Portuguese, who at this time dominated the western seas of India, came with their frigates,¹ and seized their boats, with merchandise to a considerable amount, and many of their number, whom they kept prisoners, but did not venture to attack

1. "The name frigate (fragatas, i.e. light and swift vessels, originally built for rowing, afterwards for sailing) has seen a series of changes. It began by meaning an open row-boat, and ended by meaning an ironclad of 6000 tons displacement." David Hannay, Ships and Men (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1910), p. 136. In the days of Hawkins and for many years later it was still a small open galley.

the vessel itself. Hawkins's request for their restitution was turned down and he was bluntly told that they (the Portuguese) were "resolved to snuff out this intrusion of heretics into the Portuguese preserve." Before Hawkins could do anything, his men and goods were sent to Goa. The Hector, however, sailed for Bantam a few days later, on the 5th of October, leaving behind Hawkins and William Finch, together with two English domestics.

Mukarrab Khan had reached Surat two days earlier. He not only confiscated all the goods he specially coveted, but refused to pay for them except at his own price. Moreover, he was, Hawkins thought, plotting with the Jesuits to murder him and seize all his goods, for neither wanted him to reach Agra. Several plots were laid against him. The first attempt was a quarrel, forced on him during a feast held at the water's edge by three gallants "armed with coats of Buffe downe to the knees, their Rapiers and Pistols by their sides,"¹ and some forty followers, all Portuguese, scattered behind them along the sea-side, ready to make an assault when the word should be given. Hawkins laid his hand on his weapon, but the fight was prevented by the Mughal captain, who perhaps did not want to be held responsible for Hawkins's death. On another occasion, the Portuguese came to attack Hawkins in his own house, but he "was alwaies wary, having a strong house with good doores." Many troops lay in ambush for him at other times, so that he could not even peep out of doors for fear of the Portuguese. He decided at last to seek help from the Governor, and happily Finch, who had been ill, began to improve. Finding a suitable opportunity, Hawkins placed Finch in charge of the goods, and set out at the beginning of February 1609

1. Purchas, op. cit., p. 208.

for Agra, where Jahangir, the Great Mughal, was holding his court. Hawkins arrived there in the middle of April after many narrow escapes from assassination.

The news of Hawkins's arrival at Agra had of course preceded him, and he was sent for by the Emperor Jahangir who commanded "his Knight Marshall to accompany mee with great state to the Court, as an Ambassador of a King ought to be."¹ In all probability Jahangir supposed him to be the English plenipotentiary promised by John Mildenhall four years before.² Hawkins could scarce obtain sufficient time to dress himself in his best attire before coming before the Emperor. Nor had he any good present to offer him, because what he had for him, Mukarrab Khan had already taken. Salutations over, the Emperor "with a most kinde and smiling countenance," bade Hawkins a most hearty welcome. The ambassador then brought out his King's letter, to receive which the Emperor stretched down his hand from the Seat Royal. He inspected the letter for a long time, and then called for a Jesuit to read it. In the meantime, while the Jesuit was reading it, he spoke to Hawkins "in the kindest manner that could bee, demanding of mee the contents of the Letter, which I told him ..."³ Evidently in his best of moods, Jahangir was so pleased that he readily agreed to grant all the privileges the ambassador sought on behalf of his King.⁴ But the Jesuits, ever on the look out to disgrace the English, did not fail to drop a remark most damaging to Hawkins's prestige. The Jesuit who was called upon to read King James's letter observed that "it was basely penned, writing Vestra

1. Ibid., p. 209.

2. William Foster, England's Quest of Eastern Trade (London: A. & C. Black Ltd., 1933), p. 188.

3. Purchas, op. cit., p. 210.

4. "... a worthless piece of Oriental courtesy which it is to be hoped the sailor knew how to estimate at its proper worth." E.F. Oaten, European Travellers in India (London: Kegan Paul etc., 1909), p. 140.

without Maiestad." To this Hawkins gave a suitable reply, which seemed to have convinced the Emperor.

Besides the letter he had brought from the King of England, Hawkins had two more circumstances in his favour: first, he could speak the Turkish language; and, secondly, he had unlimited courage and assurance.¹ On ascertaining that he spoke Turkish, Jahangir invited him to the Diwān-i-Khās, his private audience chamber, desiring to have further conversation with him. The enemies of Mukarrab Khan had evidently acquainted the Emperor with all his proceedings, for when he met Hawkins, he assured him that "he would remedie all." Hawkins very shrewdly observed that he was confident of all matters going well on his side so long as the Emperor protected him. Thus flattered, Jahangir lost no time in sending a messenger to Mukarrab Khan with a letter, commanding him to deal well with the English. For further conversation, Jahangir asked Hawkins to come to his palace daily and ordered one of his men to provide Hawkins with a temporary lodging, till a convenient house was found for him. In response to the royal command, Hawkins began to resort to the court, where he had daily conference with the Emperor, who evinced keen interest in listening to the affairs of England and other countries, and also desired to know more about the West Indies.² The Portuguese were much mortified, but howsoever they tried to prejudice

-
1. Alfred E. Knight, India from the Aryan Invasion to the Great Sepoy Mutiny (London: S.W. Partridge & Co., 1897), p. 52. For Jahangir's knowledge of the Turkish language see Elliot and Dowson, History of India as told by its own Historians (London: Trubner & Co., 1875), vol. VI, p. 315.
 2. "M. Will. Hawkins had bin (sic) in the West Indies." Marginal note in Purchas his Pilgrimes (Pt. I, Bk. III, Chap. 7, p. 210).

the Emperor against the favourite, their Jesuitical diplomacy did not succeed for some time, and Hawkins continued to enjoy royal patronage and favours.

When Hawkins sought the Emperor's permission for the establishment of a factory at Surat, the latter expressed himself ready to grant it. In fact, he went further than this. He invited Hawkins to stay at court as a resident ambassador, or to remain in India at least until another ambassador should arrive from England. In order to induce him to stay, Jahangir gave him a mansab¹ of 400 horse, "a post in the imperial service that was nominally worth over three thousand pounds a year sterling."² He even admitted him within the red rails before the throne, where only the greatest nobles stood, and since the Emperor found his name difficult to pronounce, he offered him the honourable title of "Khan." Hawkins took his place among the grandees of the court, living and dressing in Muhammadan fashion. Meanwhile, as he tells us, "the Jesuites and Portugals slept not, but by all meanes sought my overthrow: and to say the truth, the principall Mahumetans neere the King, envyed much that a Christian should bee so nigh unto him."³ Mukarrab Khan wrote to the Emperor about the disadvantages of favouring the English, but the Emperor paid no attention to this. Thereupon the Portuguese, who had

-
1. Mansab, an office or rank; - dar, the holder thereof. Mansabdar denotes a possessor of military rank below a certain grade, while officers of superior rank were entitled amir. Writing in the last decade of the nineteenth century Stanley Lane-Poole observed that to "form the leading men of all races and creeds into a loyal body, he (Akbar) established a sort of feudal aristocracy, called mansabdars, who were in receipt of salaries or held lands direct from the crown, on condition of supplying men and elephants for the imperial armies: the ranks were graduated like the degrees of chin in the modern Russian bureaucracy, and, like them again, the rank was not hereditary..." The History of the Moghul Emperors of Hindustan Illustrated by their Coins (Westminster: Archibald Constable and Company, 1892), p. XVI.
 2. Philip Woodruff, The Men who ruled India: The Founders (London, 1953), p. 27.
 3. Purchas, op. cit., p. 210.

evidently bribed Mukarrab Khan, "were like madde Dogges, labouring to worke my passage out of the World."¹ Evidence came to his knowledge at last of a Jesuit conspiracy to poison him, and he complained to the Emperor. Jahangir proposed a remarkably ingenious remedy, at once clever and startling. He was "earnest with me to take a white Mayden out of his Palace, who would give her all things necessary with slaves, and he would promise mee shee should turne Christian: and by this meanes my meates and drinckes should be looked unto by them, and I should live without feare."² It was not a bad proposal, but Hawkins insisted that she must be a genuine Christian, none of the last-minute converts; so "the King called to memorie one Mubarique Sha (a captain in great favour with Akbar) his Daughter, who was a Christian Armenian," and Hawkins married her.³

Meanwhile the East India Company, under the able guidance of Sir Thomas Smythe, had determined to send out ships regularly every year; and as a result the Union and the Ascension, the ships of the Company's Fourth Voyage, set sail for the Indies on 14 March 1608 under the command of Alexander Sharpeigh. Unfortunately, however, they got separated in a storm after they left the Bay of Saldanha (Table Bay). The Union proceeded first to St. Augustine's Bay and then to Zanzibar, the rendezvous agreed upon in case of separation; but at neither place could she find her consort. After facing a number of hardships, she reached Achin and obtained a cargo, chiefly of pepper. When almost in the

1. Ibid., p. 211.

2. Ibid.

3. "Hee taketh a Christian Gentlewoman to Wife. Shee came over with him for England, but he dying by the way, shee was after marryed to M. Towerson." Marginal note by Purchas, op. cit., p. 211.

English channel, she drifted on to the rocks of Audierne in Brittany for want of hands and had therefore to be abandoned. The Ascension, having paid a short visit to the Island of Comora, proceeded to Aden and thence on to Mokha, only to find that the former was merely a fortress and that at the latter no English factory could be established without express authorization from Constantinople. She then set sail for Surat, steering a course which was almost certain to set her on the Malacca Banks. When nearing her destination, the Ascension came to grief upon a sandbank off Surat on 4 September 1609. Sixty-two persons, however, found their way to land, taking with them about £3,000 out of the £15,000 which the ship carried.¹

The news of the approach of the Ascension had been promptly sent by Finch to Hawkins at Agra, and the latter made use of the intelligence to obtain from the Emperor his permission for English trade at Surat. The order or farman to the Governor of Surat, permitting the English to build their factory, was "most effectually written" and sent to William Finch. Soon after the dispatch of this order, Hawkins received the news that the vessel had been wrecked and its crew refused entry to the city of Surat. Once again he approached the Emperor, telling him all that he had heard about the ship and her crew. Jahangir appeared to be very much discontented with Mukarrab Khan, and gave Hawkins "another commandment for their good usage, and meanes to be wrought to save the goods, if it were possible."² William Finch, to his great joy, received these commandments almost simultaneously.

-
1. A full account of the Fourth Voyage can be read in The Journal of John Jourdain (Hakluyt Society, 1905). Also see "Relations of the said Voyage, written by Thomas Jones" in Purchas, op. cit., pp. 228 et sqq., and Robert Coverte's A True and Almost Incredible Report (London: Thomas Archer and Richard Redmer, 1612).
 2. Purchas, op. cit., p. 211.

This indeed was extraordinary favour, but troubles were brewing. Jahangir's nobles became Hawkins's sworn enemies. With the appearance at Agra in December 1609 of the Ascension's disorderly crew, the tide of the English envoy's fortune began to ebb. His position at Court was further shaken by the loss of what the Elizabethan merchant called 'toys', any presents that were novelties at the Court, which Jahangir had expected to receive by the Ascension. Although Mukarrab Khan was for some time disgraced, his supporters succeeded in prevailing upon the Emperor to restore him to his place. Mukarrab Khan began once again to prejudice the Emperor against the English. His friends - Jahangir's courtiers, stimulated by bribes from the Portuguese, instilled the gravest doubts into the Emperor's mind about the bona fide intentions of the English merchants. The Jesuits and the Portuguese, aided by Mukarrab Khan, bribed three Surat merchants to declare before the Emperor the undesirability of having the English to trade in India. The merchants did as they were asked. All these factors helped to produce the result the Portuguese wanted. The novelty-loving monarch ordered that the English be stopped forthwith from coming to Indian ports, and Mukarrab Khan be sent to Goa to purchase a ruby for sale there.

Once Mukarrab Khan was away from the capital, Hawkins made another bold attempt to secure from the Emperor some trading privileges for his countrymen, petitioning this time with a valuable 'toy.' The Emperor presently granted his request, charging Khwajā Abul Hasan¹ to prepare

1. Hawkins speaks of him as King's chief wazir, while in the Tuzuk his office is spoken of as the Chief Diwanship. See Alexander Rogers and Henry Beveridge, The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1909), p. 202. Jourdain, it may be noted, terms him the King's secretary.

"another commandement in as ample manner as my former, and commanded that no man should open his mouth to the contrary: for it was his pleasure that the English should come into his Ports." ¹ Unfortunately, Jahangir was better at making promises than at keeping them. The Jesuits came to know of this change in the royal policy. They speedily sent a messenger with this report to Father Manoel Pinheiro² and Mukarrab Khan, who in turn wrote to Jahangir, requesting him to revise his edict. "Upon the receiving and reading of this," says Hawkins, "the King went againe from his word, esteeming a few toyes which the fathers had promised him, more then his honour."³ Moreover, Abul Hasan not only deprived Hawkins of his living, but also gave order that the English 'Khan' was no more to be permitted to enter within the red rails, a place of honour very near the King, where all these years Hawkins was placed. The latter decided therefore for the last time to approach the Emperor. He wrote to make "known unto the King, how Abdall Hassan had dealt with me, having himselfe eaten what his Maiestie gave me..."⁴ He also besought the Emperor "that he would consider my cause, either to establish me as formerly, or give me leave to depart."⁵ Jahangir gave him his permission to depart, saying that he could pass freely without molestation throughout his kingdoms. Before leaving the Court, however, Hawkins requested a reply to King James's letter. This was contemptuously refused, Abul Hasan saying that "it was not the

1. Purchas, op. cit., p. 213.

2. For an account of his activities in India see J.A.S.B., 1896, vol. LXV, pp. 65 et sqq., and "The Relations of Father Fernão Guerreiro, S.J." in C.H. Payne's Jahangir and the Jesuits (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1930), passim.

3. Purchas, loc. cit.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

custome of so great a Monarch, to write in the kind of a Letter, unto a petty Prince, or Governour.¹

While Hawkins was preparing to leave, Mukarrab Khan returned from Goa with many presents, but without the magnificent ruby. Abul Hasan's departure at this time for the Deccan once again revived Hawkins's hopes for a commercial treaty with the Great Mughal. Fortunately for him, Abul Hasan's place was taken by Ghiyas Beg, Nur Jahan's father.² Hawkins and Ghiyas Beg's son, Itikad Khan, familiar to readers of Sir Thomas Roe's journal by his later style of Asaf Khan, were great friends. Receiving the news of the arrival of three English ships at Mokha, and finding a friend of his own in the place of Abul Hasan, Hawkins again procured some suitable gifts and went to the new Wazir and his son. At this time news was brought to Agra by the Banias of Diu that three English ships were seen off Diu, and three days later came the further news that they were at the bar of Surat. The King, in his cupidity, desired his Wazir to draw up a firman afresh with all expedition; but at this point a great nobleman, one of the chief favourites of Jahangir, interposed, pointing out the dangers of granting any trading privileges to the English. Thereupon Hawkins's business was overthrown once again. The last attempt having failed, Hawkins made up his mind to return, but not before making another ineffectual attempt to procure a reply to his sovereign's letter.

1. Ibid., p. 214.

2. MUTAMAD KHAN, a native historian and contemporary of Jahangir, informs us that MIRZA GHIYAS BEG, the son of KHWAJA MUHAMMAD SHARIF, was a native of Teheran. After the death of his father, he, along with his two sons and a daughter, travelled to Hindustan. See Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., pp. 403 et seq.

Hawkins and his wife quitted Agra early in November 1611 and got safely to Cambay. He sailed for Bantam in the following January in Sir Henry Middleton's fleet, and died two years later on his voyage home.

3

This rapid survey of the notable events that affected Hawkins's mission and of his manifold experiences in the Mughal court does not present a wholly unfavourable picture of Jahangir. A large proportion of the blame is laid on the cupidity of some of the courtiers and on the Portuguese and the Jesuits, and in one place Hawkins censures his own disorderly countrymen who had come to the Mughal capital as a result of the wreck of the Ascension off the bar of Surat.¹ The only defect in Jahangir's character brought to light in these three sections of the narrative is his fickleness, which was more or less an expression of his insatiable appetite for curios and rarities; he was otherwise generous and friendly. At moments, in fact, he was led by his nobler instincts of friendliness and generosity, and knowing full well that Hawkins was not in a position to bring him any toy, he invited him to his court, made him captain of a squadron of cavalry, prevailed upon him to marry a native girl of his (the Emperor's) choosing, and finally honoured him by allowing him to take his place among the grandees of the court, living and dressing in Muhammadan fashion. It is in the last section of his narrative that Hawkins gives a fuller account of Jahangir's temperament and propensities, bringing out all those defects of the Emperor's character that he had ignored in the earlier sections,

1. John Jourdain corroborates Hawkins's statement that the whole company was unruly and disorderly. See his Journal (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1905), pp. 133 et seq.

and furnishing many an important detail that has proved singularly useful to the historian of Mughal India.

It is also evident from the foregoing summary of the emissary's narrative that he is not prepared to study the situation from his enemies' point of view. Eager to condemn the Portuguese at every opportunity, he unwittingly drags even the natives into the maelstrom of doubt and censure. In order to understand his reception by the local authorities, it is necessary, as W.H. Moreland points out, to bear in mind the fact that though the Portuguese had no territorial settlement in the town, they had, nevertheless, dominated its sea-borne trade for nearly a century.¹ From Diu and Daman, their strongholds, they levied licence-fees on all ships leaving the ports of Gujarat; their fleets were the carriers of a considerable portion of the merchandise exported from the province; and their frigates were vigilant to protect the coastal waters, left exposed and undefended by the Mughals.² Naturally, therefore, the local officials, accustomed for a century to regard the Portuguese not only as invincible, but almost as supermen, were appalled at the arrival of the English. They were apprehensive lest the Portuguese commanders, who visited the port from time to time, should burn the shipping on the slightest provocation.³ In such circumstances, they were fully justified in referring Hawkins to the

1. From Akbar to Aurangzeb (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1923), p. 35.

2. From the days of Albuquerque, who had forged the links of his country's empire, the Portuguese had enjoyed an unchallenged supremacy in the eastern seas. Their "ships blackened the seas", their "trade found its way to every mart in Christendom," and their "able administration reaped" when their "splendid conquerors had sown..." See Boies Penrose, Sea Fights in the East Indies (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931), pp. 12 et seq.

3. Many contemporary historians have alluded to the helplessness of the Mughals even when they were sometimes forced to assert their strength against the Portuguese. For De Laet's testimony see Hoyland and Banerjee (ed.), The Empire of the Great Mogol (Bombay, 1928), p. 116.

Emperor for the privileges he sought. Even Jahangir was not in a mood to disturb the Portuguese, who kept open for him the pilgrimage route to Mecca and kept the sea free from pirates. No European power, not even the English, had as yet exposed the weaknesses of the Portuguese sea-power which might have tempted the Emperor and his officials to flout openly the so-called monopoly of Portugal in eastern markets.

Hawkins's plea, namely that the Portuguese should treat him as an official emissary and release all his men on the grounds that they were all natives of a country friendly to Portugal, was indeed flimsy. He had probably forgotten the exploits and unofficial hostilities of his own countrymen during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He did not also remember the crusading spirit with which Drake had carried "fire and sword to the idolatrous Spaniards whether his country was official at war with Spain or not."¹ In the seventeenth century, as Boies Penrose points out, "nations could be at peace, or they could be at war, or they could be (and in fact usually were) in a vague transitional state between."² When Drake made his famous circumnavigation, England and Spain were theoretically at peace, but whenever the sea-captains of England got an opportunity, they attacked Spanish vessels, indulging freely in acts of spoliation and piracy. The Portuguese likewise cared little for such treaties and did all they could to drive out the English and the Dutch from eastern waters. A few years later, they attacked two of England's most famous captains, Best and Downton, when England and Spain were supposed to be at peace. Thus, by subjecting Hawkins

-
1. Boies Penrose, Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1952), p. 183.
 2. Boies Penrose, Sea Fights in the East Indies, p. 38.

and his countrymen to contemptible treatment, they were only repeating history and doing what others in similar circumstances had done.

The rashness with which Hawkins tackled the situation is also evident. To judge by his own account and by the writings of other historians, Mukarrab Khan had many supporters in the Court, as had Khwaja Abul Hasan, "the Kings chiefe Vizir." Instead of indulging them as a shrewd and seasoned diplomat would most assuredly have done, Hawkins continued to complain to the King against them. The most undiplomatic of his moves was his rejection of the offer made by Mukarrab Khan through Abul Hasan in settlement for the goods the former had taken. There is, in fact, hardly a historian, native or foreign, who has written on the early British missions to the East without insinuating Hawkins's "indiscretions,"¹ though no doubt part of the blame is also laid on the Mughal officials as well as the Mughal Emperor. Even Philip Woodruff, who is favourably inclined towards Hawkins, describing him as "the first servant of the Company in India" and his mission as "the first diplomatic mission of an Englishman in India," calls his rejection of Mukarrab Khan's offer a grievous mistake - a "mistake that undid months of patience."² Sir Thomas Roe's verdict is well known. Though he had no personal acquaintance with him, he regarded him as no better than "a vayne fool."³ As great an authority on the early history of the Company as William Foster has pinpointed the many faults of Hawkins's character. According to him Hawkins was "evidently arrogant and tactless:" again, "apart from his intemperance, he was accused of being 'very fickle in his resolution, as alsoe in his religion.'"⁴

1. F.R. Dulles, Eastward Ho! (London: John Lane and Bodley Head Limited, 1931) p.155.

2. Philip Woodruff, op. cit., p. 28.

3. William Foster, England's Quest of Eastern Trade, p. 193.

4. Ibid.

John Jourdain in his Journal mentions three causes of Hawkins's disgrace. Though he substantiates Hawkins's account of Mukarrab Khan's unremitting attempts to evade payment for the cloth he had taken, or at least to secure a substantial reduction in the price, he also appears to blame Hawkins for his indiscretion in rejecting the offer made. By arrogantly persisting in his demands, Hawkins not only alienated Mukarrab Khan but also the chief Wazir through whom the offer was made. This was the first cause of the failure of his mission. The second, according to Jourdain, was the offence caused by William Finch when he bought a quantity of indigo at Biana "out of the Queenes Mothers hand, her factour havinge made price for itt." The loss of Abul Hasan's sympathy and its replacement by open hostility precipitated Hawkins's decline. One day Jahangir was informed that some of his great men "were bibbers of wine, that before they came to the courte daylie they filled their heads with stronge drinke; whereupon the Kinge comanded that upon paine of his displeasure that none of his nobles that came to the court should drinke any stronge drinke before there cominge."¹ Abul Hasan, knowing that Hawkins was a great drinker, managed to deal the final blow to the latter's prestige. "Nowe Abdelasan," observed Jourdain,

knowinge thatt Captaine Hawkins was a great drinker, feed the porter to come neere to Captaine Hawkins (as is supposed) to smell if he had drunke any stronge drink, which is easilie discerned by one that is fastinge. Soe the cheife porter findinge that Captaine Hawkins had drunke, hee presentlye carryed him before the Kinge, in presence of the whole courte, where by the mouth of Abdelasan, being secretary, it was tould the Kinge thatt he had drunke stronge drinke.²

1. The Journal of John Jourdain (1905), p. 156.

2. Ibid., pp. 156 et seq.

Hawkins does not allude to this incident, though he admits that Abul Hasan not only denied him his living, but also "gave order that I be suffered no more to enter within the red rayles." Since, however, Abul Hasan could never have taken such a daring step without Jahangir's approval, the reason assigned by Jourdain is probably correct.¹

Though some of the activities of Mukarrab Khan were not above reproach, he has been rather too severely censured by a number of contemporary as well as later historians.² Greedy though he was like most of his contemporaries there as well as in European courts, his bias against the English was, to a considerable extent due, as has been intimated before, to the Portuguese pressure which he was forced to take into account. From the references in the TUZUK-i-JAHANGIRI (Memoirs of Jahangir) we gather that he was loyal to the King he served and had many rare qualities that had endeared him to his sovereign.

-
1. Sir William Foster comments: Hawkins's "own indiscretion in disregarding the Emperor's order ... provided his enemies with an excuse for excluding him from his favoured position 'within the red rayles'..." (Ibid., p. xxxlll).
 2. "Now this Dogge to make his peace, sent many bribes to the Kings sonnes...." Hawkins in Purchas his Pilgrimes, p. 211) In another place Hawkins refers to both Mukarrab Khan and Abul Hasan as "dogges" (p. 212). Purchas also refers to "the base vanitie of Macrib Chan" (p. 299), and describes his attitude to Hawkins on the latter's arrival as "perfidy and treason" (p. 207). John Harris describes him as "perfidious" and "barbarous" (Collection of Voyages, I, pp. 91, 93), while Sir William Foster voices the prevailing attitude when he observes that the "news that letters and presents had arrived from the King of England for the Emperor soon brought upon the scene Hawkins's old enemy, Mukarrab Khan. In his usual crafty manner he held out hopes that the settlement of a factory at Surat would be permitted...." (England's Quest of Eastern Trade, p. 195).

1. Alexander Rogers and Henry Rawcliffe, The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1870), pp. 77 et seq.

2. Ibid., p. 218.

3. Ibid., p. 210.

4. Ibid., p. 211.

5. Ibid., p. 172.

Speaking about Mukarrab Khan, Jahangir says:

From the days of his childhood to this day he has always been in my service and in attendance on me, and when I was prince was distinguished by the title of Muquarrab Khan. He was very active and alert in his service, and in hunting would often traverse long distances by my side. He is skilful with the arrow and the gun, and in surgery is the most skilful of his time... 1

Another passage in the Tuzuk speaks of Mukarrab Khan's surgical skill which won him from the Emperor "a jewelled khapwa (dagger)." 2 From at least two references we gather that Mukarrab Khan rose to a considerable position in the Mughal court by dint of his sagacity and efficiency. The Emperor on one occasion "increased his rank and he had obtained good iāgirs, but he longed for a standard and drums, and he was now honoured with these as well." 3 On another occasion, the Emperor raised the mansabs of Mukarrab Khan a little, making it "2,500 personal and 1,500 horse by an increase of 500." 4 Once, however, on receiving a complaint from a widow that Mukarrab Khan had taken her daughter by force in the port of Cambay and had killed her, Jahangir ordered an enquiry to be made into the affair. After much investigation it was found that one of Mukarrab Khan's attendants had been guilty of this outrage. Jahangir had him put to death. He also reduced Mukarrab Khan's mansab by one half, and made an allowance to the woman who had been thus injured. 5

-
1. Alexander Rogers and Henry Beveridge, The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1909), pp. 27 et seq.
 2. Ibid., p. 226.
 3. Ibid., p. 230.
 4. Ibid., p. 231.
 5. Ibid., p. 172.

The story of Mukarrab Khan's taking a young woman by force, Jahangir's investigations and subsequent confirmation of the offence done by his officer is also related by Hawkins, but his version differs from Jahangir's in certain essential points. According to Hawkins the complaint was made by a Banian, and Mukarrab Khan was alleged to have given her to a Brahman after having deflowered her himself. On examination it was found that Mukarrab Khan was guilty, and "hee was committed to prison, in the power of a great Noble-man : and commandement was given, that the Brammene his privy members should be cut off."¹ Hawkins's intolerance and personal prejudices are responsible for his portraying Mukarrab Khan in a worse light than the facts warranted. There is hardly any doubt that the latter was seriously involved in the affair, for which he could not escape the Emperor's rage; but although Hawkins tells us that the Brahman's privy members were cut off, he still puts the entire blame on the shoulders of Mukarrab Khan. Why, it may be asked, did the Emperor so cruelly punish the Brahman if Mukarrab Khan was the real miscreant? Jahangir's version appears to be nearer the truth, for there is no reason why he should misrepresent the case and vindicate the offender. The same prejudices of Hawkins are discernible in his silence about Mukarrab Khan's claim that the price of cloth bought by him should be reduced. Jourdain, only indirectly involved, could be a detached spectator. He mentions the arguments advanced by Mukarrab Khan regarding his refusal to pay the amount demanded. He says:

1. Purchas his Pilgrimes (1625), I, p. 212.

This Abdelasah, beeing a greate freind to Macrobian, advised him presentlie to paye Captaine Hawkins; which he promised to doe out of hand, butt as greate mens debts are slowest in payinge, soe his was delayed and putt of from daye to daie; but att length the money was ordayned to be paid, butt wanted of Captaine Hawkins demand accordinge to his bill aboute a quarter of the debt, Macrobian alledging that the cloth which his brother had bought att Suratt was too deare by soe much, and therefore would give noe more...¹

If Hawkins's relations with his own men were not cordial and friendly, how could he be expected to be amiable in his dealings with the Mughal officials? Jourdain speaks of him as a man whose "promises weare of little force, for he was very fickle in his resolution, so also in his religion...."² William Finch's opinion of Hawkins was likewise unfavourable, and before he left India, he quarrelled with him.

The Jesuit version of Hawkins's mission to the Mughal court, his reception there, his negotiations with the Emperor, and its subsequent failure, is set forth by Father Fernao Guerreiro in his Relations.³ C.H. Payne points out that Guerreiro's statement regarding Hawkins's departure for Bengal after Mukarrab Khan's successful intervention on behalf of the Portuguese, which resulted in the abrogation of the privileges granted to the English by the Emperor, is "pure fiction."⁴ Indeed, Hawkins left Agra on 11th November 1611, two years after this incident. At the end of December of that year, he went not to Bengal, but to Cambay, where he joined Sir Henry Middleton's fleet, and sailed from India in February 1612. Similarly, the story of the Ascension's crew being attacked by armed brigands and of the majority of them,

1. Jourdain's Journal, p. 154.

2. Ibid., p. 162.

3. See C.H. Payne, Jahangir and the Jesuits (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1930), pp. 77-87.

4. Ibid., pp. 112-114.

including the captain, being slaughtered, is also fictitious. We know that after the wreck they commenced their march to Agra under the leadership of William Rivett, a merchant who had come on the Ascension. An account of the journey of these men from Surat to Agra is given by John Jourdain¹ and also by Robert Coverte,² who was himself one of the company; but neither says anything about an attack by a band of horsemen.

Notwithstanding these errors, the Jesuit account contains some important details. Though it describes Hawkins as a "heretic" it also confirms that the Englishman worked sincerely to obtain trading concessions from the Mughal Emperor. That Hawkins grew insolent in his behaviour after his appointment as a mansabdār may be true, but from the tone of the Jesuit account it appears that Guerreiro is indulging in deliberate denigration of him. Whatever Hawkins's faults, there is little doubt that "for over two years he maintained in a spirited fashion a very difficult position, and spared no effort to carry out the mission entrusted to him. Despite his final discomfiture, he made an impression at the Mughal court which contributed in no small degree to weaken the influence of the Portuguese and to prepare the way for the establishment of his fellow-countrymen in India."³

The effect of these early sections of Hawkins's narrative upon the reader is very much akin to that made by a classical Greek tragedy. In spite of all his sincerity and earnestness he was, it appears, destined to return empty-handed and to die when the voyage was almost finished, to be buried in Ireland. The Portuguese and the Jesuits in their

1. See his Journal, pp. 133 et seq.

2. See The Travels of Captain Robert Coverte (Philadelphia, 1931), pp. 45 et sqq.

3. William Foster, England's Quest of Eastern Trade (1933), p. 193.

relentless efforts to bring about his overthrow are, as it were, the agents of a capricious and malignant power bent upon frustrating his cause. The interminable ups and downs of his life at the Mughal court not only enliven the drama but also create for the reader a corresponding rise and fall in suspense; and two of its dramatis personae, Mukarrab Khan and Abul Hasan, always linger in one's memory as does Mephistopheles, for example, after a reading of The Tragedy of Dr. Faustus.

4

The last section of Hawkins's narrative opens with an enumeration of the nobles and mansabdars under the Great Mughal, and goes on to describe the yearly income of the empire, its principal kingdoms, the fabulous wealth of Jahangir, his daily expenses, his elephants and dromedaries, his cruel deeds and the rebellion of Khusru, and ends in an account of the manners and customs in the Mughal court. There were different grades of mansab. Of these, the first was 12,000, reserved for the King, his mother,¹ Sultan Parwez, and Aziz Koka.² There were three 'dukes', holding the rank of 9,000, eighteen 'marquesses' that of 5,000, while the ranks of 3,000, 2,000 and downwards were held by even more officers during Jahangir's reign. The King's yearly income from his crown lands, according to Hawkins, was fifty crores of rupees. His empire was divided into five great kingdoms - the Punjab, Bengal, Malwa, the Deccan and Gujarat, with Lahore, Sonargaon, Ujjain, Burhanpur and Ahmadabad respectively as their chief cities. Hawkins, despite his

1. MARYAM-UZ-ZAMANI - She was a RAJPUT princess, a daughter of Raja BIHARI MAL.
 2. A foster-brother of AKBAR and father-in-law of KHUSRU.

intimate association with Jahangir, did not know that the Mughal empire had more than five sub-divisions; but his account fortunately went unnoticed by many of the more popular later travellers. The six principal castles of the empire were situated at Agra, Gwalior, Narwar, Ranthambhor, Asir, and Rohtas, and in each one of these castles Jahangir kept part of his treasure. This treasure consisted of sixty lacs of mohars of Akbar's coinage, worth ten rupees a piece, and twenty thousand pieces of another sort of coin, worth a thousand rupees a piece. There were also thousands of other gold pieces of smaller value. His store of silver coins was simply fabulous, comprising thirteen crores of rupees of Akbar's coinage, and lacs of rupees of his own. Of diamonds and rubies, he had an incredibly large quantity. His rubies alone weighed two "battmans,"¹ emeralds five batmans, and pearls twelve batmans.

Hawkins then enumerates the Mughal's jewels wrought in gold, his embroidered hilts and scabbards, saddles, brooches, lances, sunshades, chairs, vases, glasses, drinking cups, chains of pearls, plates and pots. This inventory is followed by a description of the animals belonging to the Emperor. He had, according to Hawkins twelve thousand horses, four thousand of these being Persian, six thousand Turkish and two thousand Kashmiri. He had an equal number of elephants, while his camels were in all two thousand, oxen ten thousand, mules one thousand, hunting leopards four hundred and tame lions one hundred. Notwithstanding all his wealth and power, he had three formidable enemies - Malik Ambar, an Abyssinian by birth but a true Deccani by

1. The bātman, a Turkish weight, is here used for the Indian maund (Foster's Early Travels in India, p. 102n).

adoption, Bahadur, son of Muzaffar Shah III, the last king of Gujarat, and Raja Rana (Amar Singh) of Udaipur.

Jahangir's personal expenses on feeding his animals of all sorts including some royal elephants, amounted to fifty thousand rupees a day. His three hundred wives, whereof four were chief queens,¹ spent thirty thousand rupees every day. All that has been written concerning his treasure and expenses, however, relates only to "his Court, or Castle of Agra: and every one of the Castles above nominated, have their severall Treasure, especially Lahor, which was not mentioned."²

The Mughal Emperor as a rule confiscated his nobles' treasures when they died and bestowed on their children whatever he liked; but generally he dealt well with them. At the time when Hawkins was in India, "a great Indian Lord or Prince," a Hindu named "Raga Gaginat" (Rājā Jagannāth), died leaving sixty maunds of gold behind, besides a considerable amount of jewels and other treasures. All these naturally slipped into the imperial treasury after the Rājā's death. Jahangir made it a custom to survey a part of his wealth daily, and for this purpose all "things are severally divided into three hundred and sixtie parts, so that hee daily seeth a certaine number, to say, of Elephants, Horses, Camels, Dromedaries, Moyles, Oxen, and all other: as also a certaine quantitie of Jewels, and so it continueth all the yeere long: for what is brought him to day is not seene againe, till that day twelve moneth."³

-
1. Pādshah Bānū Begam, daughter of Kaim Khan; Nur Jahan, daughter of Ghiyās Beg; the third was the daughter of Zain Khan Koka; and the fourth the daughter of Hakim Hamam, who was one of Akbar's favourite officers.
 2. Purchas, Purchas his Pilgrimes (1625), Park I, Bk. III, Chap. 7, p. 218.
 3. Ibid.



The King commanded one of his young Sonnes named
Shariar to goe to the Elephant to bee
taken up by him.

Jahangir had three hundred elephants royal, which were elephants whereon he himself rode. When they were brought before him, they came with great pomp and show, some twenty or thirty men going before them. The elephants' caparisons were very rich, either of gold or rich velvet, and, as Hawkins reports, each one of them ate sugar, butter, grain, and sugar canes worth ten rupees every day. They were the "goodliest and fairest of all the rest, and tame withall, so managed, that I saw with mine eyes, when the King commanded one of his young Sonnes named Shariar (a Childe of seven yeeres of age) to goe to the Elephant to bee taken up by him with his snout: who did so, delivering him to his Keeper that commanded him with his hooke : and having done this unto the Kings Sonne, he afterwards did the like to many other children."¹

When the Emperor had to encamp on the march from one place to another, his tents covered an immense area of ground and the city thus sprung up appeared to Hawkins as large in compass as London. Jahangir, says Hawkins, "is thought to be the greatest Emperour of the East, for Wealth, Land, and force of Men : as also for Horses, Elephants, Camels and Dromedaries."² Here Hawkins relates the story of an elephant who wreaked vengeance on his rider, who had ill-treated him. Then he resumes the account of Jahangir's animals. Dromedaries, of which Jahangir had "an infinite number," are described as "very swift" animals. Hawkins gives as an example an occasion when Jahangir marched from Agra to Ahmadābād in nine days upon these dromedaries with twelve thousand

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

1. Ibid., p. 212.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid. "He was not ill-treated, as he gives (very
reluctant) delivered me ... marginal note

4. Ibid.

choice men. This sudden arrival of the Mughal Emperor, who was supposed to have been at Agra then, "strucke such a present feare into the Gujerats, that at that time they were overthrowne and conquered."¹

Jahangir, by appointing Muhammadans to command his forces where his father Akbar had largely employed Rajputs, was beginning to lose the Deccan. He no doubt had a few good captains remaining, but they were out of favour with him. Hawkins then describes how Jahangir had rebelled in the life-time of his father, Akbar, but was subdued and eventually pardoned "by reason of many friends, his Mother, Sisters, and others."² Akbar, in the meantime, had dispossessed him and proclaimed Khusru, Jahangir's eldest son, heir-apparent. Before his death, however, he had forgiven Salim (Jahangir) and owned him again. But Khusru still aspired to the throne, rose with large forces, and fought valiantly to usurp the Mughal crown. After the loss of many thousand men on both sides, Khusru surrendered, and, when Hawkins was there, was still in prison in the Emperor's palace, "yet blinde, as all men report: and was so commanded to be blinded by his father."³ Since that time Jahangir "raigned (sic) in quiet, but ill beloved of the greater part of his Subjects, who stand greatly in feare of him."⁴

Hawkins next proceeds to describe Jahangir's sadistic propensities. Five times a week, he says, the Emperor commands his brave elephants to fight before him, and while they were fighting, coming or going out, very often many people were killed or grievously hurt. The latter were sometimes thrown into the river on the Emperor's orders, for he believed

1. Ibid., p. 219.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid. "Hee was not blinded, and is since (as you shall see in Sir Tho. Roes relations) delivered out of prison." (Marginal note by Purchas.)

4. Ibid.



The poor officer was ordered to be beaten by the
Emperor's porters who were ready with
their cudgels.

that people who were maimed and disabled by his elephants would always curse him if they were allowed to live. Hawkins saw many persons treated in this manner. He also mentions the Emperor's delight in seeing men executed and torn to pieces by his elephants. Jahangir, out of sheer impatience, put his secretary to death and afterwards delivered him to be torn apart by elephants. He also punished one of Hawkins's great friends, a native officer in charge of the Emperor's wardrobe, who broke one of the dishes dearly loved by his master. He contrived to replace the dish, but before he could do it, the Emperor came to know of the damage. The poor officer was brought before him and was ordered first to be flogged by two men with two great whips made of cords and then to be beaten by the Emperor's porters who were ready with their cudgels. They beat him till a great many of the cudgels were broken and he was thought to be dead. Likewise a pathan who demanded a salary of a thousand rupees a day for his courage and prowess in war was challenged, and on his refusal, compelled to wrestle with a lion. After he was killed by the wild beast, Jahangir, desirous of seeing more sport, sent for ten men to fight with the lion one after another. Three of these men lost their lives, while the rest were terribly wounded. "The King continued three moneths in this vaine, when he was in his humors, for whose pleasure sake, many men lost their lives, and many were grievously wounded..."¹

As in cruelty, so in cupidity this monarch surpassed all his contemporaries. No gem from five carats upwards could be bought by anyone without his permission, and indeed nearly all precious stones

1. *Ibid.*, p. 220. In the 1625 edition of the Pilgrimes in the National Library of Scotland, the last five pages of Hawkins's narrative are misnumbered, 222-226 instead of 220-224.



A Pathan was compelled to wrestle with a lion.

were impounded by him for the imperial treasures, for "he cannot abide, that any man should have any precious stone of value, for it is death if he know it not at that present time, and that he hath the refusall thereof."¹ Being exceedingly rich in diamonds, he wore every day a beautiful diamond of great price; and a diamond which he wore once would not be worn till the time came to wear it again; that is, all his fine jewels were divided into a certain quantity or proportion for wear each day. He also wore a chain of very large and beautiful pearls and another chain of emeralds and rubies. A third chain of diamonds and rubies was worn by him round his turban. That Jahangir should have accumulated such a fabulous amount of wealth was not in the least surprising, for had not the process of heaping up jewels and diamonds started with his forefathers? Jahangir had not only inherited a rich treasure from his ancestors, but had also done everything he could to enlarge it. What added substantially to his hoardings was the custom whereby all the money and jewels which the nobles accumulated in their life-time came to him after their deaths. Moreover, India was rich in silver, for all nations brought coins, and carried away commodities in exchange. Those coins were hoarded in India, and did not leave it. As regards the lands in the monarchy, they were all at the Emperor's disposal, and he gave and took them at his pleasure. He punished those captains and soldiers severely who deserted a town attacked by outlaws. Hawkins cites an example. When on a certain occasion some outlaws marched into Patna, its captains, eight in number, fled. Fortunately, however, the city was restored to the Mughal empire and the runaways

1. Ibid.

were captured and brought in chains before the Emperor who presently commanded them to be shaven, both head and beard, and to be carried about the city wearing women's dresses, riding upon asses with their faces backwards. This done, they were again brought before the Emperor who ordered them to be whipped and imprisoned for life.

Hawkins also refers to Jahangir's chain of justice,¹ to his severity immediately on his accession to the throne, and to the outlaws and thieves so common in the country at that time. He found it dangerous to "stirre out of doores, throughout all his Dominions, without great forces: for they are all become Rebels."² The Raja who ruled over the territory extending between Agra and Ahmadābād was the greatest of them all. No attempt by the Mughal forces to subdue or suppress him had hitherto succeeded. Similarly, there were rebels in Kandahar, Cabul, Multan, and Sind, and in the kingdom of Balkh. Bengal, Gujarat and the Deccan were also "full, so that a man can travell no way for out-lawes."³

Regarding Jahangir's daily life, his manners and customs in the Court, Hawkins observes that the Emperor was always at his beads about the break of day. When at Agra, he prayed in a private fair room, upon

-
1. "The first order which I issued," wrote Jahangir, "was for the setting up of a Chain of Justice, so that if the officers of the Courts of Justice should fail in the investigation of the complaints of the oppressed, and in granting them redress, the injured persons might come to this chain and shake it, and so give notice of their wrongs..." (WAKIAT-I-JAHANGIRI in Elliot and Dowson's The History of India as told by its own Historians, VI, p. 284.) The idea of fastening the chain, as E.S. Holden has pointed out, was not original at all. Humayun, the second Mughal Emperor of Hindustan and father of Akbar, had established his drums for the same end. Sultan Shamsuddin Altamsh (A.D. 1211) placed at the door of his palace two marble lions with iron chains round their necks from which hung great bells. See E.S. Holden, The Mogul Emperors of Hindustan (Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co., 1895), p. 242n.
 2. Purchas, op. cit., p. 221.
 3. Ibid.

a good jet stone, having only a Persian lamb-skin under him, and some eight chains of beads, made of rich pearls, rubies, diamonds, emeralds, corals etc. At the upper end of the jet stone the pictures of the Virgin Mary and Christ were placed, graven in stone. Prayer over, the Emperor showed himself to the people, receiving their salaams or salutations. After this, he went to sleep again for two hours, and then dined and passed his time with his women. At noon he showed himself to the people again, sitting till 3 o'clock, viewing sundry kinds of pastimes like the fighting of many sorts of beasts. Thereafter the King and his nobles appeared in open audience, the former sitting in his seat royal, while the latter standing according to their rank before him, the principal ones standing within a red rail and the rest without. The red rail was three steps higher than the place where the rest stood; and within this red rail Hawkins was placed, "amongst the chiefest of all." The Emperor heard all complaints in that place and stayed there for some two hours every day. When the work ended he withdrew to his private place of prayer, after which he had his dinner consisting of four or five kinds of well dressed and roasted meats. Then he came forth into a private room, where none could go but such as he himself nominated. (For two years Hawkins was one of his attendants there.) There he drank five cups of strong drink, and after taking a little opium he got up, only to be laid down to sleep for two hours, after which he was brought his supper. As at this time he could not feed himself, others thrust it into his mouth. When the supper ended Jahangir retired for the rest of the night.

One of the most interesting things observed by Hawkins is the employment of writers by Jahangir to set down in writing whatever he did, "so that there is nothing passeth in his life time, which is not noted; no, not so much as his going to the necessary; and how often he lieth with his women, and with whom."¹ In his religious ideas Jahangir was rather hypocritical, allowing his brother's children to be made Christians not so much for his love of Christianity as for the purpose of depriving the children of their claim to the Mughal throne² and making them odious to all the Muhammadans in the empire.

One day, before going somewhere, Jahangir asked one of his sons, Sultan Sahariyar, whether he would accompany him. The Sultan, then only seven years old, said that all depended on his father, the Emperor. Fierce and hard, Jahangir gave him a good thrashing at this lukewarm reply, a thrashing which would have made any child in the world cry but Sahariyar. Seething with anger, the Emperor demanded why he did not cry. The prince replied that he was told by his nurses not to cry, for it was the greatest shame in the world for princes to weep when they were beaten. Instead of being pleased with his son's courageous reply, Jahangir in a paroxysm of rage struck the child again and again, thrusting a bodkin through his cheek, till Sahariyar almost fainted, bleeding in the mouth and nose.

Hawkins found people observing three important customs. First, they never came empty-handed before the Emperor when they had to petition him. Secondly, the Hindus burned their dead, and their women "content

1. Ibid., p. 222.

2. Also see Stanley Lane-Poole, The History of the Moghul Emperors of Hindustan Illustrated by their Coins, p. XXI

themselves to live no longer than their husbands". And thirdly, when a nobleman who had been absent from the court two or three years came to see the Emperor, certain definite formalities were gone through and certain rules strictly observed, some of which did great honour to the nobleman. On the other hand, a man coming to see him "in disgrace, through exclamations made against him," received none of the honours which the favoured ones received.

Hawkins concludes his narrative with a description of the feast of Nauroz, Jahangir's birth-day ceremonies and of the feast solemnized at Akbar's famous tomb at Sikandra.

However damaging to the reputation of the Great Mughal the narrative summarised above must have proved, there were other texts to be found in travel-books which, if, critically read, struck even more effectively at what the Englishmen believed to be vain-glorious and over-exalted. Sir Thomas Roe, for example, drew a similar portrait of Jahangir and brought to light the vanity, cruelty and fickleness of that monarch. Hawkins, however, was the first English traveller in India to attempt to set forth "severe, full and punctual truth" regarding the Great Mughal, and to raise the veil behind which he had been concealed from British eyes. Though Ralph Fitch and John Mildenhall had written many accurate descriptions of the social, religious and political life of India, on the whole they had been genuinely enthusiastic about India in so far as it offered enormous possibilities for trade. Hawkins not only presented a sorry picture of the Great Mughal, but also exposed the means whereby he had come to hoard his riches.

Like all accounts of foreign voyages, Hawkins's narrative aimed at

correcting old errors and discovering new facts. If the early accounts of India had done little to show what its ruler was like, and if perhaps they had spread the belief that India was a veritable paradise, Hawkins's narrative went a long way towards enabling his countrymen to form a somewhat different picture of the Mughal Emperor and to dispel their misconceptions regarding him. Its effect upon early seventeenth-century Englishmen must have been to remind them of a state of affairs which Thomas More had presented in contrast with those in his Utopian commonwealth. To focus the attention of his contemporaries on the polarity of opposites presented by an ideal, though imaginary, republic like Utopia and Jahangir's India appears in certain places to have been Hawkins's indubitable aim. In More's Utopia free from the traditions of the past, there existed a perfect society governed by just laws where man was valued for his true worth rather than for his material riches and position. All the follies and extravagance of the old world were eliminated and a simple life was led close to nature. Spare time was generally devoted to improving the mind, and the Utopians, filled with the great simplicity of nature, utterly despised gold and precious stones, as mere dross unworthy of human touch. The ambassadors from other lands, coming, like many a European decked in silks and rich jewels and the glitter of gold, to the pristine isle, were held in derision by its simple inhabitants, who, like the American Indians whom the Europeans had discovered, held precious metals and jewels in small esteem.

Whatever the state of India might have been in the days of Akbar, it certainly had in the days of Jahangir all those undesirable qualities

which Thomas More frankly listed in the England of the sixteenth century. Ralph Fitch and Mildenhall were to a considerable extent justified in presenting a rosy picture of India, for the country was at that time ruled by one of the greatest of Indian monarchs who, though not learned, had shown remarkable originality in statecraft and had given the country peace, prosperity and solidarity. Hawkins, on the other hand, found Akbar's son full of inordinate greed and haughty feudal contempt for mere commoners. The courtiers valued gold and jewels just as their monarch did, and they all vied with one another in taking bribes and hoarding riches which ultimately belonged to the Emperor. Instead of devoting their spare time to improving their minds, the courtiers delighted in cruel sports and boisterous revelries, the Emperor especially making wine and women his life's summum bonum. Man was valued more for his material position and riches than for his true worth. Hawkins, however, does not shed any light on the life of the common peasant, the ordinary man, and thus we do not get a comprehensive picture of India between 1608 and 1613.

Instances of Hawkins's tendency to dwell upon Jahangir's depravity and vice are numerous. In his enumeration of the various cruel deeds of that monarch he does not evince any objectivity, nor is his description of Jahangir's character a reasonably fair-minded treatment. It is true that Jahangir was at times betrayed by fits of wrath into individual acts of barbarous cruelty,¹ but he had "many excellent, even

1. Jahangir records the following incident in his Memoirs. "On the 22nd, when I got within shot of a nilgaw, suddenly a groom (jilaudār) and two kahār (bearers) appeared, and the nilgaw escaped. In a great rage I ordered them to kill the groom on the spot, and to hamstring the kahars and mount them on asses and parade them through the camp, so that no one should again have the boldness to do such a thing..." The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p. 164.

admirable, traits in his character" as well.¹ Hawkins does not mention Jahangir's humanitarian ordinances, which were informed by a generous and enlightened spirit and reflected credit on their author. Not long after his accession, Jahangir had given twelve orders to be observed as rules of conduct (dastūru-l-'amal) in all his dominions² - orders that have been highly lauded by the Emperor's admirers. Moreover, his association with Catholic missions had mellowed his temperament and "engendered in him proverbial ideas of justice and patriotism."³ His interest in Christianity was extremely pronounced. This evoked the following commentary from Frederic Fanthome:

... When he was a raw Prince, before the society of Catholics and Catholic priests had gained on him, he had thought nothing of taking away human life: it was he who had his father's famous VIZIER Abulfuzal - the Indian Cicero - assassinated..... Abulfuzal's murder, and subsequently the murder of Shere Afghan Khan on account of his (latter's) wife, the famous Noor Jehan, show the natural hurricane of tragic passion in Jahangir. And what was the element that brought about a change in his nature? That element, good reader, was no other than the society of Catholics...⁴

The excerpt here given exaggerates the influence of Christianity on Jahangir and repeats an oft-quoted but very unreliable tale⁵ that Jahangir had fallen in love with Miherunnisa (Nur Jahan) during the life-time of Akbar and that immediately on his accession to power, Jahangir basely contrived the death of Sher Afkun, to whom Miherunnisa

-
1. E.S. Holden, op. cit., p. 241.
 2. See The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, pp. 7-10. We may doubt whether his orders were effective, but their issue is reasonably good evidence that he was not entirely indifferent to the welfare of his subjects.
 3. Frederic Fanthome, The Reminiscences of Agra (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co., 1894), p. 35.
 4. Ibid., pp. 35-47.
 5. See a detailed examination of this question in BENI PRASAD'S HISTORY OF JAHANGIR (Allahabad: The Indian Press, Ltd., 1930), pp. 173-182.

was married. But one thing is quite clear from this passage : Jahangir was not always the hard-hearted tyrant Hawkins considered him to be. One of the best portraits of the Emperor has been drawn by Stanley Lane-Poole in the following words. "In spite of his vices," he avers,

which his fine constitution supported with little apparent injury almost to his sixtieth year, he was no fool; he possessed a shrewd intelligence, and he showed his good sense in carrying on the system of government and principle of toleration inaugurated by Akbar. He was not deficient in energy when war was afoot; he was essentially just when his passions were not thwarted; and he cultivated religious toleration with the easy-going indifference which was the keynote of his character... He allowed no persecution or badges of heresy, but welcomed the Jesuit father Corsi to his court, encouraged artists to adorn the imperial palaces with pictures and statues of Christian saints, and had two of his nephews baptized, doubtless for his own purposes....¹

One of the reasons why most historians have dismissed him as a weak prince enslaved by the influence of his mistress Nur Jahan and as "a fickle-minded tyrant, soaked in wine and sunk in debauch," is the implicit faith they have all reposed "in historical forgeries and travellers' tales."² If they had not judged his whole career from isolated passages, they would certainly have observed that Jahangir "was self-indulgent and capricious, rather than deliberately vicious."³ They would also have spoken of the encouragement which he gave to all sorts of learning at his court, and of his lavish distribution of alms from his audience-window every week (on Sundays),⁴ and, finally, of his

1. Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule (London, 1903), pp. 298 et seq.

2. Beni Prasad, op. cit., p. 430.

3. E.S. Holden, loc. cit.

4. Ibid., p. 243.

love of natural beauty and his aesthetic sense. Unfortunately, Hawkins does not allude to any of these admirable qualities of the Indian Emperor, although during his stay there he must have met with numerous indications of their existence.¹

Hawkins was, in fact, occasionally capable of being wholly objective and unbiassed in his treatment of Jahangir's character. We have seen how in the early sections of his narrative he lays the blame for his failure upon the Portuguese and the Jesuits. One of Jahangir's greatest defects, according even to his admirers, was his too great reliance upon "those round him who loved him and who won his love." It was due to the influence of these people that he had reluctantly allowed Hawkins to return to England. In the last section of his narrative Hawkins speaks of the change that had come over Jahangir after his accession to power. "At his first coming to the Crowne," says Hawkins,

he was more severe then now he is, which is the cause that the Countrey is so full of outlawes, and theeves, that almost a man cannot stirre out of doores, throughout all his Dominions, without great forces: for they are all become Rebels.²

In spite of all his cruelties, Jahangir never forgot to pray at least twice every day in a room which had the pictures of the Virgin and Christ hanging on its wall. He was likewise regular and prompt in the administration of Justice. On the occasion of the annual festival solemnised at Sikandra at his father's tomb, he distributed food and money among the poor. Though Hawkins rarely, if ever, overlooks his

1. Sir Richard Burn gives a very sympathetic and just account of Jahangir's character in The Cambridge History of India, vol IV, pp. 178-182.

2. Purchas, op. cit., p. 221.

cruelty and vengefulness, he also pays tribute to the Emperor's sense of justice in dealing with the children of his nobles. "The Custome of this Mogoll Emperour," writes Hawkins,

is to take possession of his Noblemens Treasure when they dye, and to bestow on his Children what he pleaseth: but commonly he dealeth well with them, possessing them with their Fathers Land, dividing it amongst them: and unto the eldest Sonne, hee hath a very great respect, who in time receiveth the full title of his Father.¹

Here was evidence for Hawkins that the capricious monarch was not only kind at heart but also practical and shrewd in his dealings with his nobles. Surprising as it may seem, Hawkins also creates the impression that Jahangir was a very affable and popular monarch, sometimes uncommonly urbane and debonair. Hawkins cites a few examples. First of all, Jahangir received him very courteously, stretching down his hand from the throne for the letter from King James I, and then inviting him to his private apartment many times. Jahangir and Hawkins became so intimate that the former offered his friend a mansab and wanted him to stay on in his court for ever. For many years Hawkins enjoyed the hospitality of the Indian Emperor, with complete freedom and equality, to the great jealousy of the natives who did not want to see a Christian so friendly with their master. Hawkins also describes how warmly the Emperor received the nobles who returned to the capital after years of absence. Jahangir, on such occasions, embraced them before all his nobles, "whereby they shall take notice that he is in the Kings favour." Lastly, Hawkins points out that the "King is very much adored of the Heathen Comminality, insomuch, that they will spread

1. Ibid., p. 218.

their bodies all upon the ground, rubbing the earth with their faces on both sides."¹

Of considerable importance also is the light Hawkins's narrative throws on the administrative system of the great Mughals. We are told that "a man cannot continue halfe a yeere in his living but it is taken from him and given unto another; or else the King taketh it for himselfe (if it be rich ground and likely to yeeld much), making exchange for a worse place; or as he is befriended by the Vizir." This passage suggests that the practice of payments in cash was not at all common, and that the officials received assignments instead of cash salaries. Akbar had tried to discourage the system of paying his officials by way of jāgirs,² but in the reign of Jahangir "assignments multiplied, the farming system spread, and the growth of what may be called summary settlements of the revenue gave increased scope for tyranny within the village."³ Hawkins does not, indeed, exaggerate the evils of the jāgīrdārī system, when he observes that the grantee "racketh the poore to get from them what he can, who still thinketh every houre to be put out of his place." This is supported by the fact recorded by De Laet that "when the crops ripen and are reaped, the royal officials are called, who take for the king's use about three quarters of all produce, leaving for the wretched peasant only one quarter, so that sometimes they get no advantage from their labour and expenditure. Nothing, or very little, is paid by the peasants for the right of pasturage."⁴ Half a century later, Tavernier noted that the peasants were utterly

1. Purchas, op. cit., p. 224.

2. W.H. Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar (London: Macmillan and Co., 1920), p. 67.

3. W.H. Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzeb (London: Macmillan and Co., 1923), p. 249.

4. J.S. Hoyland and S.N. Banerjee, The Empire of the Great Mogol (Bombay: D.B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 1928), p. 95.

poor and that "you may see in India whole provinces like deserts, from whence the peasants have fled on account of the oppression of the Governors." ¹

Hawkins's narrative also throws some interesting light on the mansabdari system.² Speaking from his personal experience he observes that, like Christian princes who "use their degrees by Titles," the Indian nobles "have their Degrees and Titles by their number of Horses : unlesse it bee those that the King most favoureth, whom he honoureth with the Title of Chan, and Immirza." ³ He then proceeds to compare the different grades of the Mughal courtiers with those of the nobles in Europe, saying that Khan signifies a Duke, that a commander of five thousand is a Marquis, comparisons that are rather fanciful and misleading, though this tendency to compare is not unnatural. Moreover, as Sir William Foster rightly points out, Hawkins's enumeration of the various grades is incomplete and the list of the principal officers imperfect. Hawkins was evidently not interested in tracing the origin of the system nor in shedding some useful light on its working in the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir. To the former goes the credit of establishing "a graded list of the mansabdārs, or officers of the army, whose rank ranged from that of commander of 5,000 down to that of commander of ten horse. The measure affected civil as well as military officials, for the former held relative rank and were graded as commanders of horse even though they might never command troops. Akbar's intention was that all should, as a rule, enter in the lowest rank and rise by merit." ⁴

1. Travels in India (London: Oxford University Press, 1925), vol. I, p. 312.

2. See Elphinstone's note on this system in his History of India (London, 1857), p. 476.

3. Purchas, op. cit., p. 216.

4. CHI, vol. IV, p. 110.

Ralph Fitch and John Mildenhall, it may be noted here, had not mentioned any of the administrative reforms of Akbar. Hawkins was the first Englishman to have written about the mansabdāri system and to have conveyed some idea of it to his countrymen. His account of the wealth and treasure of the Great Mughal was appropriated by De Laet, who quotes him in extenso. Moreover, the following passage from this Flemish authority shows how deeply he was indebted to our traveller for some of his information. "No surprise should be felt," says De Laet,

at the fact that the prince possesses such huge treasures, when it is remembered that his ancestors seized the property of so many rulers, who had held power in India for so many centuries : and that they handed on these treasures to their descendants very greatly augmented. Also, although there are no gold or silver mines here, yet great quantities of both gold and silver (especially the latter) are imported : and re-exportation is prohibited.¹

There is hardly any doubt that De Laet has here copied Hawkins, who says the same thing in slightly different language.² Hawkins, in turn, appears to have obtained some of his information regarding the treasures of the Great Mughal from the Jesuits³ who were at Agra and who, during their long and intimate association with the Emperor and his courtiers, had come to have a better knowledge of many things which itinerant travellers and merchants could hardly be expected to know.

The impression created by the number of tents pitched and the space covered by them when the Emperor and his party halted in their march from one place to another, was indeed so excellent that Hawkins could

1. Hoyland and Banerjee, op. cit., p. 111.

2. See Purchas, op. cit., p. 221.

3. William Foster, Early Travels in India (London: Oxford University Press, 1921), p. 101n.



Jahangir goes out hunting.

not help thinking of London. Chagrined and surprised, he comments on this grand spectacle thus: "When hee rideth on Progresse or Hunting, the compasse of his Tents may bee as much as the compasse of London and more, and I may say, that of all sorts of people that follow the Campe, there are two hundred thousand: for hee is provided, as for a Citie."¹ That this is not an exaggeration appears from what Sir Thomas Roe says of the royal camp. In 1616 he had seen a royal camp which extended over a space of not less than twenty English miles in length, and in places six miles in depth.² De Laet says almost the same thing. Bernier found the multitude in the royal camps "prodigious and almost incredible."³ He expatiates at some length upon this subject, furnishing at least two important details. First, he gives the reason why the camp contained such a large number of people. "The whole population of Delhi, the capital city," he observes, "is in fact collected in the camp, because deriving its employment and maintenance from the court and army, it has no alternative but to follow them in their march or to perish from want during their absence."⁴ Secondly, he dwells on how so vast a number both of men and animals could be maintained in the field. He found that not many people in the camp liked animal food; they were satisfied with their khichery, a mess of rice, lentils and vegetables, over which, when cooked, they poured boiled butter or ghee. Their camels endured fatigue, hunger, and thirst to a surprising degree, and lived upon little, and ate any kind of food.

1. Purchas, op. cit., p. 218

2. Hoyland and Banerjee, op. cit., p. 116.

3. Travels in the Mogul Empire (London: Oxford University Press, 1914), p. 381.

4. Ibid.

When describing historical events of which he did not have a first-hand knowledge, Hawkins sometimes presents half truths and garbled facts. He does not take pains to sift truth from gossip, as in the case of his account of Salim's rebellion against his father, Akbar. According to Hawkins, Salim (who later ascended the Mughal throne with the style of Nur-ad-din Muhammad Jahangir) was sent by his father with a great force to beat down the rebel Rana of Udaipur, while Akbar himself marched to the Deccan. On being advised by the Rana to "possesse himselfe of his fathers treasure and make himselfe king" in the absence of his father from the capital, Jahangir broke into open insurrection, but was soon overcome and eventually reconciled to his father. That Akbar himself hurried to the southern theatre of war when he directed Salim to attack the Rana of Mewar is a fact corroborated by many historians,¹ but there is hardly any evidence to support Hawkins's statement that Jahangir was advised by the Rana to attempt a coup de main. It was in all probability "his father's unconcealed displeasure and obvious preference for Daniyal and the influential Abul Fazl's bitter hostility" that fanned Jahangir's "smouldering disaffection into rebellion."² We find the following passage in Abul Fazl's Akbar-nama:

Salim, the Prince Royal, had been sent against the Rana (of Udaipur). His love of ease, encouraged by his improper companions, induced him to spend some time at Ajmir in pleasure. After a while, he hastened to Udaipur, and the Rana ... plundered Balpur and other places. Madho Singh was sent against him, and defeated him. But before this honourable service was accomplished, the Prince was induced by his evil counsellors to form the design of going to the Punjab, and of there following his own pleasure ...³

1. See Mountstuart Elphinstone, History of India (London: John Murray, 1857) pp. 458-460; Beni Prasad, op.cit., pp. 44-78; CHI, vol. IV, pp. 146-153.
2. CHI, vol. IV, p. 146.
3. Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., pp. 98. et seq.

Jahangir's evil associates found in him a convenient centre for a seditious conspiracy. He got an opportunity to raise the standard of revolt when Man Singh proceeded to Bengal to quell a formidable insurrection there. The first thing the prince did was to enrich himself by confiscating over a crore's worth of cash and property left by Shahbaz Khan Kambu¹ who happened to die at Ajmer just then. Thereafter he hastened with a large force of picked troops to Agra, with the intention of deposing his father. Qulich Khan, the commandant, did not, however, allow him to enter the fort, which caused the Prince to march eastward. His departure from Agra was hastened by the news that MARYAM MAKANI, his grandmother, was on her way to admonish him.

Evidently, Hawkins has described Prince Salim's revolt in very general terms, omitting a large number of important details. His references to Khusru's revolt, to the war in the Deccan and to Amar Singh are likewise very brief and casual. The most valuable parts of his travels are those in which he records his personal experiences and writes of the Nauroz celebration,² the Emperor's weighing,³ the court, and Jahangir's daily life. Sir Thomas Roe, Edward Terry and many other European travellers such as Mandelslo, Bernier and Thevenot have left vivid accounts of the Nauroz and the festival of the King's birth-day, but Hawkins was the first Englishman to draw a graphic picture of these ceremonies. It is in passages like the following that we find Hawkins at his best:

-
1. De Laet calls this man T'ZEBHAERGAN KAMBOU - a good instance of his careless transliteration of names. See Hoyland and Banerjee, op. cit., p. 164.
 2. See Purchas, op. cit., p. 223.
 3. Ibid.

This Emperour keepeth many feasts in the yeare, but two feasts especially may be nominated; the one called the NOUROUS, which is in honour of the New-yeares day. This feast continueth eighteene daies, and the wealth and riches are wonderfull, that are to be seene in the decking and setting forth of every mans roome, or place where he lodgeth, when it is his turne to watch: for every Nobleman hath his place appointed him in the Palace. In the midst of that spacious place I speake of, there is a rich Tent pitched, but so rich, that I thinke the like cannot bee found in the world. This Tent is curiously wrought, and hath many SEMINANS (HIND. shāmiyānā, an awning) joyning round about it, of most curious wrought Velvet, embroidered with Gold, and many of them are of Cloath (sic) of Gold and Silver ... I may say, it is at the least two Acres of ground, but so richly spread with Silke and Gold Carpets, and Hangings in the principall places, rich, as rich Velvet imbroydered with Gold, Pearle, and precious stones can make it.....¹

Compared with Sir Thomas Roe's account,² Hawkins's is brief, but like Roe's, it is based on first-hand information. There are, however, not many passages in Hawkins's narrative which supply such valuable pieces of information. In fact, his narrative is singularly destitute of information regarding the social, religious and economic condition of India. Except for one brief note on sati, there is nothing to inform his readers about the social and religious practices of the Indians. Though we learn a good deal about the treasures of the Great Mughal, we do not gather much from Hawkins's account about the condition of the ordinary man in the kingdom. Hawkins devotes considerable space to the description of the intrigues of the Portuguese, Jesuits and Jahangir's courtiers, who all combined to bring about his

1. Ibid.

2. See The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe (London: Hakluyt Society, 1899), vol. I. pp. 142-144.

downfall, and in the section where he might have described the condition of the country, he dilates upon the cruelty of the Emperor, his daily routine, etc. It is from the few hints dropped casually in the course of his narrative that we collect some information about the outlaws infesting the roads and the jagirdars "racking" the poor to get from them what they could.

A direct and practical man, Hawkins was by no means given to refinements of fancy,¹ which alone would have enabled him to leave a vivid account of his journey from Surat to Agra. William Finch, it will be seen, recorded with remarkable interest much detail about the roads he traversed, the towns he visited, the amenities he enjoyed and the discomforts he suffered, during his journey from one place to another. But like most of his contemporaries Hawkins knew how to clothe "the very stuff and substance of romance in the homely, direct and everyday terms of plain matter of fact."² Writing about Pelham's narrative the publishers of Messrs. AWNSHAM and John Churchill's Collection of Voyages and Travels averred;

This Narrative has nothing of Art or Language, being left by an ignorant Sailor, who, as he confesses, was in no better a Post than Gunner's Mate, and that to a Greenland Fisher; and therefore the Reader can expect no more than bare matter of Fact, deliver'd in a homely Stile, which it was not fit to alter, lest it might breed a Jealousy that something had been chang'd more than the bare Language....³

Hawkins, we know, was not an "ignorant sailor," but the remarks about Pelham's narrative are applicable, with no less pertinency, also to

-
1. Philip Woodruff, The Men who ruled India: The Founders (London, 1953), p. 26.
 2. John Livingston Lowes, The Road to Xanadu (London: Constable and Company, 1927), p. 313.
 3. Awnsham and John Churchill, A Collection of Voyages and Travels (London, 1704), vol. I, p. VIII.

Hawkins's work. The numerous extracts quoted from it show that Hawkins's was also "a homely Stile," and we need expect from him "no more than bare matter of Fact." Like all other voyagers of the age, he had sailed into a region which was "fantastically new and had words, for the most part, for accustomed things alone."¹ That explains why, like most of his contemporary travellers, he tried sometimes to compare Indian conditions with those in England. His comparison of the Indian courtiers with nobles in Europe is a case in point. The wide expanse of the royal camp reminded him of the city of London, and he translates the word 'salāms' into 'good morrows.' He describes, though with good reason, the DĪWĀN-Ē-ĀM as the hall of 'public audience' and the officer who placed the nobles according to their rank within the red rail as 'Lieutenant-General.' Native words employed by him are therefore few. Generally speaking, he used them to denote weights, measures and sums of money, such as 'rotties,' 'lecks,' 'crou,' 'maunes,' and 'mettegals.'²

Hawkins was without doubt one of those old mariners whom Lowes found having, "as Professor Kittredge says of Chaucer, 'such stupendous luck in always meeting nonpareils!'"³ Having commented on the vastness of the royal camp, Hawkins speaks of Jahangir: "This King is thought to be the greatest Emperour of the East, for Wealth, Land, and force of Men: as also for Horses, Elephants, Camels and Dromedaries."⁴ He tells us of Akbar's tomb at Sikandra: "This Sepulchre may be counted one of

1. J.L. Lowes, loc. cit.

2. These are 'rati' (the seed of ABRUS PRECATORIUS, used as a jeweller's weight), 'lakhs' (1,00,000), 'Kror' (1,00,00,000), 'maunds' (a denomination of weight current in India, varying greatly in value according to locality), and 'mithkal' (a weight of about 73 grains).

3. J.L. Lowes, op. cit., p. 315.

4. Purchas, op. cit., p. 218.

the rarest Monuments of the world. It hath beene this fourteene yeares a building, and it is thought it will not be finished these seaven yeares more, in ending gates and walls, and other needfull things, for the beautifying and setting of it forth." ¹ He sees one of the tents of Jahangir, "so rich, that I thinke, the like cannot bee found in the world." ² Of all beasts the elephants "are the most understanding." ³ The elephants royal "eate tenne Rupias every day in Sugar, Butter, Graine, and Sugar Canes," and they are "the goodliest and fairest of all the rest, and tame withall..." ⁴

Time and again, Hawkins tries not to be carried away by his admiration of the Mughal's wealth and riches, but delights in being critical. Thus, on the one hand, he informs his readers about the magnanimity of Jahangir who gave to the poor all those precious stones he was weighed with, and, on the other, he does not hesitate to observe that what the Emperor received as presents "is thought to be ten times more worth then that which he giveth to the poore." He speaks of his chain of justice, but does not forget to tell us of his cruel deeds. Similarly, he gives a long account of all the gold and diamonds in the vaults of the imperial treasury at Agra and elsewhere, but he also seeks to expose the naive belief that it was all gained by honest means. Obviously, the wealth of the Great Mughal was thought to be the result of diabolical rather than divine influence. Under the eyes of more credulous

1. Ibid., p. 224.

2. Ibid., p. 223.

3. Ibid., p. 219.

4. Ibid., p. 218.

travellers, the cupidity of the Indian monarchs would not have undergone such merciless scrutiny. This critical quality links Hawkins directly with the Restoration travellers who under the influence of the Royal Society attempted to avoid the "delightful Deceit of Fables" and to "put a mark on the Errors, which have been strengthened by long Prescription." ¹

1. Thomas Sprat, The History of the Royal Society (London, 1702), p. 61.



L. THOMAS ROE K.

G. Vertue

CHAPTER V

SIR THOMAS ROE

(1615-1619)

The Great Mogul had a 'Lieger' or Agent of ours, for some time past; and now, in this same year, 1614, Sir Thomas Roe goes out as Resident Ambassador. The English India Company seems inclined to make good its Charter! His Majesty, in all easy ways, right willingly encourages it.....

- Thomas Carlyle, Historical Sketches.

1

Of our English travellers in India, the greatest in rank and possibly in importance is Sir Thomas Roe, a shrewd, careful, accurate, if somewhat aloof and aristocratic man, whose journal is still one of the best books on Mughal India from 1615 to 1619. This important work deals with events and developments from the time Roe arrived at Surat up to the time of his sojourn at the Mughal's court; but it is extremely limited in its scope. It does not deal with the general administration of the empire, or with the condition of the masses living outside the royal palace.¹ A complete history cannot ignore the rôle of the tiller of the soil, and yet this journal is nonetheless a valuable piece of historical writing. It shows the strength and weaknesses of the Mughal empire as observed by a diplomat.

To understand the nature of his mission and his achievements it is necessary to look back to the events preceding his appointment as King

1. Cf. Oaten's remark that Roe should have "sometimes removed his gaze from the dazzling splendour of princes" and given us "more pertinent observations relative to the state of the country and the people." European Travellers in India (London, 1909), pp. 148 et seq.

James's ambassador to the court of Jahangir. We know that William Hawkins's endeavours to obtain trading privileges from Jahangir had failed and that Sir Henry Middleton, who commanded the ships of the sixth voyage, had arrived at Surat in September 1611. He, too, was destined to go back to England disappointed. The delays and vacillation of the Mughal authorities culminated in an absolute refusal of trade and compelled Middleton to return, but not before he had taken toll of the Surat traders in the Red Sea. In September 1612, however, Thomas Best arrived with a fresh fleet, all unaware of the difficulties of his predecessor. He was warmly received, probably because of the terror Middleton's measures had inspired, and he also succeeded in concluding a trading agreement with the local officials, confirmed in general terms by a firmān from the court.¹ One of the articles of this agreement stipulated that an English representative should be allowed to reside at the Mughal court "during the time of the said peace and commerce, there to compound and end all such great and weightie Questions, as may any way tend to the breach of the said peace."²

Thomas Best returned to England in 1614 and acquainted the East India Company with the course of events, giving a glowing report of the prospects of trade, and of the privileges he had obtained. Already, on 7 March 1614, Nicholas Downton had left England in the New Year's Gift, on the voyage described so vividly by Purchas; and it was now decided to send another expedition to Surat. In November 1613, Thomas

-
1. See The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul (London: Hakluyt Society, 1899), vol. I, p. ii.
 2. Samuel Purchas, Purchas his Pilgrimes (London, 1625), Part I, Bk. IV, Chap. 7, p. 458.

Aldworthe,¹ in a letter from Ahmadābād, had recommended the appointment of "a sufficient man" who could be sent to Agra as King James's ambassador to the court of Jahangir, one "whose person may breede regard"² Neither this letter nor William Biddulph's, who had written from Surat to the same effect, had reached the directors of the Company at this date; but from their own experiences they would certainly have grasped the truth that their servants were not fitted by their status and training for the delicate work of diplomacy which had to be done in India. Best, too, had advised them to "make a care principally to send fitt and sufficient men to take the charge of your business, both in Suratt and the court."³ Sir Thomas Smythe, the first Governor of the East India Company, was evidently in favour of sending to India a duly accredited ambassador. When the preparations for the dispatch of the fleet were in full swing, he proposed, at a meeting of the Committees of the Company, the appointment of Sir Thomas Roe as England's first lord ambassador to the court of Jahangir. "Because there is and wilbe occasion of employinge one of extraordinarye parts to reside att Agra to prevent any plotts that may be wrought by the Jesuits to circumvent our trade," read the minutes of this meeting, "Mr. Governor recommended to their serious considerations the sufficiencie of Sir Thomas Rowe, a gentleman well knowne unto them all to bee of pregnant understandinge, well spoken, learned, industrious, and of a comelie personage, and one of whom there are greate hopes that hee may worke much good for the Company."⁴

-
1. Best describes him as "a very honest man, but no ways fitt to be an Agent and Cheef Factor in Suratt." See The Voyage of Thomas Best to the East Indies (London: Hakluyt Society, 1934), p. 243.
 2. F.C. Danvers (ed.), Letters Received by the East India Company (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1896), vol. I, p. 307.
 3. The Voyage of Thomas Best to the East Indies (1934), p. 243.
 4. Court Minutes, September 7, 1614.

There is no doubt that Roe was a man of exceptional parts, "a man very different from Hawkins, no Turkey merchant ready to take an Armenian wife, but a gentleman, a courtier, a former Esquire of the Body to the Queen, a friend of Prince Henry and his sister Elizabeth," the future Rose of Bohemia... 'The eclipse and glory of her kind.'¹ Of handsome presence, he was gifted with the most ingratiating manners, and possessed unflinching tact, showing in all his undertakings "what eminence there was treasur'd up in him, and what admirable parts he was endowed with."² In 1609 he had led an adventurous voyage of discovery to South America under the patronage of Prince Henry, and had disputed in Latin with Dutch divines; he had even sat for Tamworth in the 'Addled Parliament.'³ He thus combined the qualities of the great explorer with the urbanity of the courtier. "In knowledge of foreign affairs and in a practical acquaintance with the details of British commerce he probably had no living equal."⁴ The proposal of the Governor was, however, subjected to a lot of discussion and debate. When ultimately the suggestion was adopted, the 'Committees' (or, as we should say, Directors) of the Company made a petition to King James to command Roe to proceed, of course at the Company's expense, as a special plenipotentiary to the court of Jahangir, the Mughal Emperor of Hindustan. Thus at the request of the Company the King, who had knighted Roe in 1604, now accredited him as a special ambassador to the Great Mughal at Agra. His instructions were to obtain the Emperor's sanction for the establishment of

-
1. Philip Woodruff, The Men who Ruled India: The Founders (London: Jonathan Cape, 1953), p. 32.
 2. Anthony A Wood, Athenae Oxonienses (London, 1817), vol. III, p. 113.
 3. In 1629, as Wood informs us, he was dispatched on a special mission to Sweden, and afterwards to Copenhagen and various German courts. In 1641 Charles I sent him as his representative to the Diet of Ratisbon, and on his return made him Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, and a member of the Privy Council.
 4. D.N.B. (1897), vol. XLIX, p. 92.

English trade in his dominions on a settled basis, and to recover large sums of money due to the Company from persons about the court.¹

The negotiations, which ended in the drawing up of the articles of agreement made and concluded between the Company on the one hand and Sir Thomas Roe on the other, will be found on the Court Minutes of November 16, 1614. Some of the articles of agreement were as follows:

Whereas the Governor and Company have nomynated the foresaid Sr. Thomas Roe and procured his matie: to employ him as his Embassador to the Grand Magore, for the better establishing and settlinge an absolute trade in any partes, wthin the Dominions of the greate Magore aforesaid....

The said Sr Thomas Roe doth promise to forbear all private Trade, for himselfe or any other either directly or indirectly and doth assure the Company by a faithfull promise to hinder it in others (All that he can []), and to give intelligence unto them, of any, that he shall take notice of to offend in that nature or shall by any meanes come to the knowledge of and wilbe ready to give his best assistance unto their cheife ffactor, (upon any occasion) to punish all offenders that shall deserve punishment, according to the quallity of their offences...²

Sir Thomas left England in the year 1614, and landed in state at Surat after a six month's voyage. In the meantime, Downton had inflicted a smashing defeat on the Portuguese, thus exposing their weakness to India, and for some time Englishmen were "hailed as deliverers from the seemingly invincible tyranny of Portugal."³ When Jahangir heard of Downton's victory, so pleased was he that he "much applauded our people's resolution, saying his country was before them, to do therein whatsoever ourselves desired," and spoke "very despitefully and

1. Philip Anderson, The English in Western India (Bombay: Smith, Taylor and Co., 1854), p. 10.
2. George Birdwood and William Foster, The First Letter Book of the East India Company (London, 1893), pp. 446 et seq.
3. Boies Penrose, Sea Fights in the East Indies (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1931), p. 28.

reproachfully of the Portingales." ¹ On his arrival in India in the middle of September 1615, Roe came to know that the Portuguese, weary of a war that was damaging their commerce, were pressing a treaty with the Mughal Emperor which would result in the absolute exclusion of the English from all ports of his empire. On Oct. 18 there arrived a firmān from Prince Khurram, the future Emperor Shah Jahan, ordering that "the English should discharge one ship and have a monthes staye in trade, but no residences in the towne." ² To add to all this, the English representatives had hitherto made no attempt to assert their dignity; indeed, the latest, Edwards, had suffered even porters and base peons to kick and spurn him out of the court-gates. ³ Moreover, some of Sir Thomas's own men were disorderly and a constant source of worry. Although he does not allude in his journal to any special incident which illustrates this, there is evidence to believe that one such happened on 26 September 1615. Sir William Foster, on the authority of Edward Terry, quotes this incident "as an example of the disorderliness amongst the English subordinates which was a constant cause of friction with the authorities at almost every port frequented by the Company's ships." ⁴

-
1. Ibid. Also see Letters Received by the East India Company (London, 1899), vol. III, p. 64.
 2. William Foster, England's Quest of Eastern Trade (London: A & C Black Ltd., 1933), p. 281.
 3. Withington's opinion of this man is well-known. (See p. 330 infra.) Sir Thomas Roe also stated that Edwards had "suffered blowes of the porters, base Peons, and beene thrust out by them with much scorne by head and shoulders without seeking satisfaction..." (Roe to Smythe, January 24, 1616). See The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe (1899), vol. I, p. xiii.
 4. Ibid., 52. Philip Anderson (op. cit., p. 29) also alludes to this incident.

At this time a new Governor was in power at Surat, Prince Khurram, attracted by the increasing revenue of this port, had begged it from the Emperor and had sent Zulfikar Khan, "an insolent and overbearing member of his household," to govern it. On his arrival at Surat Roe almost at once came into collision with this man. A week passed in negotiations, during which Sir Thomas insisted that being an ambassador he was not subject to customs examination, while Zulfikar Khan was equally firm that by the tradition of Surat he was.¹ Roe therefore resolved to dispatch a messenger to Jahangir to inform him of the "barbarous usage of me, being ambassador to a mighty King in league with him, and come a far journey upon his royal word." The Governor sent a messenger to insist that Roe should pay him a formal visit before proceeding to the Emperor's court. This Roe flatly refused to do, saying, "it was too late to offer me Curtesyes, especially under pretence of dishonouring my Master: That it was the Custome of Europe to visitt those of my qualety first, and that I durst not breake yt in penaltie of my head, haveinge expresse Command from my Master to Mayntayne the Honor of a free king, and to visitt none but such as first did that respect due to his Majestie: and that therefore I would never doe yt."² He was determined never to compromise the dignity of England by performing slavish prostrations or going through degrading and undignified ceremonies, and refused to yield to the capricious demands of the Governor, who soon realised that the new ambassador was in no way inferior to him in position or dignity. Then he begged for the presents that he expected, and, as Roe points out in his journal, "withall sayd:

1. The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe (1899), vol. I, p. 54.

2. Ibid., p. 53.

your Ambassador lookes I should visitt him; what Jewell or diamond will he give me?"¹ Amity was soon restored, and Roe triumphed, so far at least as the visit was concerned. "The story of the contest between the two," comments Sir William Foster, "furnishes most amusing reading. The victory rested with the Englishman, whose cool and resolute fence proved more than a match for the Oriental cunning of his adversary; and when Roe set out on his journey to the Court, the Governor humbly desired his friendship, and offered him 'anything he would demand.'"²

Having at last come to terms with Zulfikar Khan, Sir Thomas made his departure from Surat.³ He went first to Burhanpur and subsequently to Ajmer, where Jahangir then resided. He was received with great favour and courtesy by the Emperor,⁴ who often talked to him about things European. He forthwith addressed himself to the real object of his mission - the negotiation of a commercial treaty between England and Hindustan, "which should place the position of the English in India on a firm and lasting basis and secure them against all oppression by the provincial officials."⁵ Asaf Khan, the prime minister and brother of Nur Jahan, Jahangir's favourite consort, prompted by Mukarrab Khan, did all he could to foil Roe's attempts to obtain the privileges he sought, while Prince Khurram, whom Roe had unwittingly offended, proved an even more powerful enemy. Sir Thomas, however, was persistent. He

1. Ibid., p. 55.

2. Ibid., p. xiii.

3. The details of this trip to Ajmer are given in Purchas and Churchill.

4. "The King," said Roe, "never used any Ambassadour with so much respect." See The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe (1899), vol. I, p. 112.

5. William Foster, England's Quest of Eastern Trade, p. 283. For the nineteen articles constituting the draft of the proposed treaty, see John Pinkerton, A General Collection of Voyages and Travels (London, 1811), vol. VIII, p. 8.

staked everything, even the prestige of his country, on the independence and dignity of his bearing, not on the value of his presents.¹ Jahangir was at last forced to recognize in him the envoy of a monarch as proud as himself. It was by his keen insight into the Emperor's temperament that Sir Thomas Roe, disdaining to smooth his way by means of the 'base creeping and bribing' practised by his predecessors, won the respect which he otherwise might never have been paid.

Jahangir was certainly not a very tactful monarch. He did not realize the importance of a treaty with the English as the Japanese, for instance, had done. Some of his courtiers, like Asaf Khan and his eldest son, Sultan Khurram, were very powerful, and, though in many ways quite independent of them, the Emperor could not defy their wishes. Unfortunately, these could be influenced either by abject humility on the part of the English ambassador or by some precious gift. The first course was, as we have seen, wholly repugnant to Sir Thomas and though he did not like the second, he found it diplomatic to win the prince to his side, if not Asaf Khan. He therefore delivered a present, "not in the name of His Majestie, it beeing too meane." The Prince, who was well familiar with the riotous behaviour of the English seamen, had also heard many complaints from the Surat officials and also from Zulfikar Khan. Roe's diplomacy, however, succeeded in changing the Prince's attitude of hostility to the English mission. This, in fact, was

1. That the presents he had brought with him were of little use in furthering his cause is attested by his letter to the East India Company dated 24th November 1615. It appears that the Company had prepared these presents "on an unwise scale of economy" and had not displayed any prudence in their selection, the most important amongst them being a state carriage of the period.

effected more by Roe's politeness and presents than by any threat. But this was not all that he wanted to obtain. The goal was still far removed: the ambassador was still floundering in a sea of imperial indifference.

The reasons for Jahangir's apathy were not far to seek. The Great Mughals were undoubtedly talented rulers and shrewd politicians, but they displayed little statesmanship over questions of foreign relations. Even Akbar failed to explore certain obvious avenues which lay open before him. He had a vast continent to conquer and had little time to spare for the Portuguese, to whom he attached no importance even though they stung him occasionally. He did think of building ships once, but this was looked upon more as a pastime than a serious naval development. This is true of all the Great Mughals and their advisers. Jahangir, more than any other ruler, could not foresee the implications of signing a treaty for trade. He not only could not appreciate the significance of trade with the West, but also held all those people in contempt who engaged in commerce.¹ This contempt was the ruin of Hawkins's mission, for the Emperor no sooner realized that Hawkins was a mere trader than he virtually drove him out. The same coldness awaited Sir Thomas Roe. If, therefore, he asked the Emperor to discuss the matter of the treaty, he would receive a lukewarm reply: when he persisted, he would find the Emperor had fallen asleep.

For months Roe was beguiled by promises of compliance with his wishes. A stage was reached, however, when he could wait no longer.

1. This explains why he does not make any direct allusion to the English ambassador in his TUZUK (memoirs). Moreover, one should not forget the harm done to the English by the Portuguese, Jesuits and their agents who had systematically belittled the English monarch and his representatives.

His patience was exhausted and the effort made so far seemed to be on the brink of failure. Thus grown desperate, he once asked the Emperor if he would ever have his demands sanctioned or if he should return to England. The Emperor, still unmoved, replied, "If I would bee gone, I might; if stay, I should bee welcome." Had Sir Thomas Roe been in a court other than the Great Mughal's he would have wondered at the insolent answer, but here he was almost prepared for it. The only course now left open was to wait as he had hitherto done. Impatience, he realized, would hinder his progress and weaken his cause. He began, at the same time, to resort to the age-old tricks for propitiating a capricious monarch. He brought him presents, and danced attendance upon him, following him wherever he went. But not once in all these months had he been able to gain the Emperor's consent to a definite treaty which would be of permanent value. Jahangir continued to fabricate one excuse after another, thus putting off the matter. Sir Thomas, however, decided to make one last attempt to effect a treaty with the Emperor, and this time luck, hitherto unfavourable, crowned him with success.

Sir Thomas Roe followed Jahangir in his progress to Māndū and Ahmadābād. "I am," he wrote to Sir Thomas Smythe on 16 January 1617, "yet following this wandering King over Mountaynes and thorough woodes, so strange and vnvsed wayes that his owne People, who almost know no other God, blaspheame his Name and hers that, it is sayd, Conducts all his actions."¹ Early in 1618 the ambassador paid a visit to Būrhānpūr,

1. British Museum, Addl. Ms. 6115, f. 164, cited by William Foster (ed), The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe (1899), p. 375n.

returning to Ahmadābād at the beginning of May. The same year, he left the Mughal court for Surat, having accomplished the objects of his mission as far as seemed possible. Positive results were no doubt small, but permission to trade under reasonable conditions was obtained and Roe "did succeed in preventing for three years the worst oppression and rapacity of the Surat authorities... and by his courage and his steady stand on principle he raised the opinion in which the English were held."¹ Thus a beginning was made which was followed up by further successes. Roe did all that any Englishman could possibly have done; and there is no doubt that what Prof. C.H. Philips said of David Scott is true also of him: "He was a fighter, knowing well the meaning of adversity but not defeat" and he "indeed was a great patriot, ever working to make his country great - especially pointing and facilitating the way to the ... supremacy of Britain in the eastern seas... He deserves a place beside the acknowledged makers of British India and Britain herself."²

2

The introduction to the revised edition of John Harris's NAVIGANTIUM ATQUE ITINERANTIUM BIBLIOTHECA contains the following invidious remarks about Purchas:

... Purchas's Pilgrimes are a very voluminous, and for the most Part a very trifling and insignificant Collection: His Manner, for I cannot call it Method, is irregular and confused,

-
1. Philip Woodruff, op. cit., p. 34.
 2. The Correspondence of David Scott, Director and Chairman of the East India Company (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1951), vol. I, p. IX.

his Judgment weak and pedantick, his Remarks often silly, and always little to the Purpose...¹

That the remarks were not prompted by any jealousy of Purchas's popular collections of voyages is evident from this writer's praise of Hakluyt, whose work was no less popular. Even the admirers of Purchas admit that sometimes the reverend gentleman was "irregular and confused" and that very often the overwhelming mass of materials to be co-ordinated left him utterly bewildered. In no case, it seems, was his confusion greater than when he was editing the journal of Roe, which he has cut down to a third or less. That he should so reduce this document "was perhaps to be expected, in view of the restrictions of space imposed by his general plan; but that, while leaving untouched many trivialities..., he should excise passages vital to the comprehension of others which were allowed to stand: that his dates should often be wrong; and that the carelessness of his copyist (or his printer) should be allowed to make nonsense of important passages, will scarcely admit of excuse."²

Messrs. Awnsham and John Churchill expressed almost the same dissatisfaction with Purchas's handling of Roe's journal and said that the editor of the Pilgrimes had only an imperfect copy of Roe's original manuscript. When, therefore, they published in 1704 their Collection of Voyages and Travels, the first volume of which concluded with Sir Thomas Roe's journal, it was expected that Purchas's deficiencies would be made up and that the journal would assume a better form. The readers were also told in the Preface that "Sir Thomas Roe has before appeared,

-
1. John Harris, Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca (London: T. Osborne, etc., 1764), vol. I, p. II.
 2. The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe (1899), vol. I, p. lxiii.

in part, in Purchas his collection of travels, and since translated into French, and published in the first volume of Thevenot. Now he comes abroad again with considerable additions, not foisted in, but taken from his own original manuscript." ¹ These, no doubt, were big words, but from their achievement it appears that the ambitious editors added nothing to Purchas's edition but a few minor incidents and dates of Roe's arrival at or departure from various places. The subsequent editions of the journal were practically based on Purchas his Pilgrimes and Churchill's Collection of Voyages and Travels.² For the purposes of the present study, the editions of Roe's journal published by the Hakluyt Society in 1899 and by the Oxford University Press in 1926 have been drawn upon, for these are not only exhaustive but are the only reliable editions of the work based on extant manuscripts in the various London collections.

That Roe's journal was popular at home and abroad in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is evident from the foregoing paragraph. Besides the editions of his work referred to above, a few more notable issues were those by John Harris, Robert Kerr, Knox and W.H.D. Rouse. A Dutch edition of the journal appeared at Amsterdam in 1656; its French translation was included in Relations de divers voyages curieux, etc., 1663, part I, and its German version appeared in the eleventh volume of J.J. Schwabe's Allgemeine Historie der Reisen, etc., 1747. Samuel

-
1. Messrs. Churchill, A Collection of Voyages and Travels (London: Henry Lintot etc., 1744), vol. I, p. 618.
 2. John Pinkerton, for example, included, in his General Collection of Voyages and Travels (London, 1811), Vol. VIII, Sir Thomas Roe's journal as given by Churchill, while John Harris published in his collection of voyages an inaccurate paraphrase of it, derived from Purchas.

Richardson, the novelist, was aware of the historical and literary value of the papers and letters of Sir Thomas Roe. He not only published the Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte¹ and bore a reasonable part of the cost himself, but also drew on them at odd times in the History of Sir Charles Grandison, especially in his character-sketch of Sir Charles's tutor, Dr. Bartlett.

Among writers of considerable celebrity who are definitely known to have perused Roe's Indian journal are John Locke and Thomas Moore. The former relies "for his testimony concerning the Hottentots of Soldania" upon "no less a man than an ambassador from the King of England to the Great Mogul,"² and refers to Thevenot's admiration of Sir Thomas, whose relation "he was at the pains to translate into French."³ When showing that the idea of God is not innate, he refers, for support of his doctrine, to Roe in a footnote and also to Jean de Lery, Terry, Ovington and Martiniere. That Lock in his celebrated Essay concerning Human Understanding should have referred to these persons is not astonishing, since his interest in travel-literature was profound and he had also written an introductory discourse to Churchill's collection of voyages, containing the whole history of navigation from its origin to A.D. 1704, with a descriptive catalogue of most books of travel. As early as 1683, he was avidly perusing the journals and narratives of the voyagers and ascertaining the validity of their statements. In a letter

-
1. London, 1740. The book was "printed by Samuel Richardson, At the Expence (sic) of the Society for the Encouragement of Learning..."
 2. The Works of John Locke (London: Thomas Tegg, etc., 1823), Vol. I, p. 63.
 3. Ibid.

to Thomas Cudworth, who in 1679 left for India, he had sought, with "omnivorous zeal", for information concerning "oriental history, politics, theology, religion, customs, language, philosophy, science, and everything else that could help him towards understanding human nature in the concrete..."¹

Both Robert Southey and Thomas Moore were great students and had industriously searched the pages of travellers' descriptions of eastern countries and many translations from the Oriental languages for their materials. It is difficult to ascertain to-day the measure of their acquaintance with Sir Thomas's journal, but there is reason to believe that at least Thomas Moore was familiar with this work. In the following excerpt from Lalla Rookh, we are told that

... when, at evening or in the heat of the day, they turned off from the high road to those retired and romantic places which had been selected for her encampments, - sometimes on the banks of a small rivulet, as clear as the waters of the Lake of Pearl; sometimes under the sacred shade of a Banyan tree, from which the view opened upon a glade covered with antelopes; and often in those hidden, embowered spots, described by one from the Isles of the West, as "places of melancholy, delight, and safety, where all the company around was wild peacocks and turtle-doves," - she felt a charm in these scenes, so lovely and so new to her, which, for a time, made her indifferent to every other amusement.²

In the notes appended to his poem, Moore makes it clear that by "one from the Isles of the West" he meant "Sir Thomas Roe, Ambassador from James I. to Jehanguire."³ Since from a comparison of Southey's and Moore's notes we find that they read virtually the same books,⁴ it may

1. See H.R. Fox Bourne, The Life of John Locke (London: Henry S. King & Co., 1876), vol. I, p. 476.
2. Thomas Moore, Lalla Rookh, an Oriental Romance (London, 1817), p. 5.
3. Ibid., p. 353.
4. MARIE E. DE MEESTER, Oriental Influences in the English Literature of the nineteenth century (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1915), p.31.

be presumed that Southey, too, had read Roe's journal to acquaint himself thoroughly with the peculiarities of the region under whose spell he had unmistakably fallen.

An examination of the contents of this journal reveals that it is as much a political history of Jahangir as a record of Roe's personal triumphs and failures, victories and disappointments. His mission brought him into close contact not only with the Emperor, but also with a number of principal personalities and pressure groups dominating the general administration of the far-flung empire. If, therefore, he describes the social customs and usages of the inhabitants, he does it in a casual manner. His preoccupation is with the political condition of India in the reign of Jahangir rather than with its social and religious picture.

The journal presents a splendid gallery of portraits, all vivid and pulsating with life. The Emperor as Roe has portrayed him is a complex personality composed of extremes: for sometimes he is cruel and at other times he seems to be exceedingly fair and gentle. His territory contains the last harvest of Alexander's conquests, the dominions of Porus, whose descendant remains a tributary prince, with some other countries added to it. The border westward is Persia, to the east the Gulf of Bengal, north the mountains of Taurus, and south the kingdoms of the Deccan and the Bay of Cambay. "Plentifull in corne and cattle for mans necessitye: abundant in wealth and comodityes of trade for superfluitye. His revenew far above any eastern monarch knowne: far above the Turke : incredible if I sawe not the issues and incomes and



Sometimes he sees the execution done by his elephants,
with too much delight in blood.

could not give a better reason of yt then report." ¹ He is of countenance cheerful, and not proud in nature, but by habit and custom, for at nights he is very affable and full of gentle conversation. In jewels he is the treasury of the world, buying all that comes, and heaping rich stones as if he would rather build than wear them. "And yet all his greatnes (sic), compared and weighed judiciously, is like a play, that serves more for delight, and to entertayne the vulgar then for any use." ² Only his eunuchs are permitted to enter his house and his women are never seen except by himself and their nearest relatives. His nobility are like counters, placed high and low at his pleasure; his servants base and barbarous; and all his life as regular as a clock that strikes at set hours. He comes to be seen at a window at sunrise to all his idolators; at noon to the fight of elephants and wild beasts; at evening he removes to a theatre under canopies, where in a gallery he sits to hear complaints if any, to see and to be seen, where the great men on a stage below him act their parts, and the vulgar under them gaze on. The time is spent in displaying elephants and horses richly furnished. At night he descends into a court; on a throne he discourses and drinks with much affability. To this place are none admitted but with his permission and those of eminent quality.

Laws the Indians have none written and the King's judgment binds. He sits and gives justice with much patience, once weekly, both in capital and criminal cases. Sometimes he sees the execution done by his

-
1. Roe to Prince Charles. See The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 270. In a letter to the Lord Bishop of Canterbury the ambassador says the same thing (ibid., p.105).
 2. Ibid., p. 270

elephants, with too much delight in blood. His provincial governors rule by his firmans, which is a brief letter authorizing them, and they take life and goods at pleasure.

Jahangir, however, has a great respect for Sir Thomas Roe and is ready to grant all reasonable demands, but this affection is forced, not natural. Roe, therefore, stands "on very fickle termes, though in extraordinarie grace with the King, who is gentle, soft, and good of disposition."¹ He has one beloved wife among four "that wholly governeth him." The ambassador repeatedly affirms the power of Nur Jahan over the Emperor. In one place he says: "The rest of his motion is inward among woemen, of which sort, though hee keepe a thousand, yet one govern him, and wynds him up at her pleasure;"² in another: "If the King did governe, his nature is just, easy, and good, and his opinion and favour to mee extraordinary, considering my barren hands (which hath taught his the same toward mee); but hee, good man, doates, and heares only by one eare..." Nur Jahan appears to Sir Thomas to "fullfill (sic) the observation that in all actions of consequence in a court, especially in faction, a woman is not only always an ingredient, but commonly a principall drugg and of most vertue," and to show "that they are not incapable of conducting business, nor herselfe voyd of witt and subtiltye."³

References to Jahangir's insatiable appetite for gifts are numerous. Although he is rich in jewels, he is said to have no content, for he

-
1. In another place he observes that the King "is soe good of disposition that he suffers ill men to governe, which is woorse then to bee ill..." Kerridge, writing to Roe on 10 October 1615, describes Jahangir's nature as "gentle and debonaire."
 2. The Embassy (1926), p. 270.
 3. Ibid., p. 325.

expects great presents and jewels on every occasion and from every man. Despite all his tolerance and benignity towards strangers and foreigners, he is never prepared to do anything for them unless some costly 'toys' are brought to please him. Most of his courtiers, nobles and governors are equally avaricious, with the result that Roe feels in their company nothing but vexation and trouble, little honour, less profit. "I am infinitely weary of this unprofitable employment," he writes to Thomas Smythe from Ahmadābād on 16th February 1618,¹ and "I am weary; yt is impossible, and I will not stay yow an hower," to Captain Martin Pring from Baroch, 10 March 1618.²

An interesting example of Jahangir's whimsicality and cruelty has been cited by Roe in his journal. On 24 October 1616, Jahangir in his drunkenness commanded some of his courtiers to drink along with him. The next day someone "by chance or malice" spoke of what had happened the night before. The Emperor, forgetting his order, inquired who had given leave to the courtiers to drink. None of them could dare say it was the Emperor. The BUKY was thereupon called for the list of persons who had taken part in the nocturnal revelry. Having found out the names, the Emperor fined some one, some two, some three thousand rupees, some less, and some of those who were nearer his person he caused to be whipped before him, "receiving 130 stripes with a most terrible instrument, having at each end of fower cords irons like spur rowells, so that every stroke made fower wounds."³ Not satisfied with this form of

1. Ibid., p. 466.

2. Ibid., p. 470.

3. Ibid., p. 265. For a few more examples of Jahangir's cruelty, see pp. 87, 190 and 322.

punishment, Jahangir ordered the standers-by to kick them and the porters to break their staves upon them. Thus most cruelly mangled and bruised, they were carried out, one of them dying then and there.

Much has been written on Jahangir's addiction to liquor. "Ther is nothing more welcome here," says Roe in a letter to the East India Company, "nor ever saw I man soe enamord of drincke as both the King and Prince are of redd wyne." On 2 December 1617, the ambassador wrote to Thomas Kerridge: "The King drincks and is indifferent." On another occasion he chronicled the following incident in his journal: "After, the King fell to drincking of our allegant, givinge tasts to divers, and then sent for a full bottle, and drincking one cup, sent it to mee: that it beegan to sower soe fast it would be spoyld before hee could drincke all, and that I had none. So hee turnd to sleepe; the candles were popped out, and I groppd my way out of doores." ¹

Roe also sheds light on some of Jahangir's more dignified qualities. He refers to the Emperor's interest in painting and his keen desire to receive Robert Hughes who, as the ambassador says, "for his excercise did with a pen draw some figures, but very meanly, far from the arte of painting." ² From one of the incidents described by Roe we gather that Indians were no indifferent artists. On one occasion the ambassador was shown six pictures, five made by an Indian artist and one brought from England. At first he could not discern which was which; it was after a good deal of careful observation that he could show his own picture "and the differences, which were in arte apparant, but not to be juged by a common eye." ³

1. Ibid., p. 190.

2. Ibid., p. 187.

3. Ibid., p. 199.

Of Jahangir's generosity towards ascetics, which was mingled with superstition, here is an example. On 18 December 1616, Roe found him sitting on his throne, and a beggar at his feet, a poor old man, all ashed, ragged, and patched. His Majesty talked with him about an hour, with such familiarity and show of kindness "that it must needs argue an humilitye not found easely among kings." ¹ The beggar had the extraordinary privilege of sitting down before the Emperor, which none of the princes dared do. He gave Jahangir a present, a cake of coarse grain made by himself, ashed and burnt on the coals. The Emperor accepted it most willingly, broke one bit and ate it, "which a dainty mouth could scarce have done." Thereafter he sent for 100 rupees, and with his own hands poured them into the poor man's lap, and what fell down he gathered up for him. Roe concludes this episode with the following observations: "Hee (the Emperor) left him, and all us, and me in admiration of such a virtue in a heathen prince. Which I mention with envye and sorrow, that wee having the true vyne, should bring forth crabbs, and a bastard stock grapes: that either our Christian princes had this devotion or that this zeale were guided by a true light of the gospell." ²

Speaking about Jahangir's religion, Roe points out that the Emperor is an atheist. Sometimes he will make profession of a Moor, but always observe the holidays and do all ceremonies with the Gentiles. He is content with all religions: "only he loves none that changeth." Of Christ he never utters any word unreverently, but "hee is the most impossible man in the world to be converted." Once he "fell to dispute

1. Ibid., p. 328.

2. Ibid.

of the lawes of Moses, Jesus and Mahomett; and in drinck was soe kinde that hee turnd to mee, and said: Am I a king? Yow shalbe wellcome: Christians, Moores, Jewes, hee meddled not with their faith: they came all in love, and hee would protect them from wrong: they lived under his safety and none should oppresse them; and this often repeated; but in extreame drunkennes hee fell to weeping and to divers passions, and soe kept us till midnight."¹

Sir Thomas Roe has left us a vivid description of the Emperor's birth-day festivities. He was duly invited to the ceremony of the Emperor's solar weighing on 1st September 1616, but owing to the mistake of a messenger, he missed the spectacle.² In the following year, however, he got an opportunity to observe this splendid exhibition of wealth. He was carried into a very large and beautiful garden, the square within all water, on the sides flowers and trees, in the midst a pinnacle where were prepared the scales. These were "hung in large tressels, and a crosse beame plated on with gold thinne, the scales of massie gold, the borders set with small stones, rubies and turkey (turquoises), the chaines of gold large and massie, but strengthened with silke cords."³ Here came the nobles, all sitting round the scales on carpets, until the Emperor arrived. He was clothed, or rather loaded, with diamonds, rubies, pearls, and other precious stones, so great, so glorious! "Suddenly," Roe goes on, "hee entered into the scales, sate like a woman on his legges, and there was put in against him many bagges to fit his weight, which were changed sixe times, and

1. Ibid., p. 345.

2. For the ceremony on the present occasion, see Rogers and Beveridge, The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1909), pp. 332 et seq.

3. The Embassy (1926), p. 378.

they say was silver, and that I understood his weight to be nine thousand rupias, which were almost one thousand pound sterling."¹ Jahangir saw the English ambassador, and turned him his stones and wealth, and smiled, but spoke nothing, for his interpreter could not be admitted in. At night he drank with all his nobles, and invited Sir Thomas to that. The latter, it is obvious from the description, was very much impressed with the incalculable riches and unrivalled magnificence of this eastern potentate. Here was the basis for seventeenth-century England's idea of the wealth of Ind, of the barbaric splendour of the Mughal rulers.

There was also another occasion when the Mughal court presented an equally splendid appearance. The vernal New Year's Feast, called Nauroz,² adopted from Persia by Akbar, was celebrated by Jahangir for nineteen days every year. In the Diwān-i-Ām was erected a tent some sixty paces long and forty-five paces broad, covered all round with canopies of the richest and most finely embroidered velvet, silk and cloth of gold, hung over with fringes of gold and pearls, jewels and diamonds, fruits of gold, silver pictures and paintings; and laid underneath with carpets of silk and cloth of gold. Beside the royal throne, square in form, borne up with four pillars, inlaid with mother of pearl and covered with cloth of gold, there were placed a few chairs of State with soft cushions. The Emperor appeared decked in pearls and jewels. Private rooms were provided for the ladies of the Imperial seraglio. The Prince Sultan Khurram had at the left side a pavilion, the supporters of which were covered with silver (as were some of those also near the

1. Ibid., p. 379.

2. Sir Thomas Roe and Edward Terry both erroneously supposed Nauroz to mean 'nine days'.

Emperor's throne). Before the throne the principal men had erected tents, which encompassed the court, "and lined them with velvett damask and taffety ordinarily, some few with cloth of gould, wherin they retyred and sett to show all theyr wealth." Formerly the Emperors used to visit every tent and there took whatever pleased them, but now the custom was changed, the Emperor sitting to receive what new year gifts were brought to him. In return he bestowed titles and dignities, jagirs and promotions. Wine flowed in rivulets; verses and odes flew in hundreds. Gaiety and merriment ruled everything during the nineteen pleasant days of the spring festival. A fancy bazaar was held where the ladies of the noble houses kept stalls. The Emperor and his ladies haggled with the fair shop-keepers with humour and pleasantry.¹ Music and dance added further charm to the festive parties that were held by day and by night.

From Roe's journal and correspondence we also get a vivid picture of the "wicked and unscrupulous schemers" who did all they could to thwart the English mission. They were presented as what they probably were - greedy, base and worthless. "Foremost of those," says Jarl Charpentier,

were Asaf Khan, his brother-in-law, an avaricious and rascally arch-plotter, and Sultān Khurram, the future Shah Jāhān, one of the most unprepossessing figures that has ever moved across the confused and blood-reeking stage of Indian history. The sharp-witted Ambassador of James I soon discovered their real nature, and he does nothing to embellish the repulsive features of these and other minor worthies. His task was a difficult and even an impossible one. But through his clear-sightedness and his courageous

1. See Bernier's description of fairs held in the royal seraglio in Travels in the Mogul Empire (London: Humphrey Milford, 1914), pp. 272 et seq.

and sometimes rather high-handed demeanour, he saved his own and his country's dignity and achieved as much as was ever possible under singularly unfavourable circumstances.¹

Sir Thomas Roe has something to say about various other things he saw in India. No one who knew his business as a traveller, sight-seer and writer had omitted the Hindus. Naturally, therefore, Sir Thomas also recorded his impression of the 'Gentiles' whom he always describes as idolatrous and ignorant people. In his journal there are many valuable references to the Jesuit intrigues against the English, to the rebellion of Khusru and his interview with him, to trade in ivory, knives, indigo, calico, broadcloth, etc. and to the general political condition of India. It is, however, his account of the scenes in which he participated at the Mughal Court which is the most amusing and valuable part of his narrative, "as the evidence of an honest and intelligent witness relative to the habits, forms and customs of the Court and Camp at that period, when the Mogul Empire was nearly at the zenith of its prosperity and splendour. It shows how little it differed, save in wealth and power, from the Native Courts of more modern date. He dwells continually on the same exhibitions of display and meanness, childishness and intrigue, cruelty and weakness, rigid formalities and gross ignorance, which constitute the record of more recent travellers, who have visited the Durbars of the descendants of Jehangir, or of the independent successors of his powerful Viceroy." ²

-
1. Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, 1926-28, vol. IV, p. 863.
 2. The Calcutta Review, June 1857, No. LVI, p. 242.

Although the journal does not claim to be an exhaustive account of Jahangir's reign, it is unquestionably a valuable reference-book for some of the principal events of his period. It gives a lively picture of India in the early decades of the seventeenth century and is a valuable supplement to Jahangir's TUZUK. Whatever defects it has seem to result from the nature of Roe's mission in India, from the strange conditions met with out there, and from his aristocratic and dignified aloofness from the people of the country. His remarks upon all subjects connected with Jahangir and his court are indeed impressive. We feel that he is not a man who has come only to spy out holes in the Mughal's coat or to reveal and magnify his shame. There are moments, however, when he appears to have lost his wonted objectivity, as in the later portions of his journal. Continuous efforts to effect a treaty and equally persistent failures make him unutterably sad and dejected. Things viewed at such dismal moments naturally appear in their darkest aspects.¹ It is in a mood of despair that he writes home dolefully that the Mughal capital is "the dullest, basest place that ever I saw and maketh me weary speaking of it." It is, again, a dejected man who writes about Burhanpur that "the cuntrye is all slavish. In this towne of Bramport, the ancient and cheefe cytty, except the castle and some fewe ill howses of commanders, your swyne lye better then any man; and what I endure I best knowe."

1. W.H. Moreland says Europeans in general did not look upon Indians with disdain. If the Portuguese did, it was because of their attitude to the world at large and not merely to a particular race. The "impression left by the available narratives is one of open-mindedness, and where an unfavourable verdict is expressed, as in the later portions of Sir Thomas Roe's journal, it is based on experience and not on prejudice." India at the Death of Akbar (London, 1920), p. 42.

The tropical Indian climate was never congenial to Sir Thomas.¹ Very rarely in his life had he encountered hard, brilliant sunlight, a blue cloud-free sky, and tropical foliage. Sometimes he must have sweltered through nights in which sleep was out of the question and listened astonished and alarmed to the shriek of the Indian cyclone. Many a night must have been spent in watching the almost continuous lightning, accompanied by deafening crashes of thunder. Moreover, mosquitoes and flies must have proved an endless source of annoyance and discomfort. Naturally, Sir Thomas fell ill a number of times and grew more and more anxious to return to England. But the obstinacy of the Prince and the indifference of the Emperor to commercial treaties delayed matters almost to the point of making return impossible. Roe noticed the cupidity of the Mughal courtiers and their ever-growing desire for gifts and presents. Life became so humdrum and banal that he was almost disgusted with it. He missed the life to which residence at the courts of Queen Elizabeth and James I had accustomed him, and he missed the conversation and the presence of those friends he loved and honoured. Moreover, he had his own quarrels with the English merchants carrying on the trade of the East India Company. When, at such moments, he describes the Mughal Emperor and the Prince (Khurram), his remarks tend to become bitter and his tone contemptuous. He does not in any place mention the literary and scientific tastes of the Emperor, though his intemperance he describes in detail. It is, as

1. There are at least a dozen references to his ill-health in the journal. In a letter to Sir Thomas Smythe written at Ajmer, 24th January 1615 (-16), Roe said that India neither promised profit nor agreed with his disposition of mind or body. "I have had seven cold agues, two fevers, since my beeing at Bramport..." The Embassy, p. 96.

later historians have pointed out, a mistake to accept unquestioningly all that Hawkins and Roe have said about Jahangir's addiction to liquor. Though Jahangir regarded "a little wine" as "a prudent friend," he discouraged its use among his subjects. His attempt to discourage smoking was futile but was prompted by laudable motives.

The veracity of Roe's account of the Mughal Emperor, his court and of the conditions prevailing in the country is proved by comparing his picture with that drawn by modern historians in the light of the most recent research. Vincent A. Smith, who felt that the life and reign of Jahangir deserve better treatment than they have received from most historians, says of Jahangir :

Jahangir has been described as 'a talented drunkard'... Like Mohammed bin Tughlak, he was 'a mixture of opposites'. We know all about him, because we have his own account of nineteen years of his reign recorded in his authentic Memoirs, in addition to many narratives by Indian and European writers, not to speak of numerous life-like portraits, the work of skilled artists. We can thus see the man as he was - the typical Asiatic despot, a strange compound of tenderness and cruelty, justice and caprice, refinement and brutality, good sense and childishness. Jahangir prided himself especially on his love of justice... But his justice was bloody and cruel, rarely tempered with mercy... He loved both nature and art. He was an expert judge of painting and delighted in fine scenery or lovely flowers...¹

Writing about the administrative decay in the reign of Jahangir W.H. Moreland and A.C. Chatterjee pointed out that

the quality of the administration deteriorated when actual power passed to the Empress (Nur Jahan). She and the members of her family were inevitably more intent on consolidating their personal position....

1. The Oxford Student's History of India (London: Oxford University Press, 1951), pp. 193 et seq.

than on ensuring the stability of an empire which might not be in their hands for long. The State Service suffered from divided allegiance, rapid promotion and sudden dismissal became the order of the day, and practically everybody in authority tried to make hay while the sun shone...¹

The same authorities describe Jahangir as "his father's son, though on a smaller scale" and without mentioning Roe, evidently endorse his statement that "hee envyees Mahomett, and wisely sees noe reason why he should not bee as great a prophett as hee, and therefore proffeseth him selfe soe..."²

Such views as those expressed in the above citations readily suggest some connection with Sir Thomas Roe's journal. As a matter of fact, there is hardly anything in them that does not appear to have been derived from Roe. A study of modern Indian history makes it indubitably clear that no historian of Jahangir's reign can afford to ignore the ambassador's documents. Examples from many other authorities can be cited to show that though in certain cases Roe was unduly severe in his opinion of the Indians, in recording his impression of the court and the country he was generally just and open-minded. De Laet's estimate was, of course, correct when he cited Roe "as being the most trustworthy authority on the affairs of that great but incoherent state."³

Notwithstanding the instances of Jahangir's cruelty Sir Thomas Roe has cited, he appears to have entertained a favourable opinion of the Emperor's disposition and ability, when not acting under the influence of Nur Jahan or other advisers. He seems to consider him as wanting

-
1. A Short History of India (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1953), p. 232.
 2. The Embassy (1926), p. 270. Cf. "His attitude towards religion was in keeping with his character. He considered himself at least equal to the great prophet of Islam..." W.H. Moreland and A.C. Chatterjee, A Short History of India, p. 232.
 3. Jarl Charpentier. See B.S.O.S., 1926-28, vol. IV, p. 863.

neither in good feelings nor good sense, although his claim to the latter quality is impaired by some weaknesses which Sir Thomas himself relates. It is in the portrayal of Prince Khurram's character that Roe seems to have been unmistakably prejudiced. The opposition that he experienced from the prince had "evidently tinged his views"¹ regarding his character, and he wrongly asserts that Khurram was in love with Nur Jahan, his step-mother.

Roe was no more gullible than other learned travellers. Sometimes he rightly refused to be duped by accepted beliefs and doubtful statements. He did not, for example, believe that the idols which the Hindus worshipped were gods, and regarded witchcraft, sorcery, etc. as mere "cunning that the Divell can teach."² But he lived and worked in an age by no means oversceptical and could not always rise above the easy credulity that characterized it. In a letter to the Lord Bishop of Canterbury, dated 30th October 1616, he relates "an apish miracle which was acted before this King, which the Jesuits will not acknowledg nor owne as their practise; only of the truth de facto ther is no doubt."³ Edward Terry, the ambassador's chaplain, also relates this incident in detail, observing that, although he was not present, "it hath been often confirmed there in its report unto me by divers persons who knew not one another, and differing in religion; yet all agreed in the story, and in all the circumstances thereof."⁴ Thomas Coryat, it may be pointed out, had no difficulty in believing a story about Akbar's sorcery, and William Finch writes of "bucklers and divers sorts of drinking cups"

1. The Calcutta Review, June 1857, p. 250.

2. The Embassy (1926), p. 271.

3. Ibid., pp. 279 et seq.

4. Ibid., p. 280n.

made of "Indian asse-horne." He also had strange ideas about bats and this common but curious mammal's method of reproduction. "This fowle," he writes, "the people say ingendreth in the eare." Thomas Coryat claimed to have seen two unicorns, mistaking rhinoceros for the mythical beast. Roe was not less credulous. He offered to sell in all seriousness "a unicorn's horne" to an imperial prince.¹

The geographical knowledge of India that Roe had gradually acquired was by no means perfect. He makes the Jhelum a tributary of the Ganges,² and in his letter to Lord Carew, dated 17 January 1615 (-16), draws his lordship's attention to certain errors in the maps of India: "I have one observation more to make of the falsenesse of our maps, both of Mercator and all others, and their ignorance in this countrey. First, the famous River Indus doth not emptie him selfe into the sea at Cambaya as his chiefe mouth, but at Sinde. My reason is : Lahor stands upon Indus, from whence to Sinde it is navigable, to Cambaya not so. Lahor in the maps is also falsely set downe, it lying north from Surat above a thousand miles."³ Roe was partly correct and partly wrong, for the Indus flows into the sea through Sind but Lahore is on the banks of one of its principal tributaries and not on the Indus itself. William Finch was better informed, as appears from his statement that "The Castle (of Lahore) is seated on Ravee, a goodly river which falleth into Indus, downe which go many boats, of sixtie tunne or upwards, for Tatta in Sind, after the fall of the raine, being a journey of some fortie dayes alongst by Multan, Seetpore, Buchur, Rauree etc."⁴

1. Ibid., p. 254.

2. Ibid., p. 491.

3. Ibid., p. 91.

4. W. Foster (ed.), Early Travels in India (London: Humphrey Milford, 1921), p. 161.

Finch had been to Lahore himself, whereas Thomas Roe wrote from Ajmer. Another glaring error made by the latter is where he makes two separate provinces of Gor (Gaur) and Bengal. Similar mistakes are to be found in the accounts of many other seventeenth-century travellers who did not know the country as a whole or whose stay here was all too brief.¹ A few travellers, more adventurous than the rest, like Tavernier, Bernier and Manucci, spent long years in India and had first-hand knowledge of many of its provinces. Similarly, some of the employees of the English, Dutch and the French East India Companies like Hedges, Methold, Pelsaert and Martin had considerable experience of people and places in their own particular spheres. Unfortunately, however, none of them had the requisite patience, industry, scholarship or critical acumen to undertake a thorough investigation into the geography of India.

Although, as we have seen, Sir Thomas Roe's journal gives a most engrossing description of the weighing ceremony of the Emperor, the Nauroz, and of some other striking occasions, it hardly mentions any of the great festivals of the Hindus or those of the Rajputs. It describes the splendour of the Mughal court and the wonders of its wealth, but lets the wonders of the Rajput states go unheeded. Many European writers of the seventeenth century, mostly travellers, have written about the Mughals, but none has paid any considerable attention to the festivals and customs of Mewār. Unfortunately, some of them summarily rejected the claim of the Hindus (whom they called 'Gentiles') to any notice. They appeared to them barbarous, mean and selfish. It was

1. Herbert, writing of Jahangir's reign, extends the north-western boundary of the empire "to the Caucasus and the Maurenahar, Tartar and Persian," and asserts that India had "thirty eight large Provinces (petty kingdoms of old)." Peter Mundy, who had Baffin's map before him, excluded the Deccan from India.

this prejudice as well as want of time and necessity that prevented them from making a thorough investigation into the annals and antiquities of Rajasthan. It was left to James Tod, an Orientalist of repute, to explore this splendid region and reveal it to the European view.

There is no doubt that Roe had arrived just as Mewar had bent her head to the Mughal yoke, and that he speaks of the Rajput prince Karan, whom he saw at court as a hostage for the treaty, with admiration, but the reader feels that justice has not been done to this important period in the annals of Mewar. Only the ruined city of Chitor is observed, and no light is thrown on the glorious defeat of Pratāp. "Cytor (is) an ancient cytty, ruined, on a hill, but so that it appears a tombe of woonderfull mangificence..." Roe does not go beyond saying that it is "all ruined and no person dwelling." Prince Karan's interview with Jahangir is described in a manner that does little honour to the Rajputs. "This eveninge," says Roe,

was the sonne of Ranna, his new tributory, brought before him, with much ceremony, kneeling three tymes and knocking his head on the ground. He was sent by his father with a present and was brought within the little rayle, the King embracing him by the head. His guift was an Indian voyder full of silver, upon yt a carved silver dish full of Gould.¹

Even Jahangir does the Rajputs ample justice in the declaration that Amar Singh did not yield until he had only the alternative of captivity or exile.² Roe stops at this point because he had nothing to do with the history of Mewar. But Mewar was so important a subject that none could refuse to consider it. It is, indeed, strange that Roe makes no mention of Rana Pratāp's undaunted heroism, nor of Amar's lofty mind.

1. The Embassy (1926), pp. 127 et seq.

2. James Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān (London: George Routledge & Sons Ltd., 1914), vol. I, p. 291

He talks of Amar's submission and Karan's appearance in the Mughal court, but does not tell us what exactly were the feelings of Amar when Jahangir placed the heir of Mewar immediately on his right hand. James Tod, and not Sir Thomas Roe, describes the scene in question:

He felt the degradation which neither the statues raised to them, the right hand of the monarch, the dignity of a 'commander of five thousand', or even the restoration of the long-alienated territory could neutralise, when the kingdom to which he was heir was called a fief (jagheer), and himself, 'the descendant of a hundred kings,' a vassal (jagheerdar) of the empire, under whose banner, which his ancestors had so signally opposed, he was not to follow with a contingent of fifteen hundred Rajpoot horse.¹

To Sir Thomas, Amar's defeat was evidently not an event of paramount interest. What mattered to him was a commercial treaty and nothing but a commercial treaty. All his activities in India, in the Mughal court, were therefore directed towards this end, and his journal could not but centre round this pivotal effort. For a proper appreciation of it, one must therefore bear in mind the scope of the work and the nature of Roe's employment. It is obvious that he is not in the least interested in Indian affairs in themselves - affairs isolated from the context of his royal mission. Those persons who figure most in his journal are those who had some material influence in the Mughal court or those who either harassed him or else contributed to the partial success of the negotiations. As the number of those who initially opposed him was larger than that of his supporters, his account reads like a deliberate attempt to discredit the Mughal courtiers. But that was not the case, and the historian who finds fault with Roe's

1. Ibid.

description of the Mughal courtiers on the ground that they have been represented as greedy and corrupt, is unduly sceptical, although the exaction of official perquisites or gratuities from men who had to get business pushed through the public offices, was the admitted practice also in Tudor and Stuart England. Simply because the Tudor or Stuart courtiers were on occasion corrupt or because in England "judicial integrity and impartiality cannot be said to have been finally established at that period,"¹ there is no reason why an English writer intent on recording a just account of his experiences, should suppress the truth about a foreign country. It must be remembered that not only Roe, but all the Europeans who happened to visit India about 1600, found bribery almost universal. "Regarding Vijayanagar Nuniz tells us this in plain words, Sir Thomas Roe found practically the same conditions at Jahangir's court, and between these two authorities I have found no assertion to the contrary."² As a matter of fact, from Roe's account we hear at least of one influential man as "no briber, reported honest."³

Most historians agree that Roe's mission was only partially successful. Robert Bruce, the Company's historiographer, however, maintained that Roe got the signatures of Jahangir and the Prince to his "phirmaund or treaty between the Mogul and the English nation"; all further troubles Bruce put down to the insubordination and doggedness of the Governor of Surat who refused to act up to the spirit of the new agreement entered into by his sovereign.⁴ Another modern writer

1. W.H. Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar (London: Macmillan and Co., 1920), p. 35.

2. Ibid., pp. 35 et seq.

3. Ibid., p. 36.

4. Annals of the Honourable East India Company (London, 1810), vol. I, pp. 176, 185, 203.

avows that after some discussion a treaty was concluded between the Mughal Emperor and Sir Thomas Roe, "confirming all the benefits to the English granted by the Padshah, together with special privileges in the port of Surat, including the erection of a factory..."¹ Modern historians, relying more on the journal of Sir Thomas Roe itself, are studiously moderate in their statements as to the success of the mission. W.H. Moreland and A.C. Chatterjee believe that Sir Thomas "failed to obtain a formal treaty, but secured substantially improved terms, under which the factory at Surat was maintained, and various branches opened."² Vincent A. Smith reiterates the same view.³ Although Sir Thomas Roe's mission fell short of its original aim, there is no doubt that it succeeded in raising English prestige to a high pitch. It was "by reason of the prudence of my Lord Ambassador, who was there (in some sense) like Joseph in the court of Pharaoh", said Edward Terry, that "his nation there seemed to fare the better."⁴

On English affairs Sir Thomas Roe deals with events in the fashioning of which he played a unique rôle. This explains why the pages of his journal sometimes border on autobiography. Equally they form a history of events as seen, not merely from the outside, but enriched by an intimate knowledge of the vital currents that move events.

It is functional writing; his descriptions of the royal court and the various ceremonies associated with it proclaim no doubt the wealth of the Ind, but they also reveal the utter barbarity of the Oriental despot. Obviously, Roe had seen through the imposing facade of Mughal

-
1. The Calcutta Review, June 1857, p. 270.
 2. A Short History of India (1953), pp. 236 et seq.
 3. The Oxford Student's History of India (1951), p. 159.
 4. Quoted by William Foster, The Embassy (1926), p. lix.

pomp, saying of Jahangir, in oft-quoted words, that "His greatness substantially is not in itself, but in its weakness of his neighbours, whom like an overgrown pike he feeds on as fry. Pride, pleasure, and riches are their best description. Honesty and truth, discipline, civility, they have none, or very little."¹ Neither the stern reality of his ambassadorial activities, the fierceness of opposition, nor his intensity of purpose, eclipsed the sensibility and the religious instincts which endeared Sir Thomas to all who knew him. Thus, when his chaplain died, he sorrowfully observed that "thus it pleased God to lay a great affliction on mee and my famely for our sinnes," and wrote apace to the factory at Surat for another preacher, for he could not "live the life of an Atheist." But he never allowed religion to "run away with his judgment," for on one occasion we find him reproving the factors at Surat who had appointed a preacher to look after certain business affairs. This preacher was "too gentle to govern," "lost money by the account," and "gave away many things in presents."² The journal contains many comments on political personages like Asaf Khan and Prince Khurram, castigations of opponents, and estimates of the writer's own judgments. These are probably some of the best parts of this book; they reveal his singleness of purpose, his unequalled patriotism, and the constant vigilance to which he subjected himself.

Dedicating to the King his volume of The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte, Samuel Richardson observed that "the Letters and Negotiations of this wise and able

-
1. Quoted by Edward John Thompson and G.T. Garratt, Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India (London: Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1934), p. 12
 2. See Louis B. Wright, Religion and Empire (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1943), pp. 73 et seq.

Minister... will on perusal be found to contain such a fund of Knowledge in almost every useful branch of it; such deep, but honest Policies, such a Zeal for his Prince, such a Love for his Country, and such rare Abilities to manage the most arduous Affairs, and in the most difficult and dangerous times; that it may be boldly said, the last Century has not produced a more valuable Collection of this kind." ¹ It is not simply for the purpose of publicity that Richardson speaks so eloquently of the usefulness of Roe's letters, which he had published. Their utility in reconstructing the maritime, commercial and political history of the times is recognised by every modern writer. Richardson, it is true, was speaking about the letters which Sir Thomas Roe wrote during "his Ambassy to the Porte from the year 1621, to the year 1628 inclusive." But the remarks are applicable also to the journal and correspondence of the ambassador dealing with Indian affairs. In both Turkey and India, where he acted as an ambassador, his aim was to expound the genius and policies of the natives, "as well in regard to their own government, as to their conduct with their neighbours." ² Roe, in fact, was never content with furnishing a bare report of facts in his letters and relations, but mixed with them "such reflections and observations, as, at the same time that they set forth the extent of his genius and capacity, enlighten the readers with the knowledge of the causes and springs of the actions and counsels he describes and communicates." ³

Generally speaking, as Richardson rightly pointed out, there are no documents more useful or authoritative than those written by ambassadors. Being attached to no faction about the courts to which

-
1. The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe (London: Printed by S. Richardson, 1740), p. IV.
 2. Ibid., p. V.
 3. Ibid.

they are sent, by any interest or passion, and being in intimate association with the principal personalities therein, they do not lack opportunities to study "the true causes of events, with the secret springs or motives of actions that pass before their eyes, and of which they are not unconcerned spectators... Their letters are indeed more or less interesting and instructive according to the nature of their subject, and the importance of the affairs they relate; and their intelligence likewise is more or less authentick in proportion to the penetration and judgment of the writer, or the credit he has in the courts of his residence; but impartial accounts, at least, may generally be expected from all ambassadors."¹

That Roe studied the true causes of events and gave the Company, his countrymen and the King constant and early intelligence of all considerable occurrences is evident from the variety of subjects he has touched upon in his writings. With extraordinary minuteness he described Jahangir's character and mode of living not only at Ajmer but also when he was on the march. Though he was profuse in his praise of the magnificence of the court, he was at the same time aware of "the darker shades of the picture."² He also drew attention to the scars of devastation and neglect the Deccan at that time bore, and prophesied that the time was approaching "when all in these kingdomes wilbe in combustion." This was not so near as he imagined, yet it was only postponed for the time being by the force of character of Jahangir and Shah Jahan.³ Of Roe's impartiality there are numerous instances. His picture of the Indian nobility, for example, is not

1. Ibid., p. VI.

2. The Embassy (1926), p. lx.

3. Ibid.

simply one-sided and depreciative. He speaks in high terms of the courtesy of the nobility, and of the order and elegance of the entertainments they gave to him. Though he represents the class as unprincipled, and all open to corruption, he speaks highly in some respects of particular great men. Similarly, he speaks of the manual arts and painting as being in a high state and not confined to those peculiar to the country. From his journal we learn that one of his presents to the Mughal Emperor was a coach, and that within a very short period several others were constructed, very superior in materials, and fully equal in workmanship. Sir Thomas also recorded with profound surprise that everybody was at liberty to profess his own faith without any let or hindrance from the state.

Roe's prose style is in direct line with "the straightforward narratives of practical traders who foreswore unwieldy Ciceronianism and discarded the windy verbiage of Elizabethan polite prose in order that their reports and descriptions might be easily understood by the ordinary layman."¹ Sometimes like John Donne, his friend, he is very terse and precise and metaphorical, but never ambiguous. Consider, for example, the following passage:

The King of Persia hath distressed Ormus, that the Portugalls are retyred to the castle, which is in great want, all releefe from the mayne beeing taken away and the residers in his whole dominion (of that nation) banished. Doubtlesse hee would putt it into the hands of the English, for his want of shipping. They are in all this quarter in theyr wane, and might, while they are swimming for life, easily be suncke : a matter of great consequence,

1. Louis B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935), p. 510

as well to abate the pride of the Spanish empire
as to cut off one master wayne of their wealth.
 And it hath beene observed malum omen, when any
 kingdome having risen suddenly to an unwildy
 height, that one eminent limme, like a pinnacle
of a tower, hath fallen off ... 1

The excerpt has been chosen at random to show what kind of prose Sir Thomas Roe, an elegant, educated traveller, wrote. Although simple and straightforward, it is quite different from the prose style of, say, Ralph Fitch. The matter-of-fact account of a subject that is indeed very dull has been, as it were, purposely enriched by the use of metaphors, and 'malum omen' - evil portent - sets it apart from the plain reportage of ordinary merchant travellers. The passage, charged with simple power and meaning, is taken from a letter, and shows that Roe had learnt all the tricks of the epistolary style whose charm was one of the things which attracted Samuel Richardson towards him.

There are innumerable passages in the journal which come nearest to the plain narratives of other Elizabethan travellers. One such passage is this:

That little that was in pooles some great men possessed, and kept by force. I could get none. The poore forsooke the citie, and by proclamation many were commanded away, all horses and cattel forbid; and so those who were now in hope to rest were forced to seeke new dwellings; who departed some two, three and foure course off, to the extreame trouble of all men, and the terrible rising of provisions. I knew not what to doe; my roome and house was good, and though I were farre from markets, yet it was a lesse inconvenience then to sit in the fields without house or shelter; onely I wanted water. So I rode my selfe to seeke some... 2

-
1. The Embassy (1926), p. 103.
 2. Ibid., pp. 354 et seq.

Nothing could be simpler than this passage, which reads like a piece of description culled from a novel, a romance, a short story, or an autobiography. As a matter of fact the journal is all these rolled into one. It has a well-defined plot, a hero and a large number of characters who contribute to its gradual exposition, culmination and denouement. The scheming courtiers trying to thwart the mission of the English ambassador, who in turn tries to out-manoeuvre them, present many lively situations against the background of Oriental splendour. There is little or nothing in the prose narratives of Ralph Fitch and Edward Terry to correspond to the liveliness of Roe's journal. The descriptions of the Nauroz and the Emperor's weighing ceremony are indeed as vivid as they could be, and in them Roe puts off for the time being all his sobriety and judiciousness.

Criticism of Sir Thomas Roe's journal has been generally very candid. Almost every critic who has written about him has pointed to the limited scope of his work. Neither Hawkins nor Roe, said Philip Woodruff, could see "how the land was ruled nor how the tiller of the soil had his living."¹ This has been repeatedly said about these travellers,² but they also agree that "Roe's book forms fascinating reading, deficient though it is in this respect."³ Mountstuart Elphinstone regarded Roe's accounts as valuable because it enables "us to judge of the state of India under Jehangir,"⁴ and devotes a number of pages to his History to the embassy. Vincent A. Smith observed that Roe "wrote a book giving a very interesting account of the

1. The Men who Ruled India: The Founders (1953), p. 36.

2. See, for instance, Stanley Lane-Poole, Mediaeval India (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903), p. 311; E.F. Oaten, European Travellers in India (London: Kegan Paul, 1909), pp. 148 et seq.

3. Oaten, op. cit., p. 149.

4. The History of India (London: John Murray, 1857), p. 487.

character, court, and administration of Jahangir as they appeared to an intelligent foreigner,"¹ while Edward Thompson and G.T. Garratt said that "Roe's Journal and correspondence show up not only his integrity but his far-sightedness."² Sir William Foster pays him the most glowing tributes: "The value to the historical student of Roe's observations has been generally recognised. From no other English source can be obtained so full an account of the events of the time at the Mughal court..."³ Douglas Bush, writing in English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century,⁴ remarked rather tritely that Roe's journal and correspondence leave a vivid impression of his character and ability and of the innumerable difficulties he overcame as England's first official ambassador at the court of Jahangir, and that although he shares with Sir James Lancaster the title of the founder of British India, he always urged the East India Company to restrict its activities to trade and commerce and to avoid all military entanglements.

1. The Oxford Student's History of India, p. 159.

2. Op. cit., p. 11.

3. The Embassy (1926), pp. lix-lx.

4. Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1946, p. 175.

CHAPTER VI.

THOMAS CORYAT

(1612-1617)

That, like the circle bounding earth and skies,
 Allures from far, as I follow, flies;
 My fortune leads to traverse realms alone,
 And find no spot of all the world my own.

- Goldsmith.

1.

Of all the English travellers of the seventeenth century who went to India and recorded their experiences of that country, none is perhaps more widely known in England than Thomas Coryat, son of the Rev. George Coryat of Odcombe in Somerset. His oddness of character, his whimsicalities and eccentricities have, however, been emphasized to the extent of obscuring some of the other equally remarkable qualities of this man. He has been described as "a man of inordinate vanity", "little better than a fool", "a willing buffoon", "covetous and ambitious of praise", "our English Fakir", etc. His oration in florid Persian before the Great Mughal at Agra, the rashness with which he stood on an eminence, crying out at the top of his voice, "There is no God but God, and Christ the Son of God", all this in response to the muezzin's call to devotion, the way he worsted a termagant Indian laundress in a duel of Hindustani Billingsgate, and other similar episodes are glibly recounted by historians but his letters, which are of no mean historical value, are seldom perused. In fact, the impression which most of the writings on Coryat have left is that of a

man who was incapable of doing anything serious, least of all of writing anything authentic.

This worthy of Somersetshire was no doubt one of the most striking, not to say notorious, persons ever sent forth from Britain or any other country. Born in the parsonage at Odcombe about 1577, he became on 11th June 1596, at the age of 19,¹ a commoner of Gloucester Hall in the University of Oxford, where he continued for three years. His incredible memory at this time enabled him to attain to some competency in logic, the Greek language and in human learning, especially in the last two.² After staying for a time at Odcombe where he had returned without taking a degree, he went to London and became a "hanger-on of the court" of James I, "picking up a precarious livelihood as a kind of privileged buffoon".³ The courtiers into whose company he fell at this time found in him a perennial source of fun and merriment. His face excited laughter no less than his conversation. In fact, as Thomas Fuller says, "he carried folly ... in his very face. The shape of his head had no promising form, being like a sugar-loaf inverted, with the little end before, as composed of fancy and memory, without any common-sense".⁴ In repartee, his "quickness on the trigger was uncanny, and he was a dangerous man with whom to engage in a duel of words".⁵ When later he became a member of the household of Prince Henry, the King's eldest son, he came into familiar contact with most of the eminent men

-
1. Alumni Oxonienses (Oxford: Parker and Co., 1891), vol. I, Early Series, p. 331.
 2. Anthony à Wood, Athenae Oxonienses (London: Thomas Bennet, 1691), vol. I, p. 357.
 3. D.N.B. (1887), vol. XII., p. 259.
 4. Thomas Fuller, The History of the Worthies of England (London: Thomas Tegg, 1840), vol. III., p. 108.
 5. Boies Penrose, Urbano Travelers (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942), p. 61.

of the period who made him an anvil to try their wits upon. Prince Henry seems to have had a certain liking for this man, for he allowed him a pension and kept him for his servant. The courtiers carried their amusement at his expense to such a length that once he is said to have been forced to introduce himself to a masque at court in a trunk.¹ Indeed, "sweet-meats and Coriat made up the last course at all court entertainments".² It was probably due to the kindness shown to him by the Prince that he gathered some money and set out for the Continent, embarking at Dover on 14th May 1608. On his return home on the third of October following he proposed to publish an account of his journey, but finding it difficult to induce any bookseller to undertake the publication of his 'infinite' work, he requested many of the eminent men of his day to write panegyric verses upon the author and his book. He also wrote to Sir Michael Hikes, requesting him to intercede with Salisbury, the Lord Treasurer, that his book might be printed in London with some expedition.³ His Crudities, however, did not appear till 1611, though his adventures at Basil and elsewhere were the common theme of court chat.⁴

At last the book came out, styled: Coryats Crudities. Hastily gobbled up in five Moneths travells in France, Savoy, Italy, Rhetia, commonly called the Grisons country, Helvetia, alias Switzerland, some parts of high Germany, and the Netherlands; Newly digested in the hungry aire of Odcombe in the County of Somerset, and now dispersed to the nourishment of the travelling Members of this Kingdome. The forty

1. Robin Goodfellow in Jonson's Masque of Love says "I must come in at a door which made me once think of a trunk; but that I would not imitate so Catholic a coxeomb as Coryate, and make a case ..." See John Nichols, The Progress, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First (London, 1828), vol.II., p.400.

2. Thomas Fuller, loc. cit.

3. John Nichols, loc. cit.

4. Ibid.

copies of mock-commendatory verses written by dozens of the waggish wits of the time and prefixed to it reveal that this single-soled, single souled and single-shirted Observer"¹ was not a man of delicate taste in the matter of praise. He seems to have regarded all personal ridicule as being a source of some amusement to his princely patron. He was, therefore, content with a few words of praise amidst heaps of ridicule. Henry Goodier, who alludes to the incident of his appearance in a masque encased in a trunk, says:

he went,
 He staid, he came an even Innocent.
 The Jesuites could not shake him: for he would not
 Take orders, but remaine an Idiote.
 If any thinke him dull or heavy, know
 The Court and cities mirth cannot be so.
 Who thinks him light, ask them who had the taske
 To beare him in a trunke unto the maske...

John Donne, in a poem characteristically ratiocinative, eulogizes the Crudities:

If man be therefore man, because he can
 Reason, and laugh, thy booke doth halfe make man.
 One halfe being made, thy modesty was such,
 That thou on th' other halfe wouldst never touch.
 When wilt thou be at full, great Lunatique?
 Not till thou exceed the world?...

Sometimes Coryat violently retaliated, but more often let people have their fun at his expense. Even Ben Jonson, that "charitable friend" of his who wrote "The Character of the Famous Odcombian, or rather Polytopian Thomas the Coryate" had his share of amusement at Coryat's cost. Coryat was indeed the type of buffoon the Elizabethan

-
1. Laurence Whitaker described Coryat as "the most peerelesse Poetical Prose-writer, the most Transcendent, Tramontane Traveller, and the most single-soled, single-souled, and single-shirted Observer, the Odcombian Gallobelgicus". See Coryats Crudities (London: Printed by W.S., 1611), sig. d5 recto.
 2. Ibid., sig. c6 recto.
 3. Ibid., sig. d3 recto.

dramatists loved to portray in their plays. Ben Jonson and John Donne were evidently familiar with his pranks, so was probably Shakespeare who may have found in him a living prototype of some of his own comic characters.

But Coryat was more than a mere court jester. He was, according to Ben Jonson, "an Engine, wholly consisting of extremes, a Head, Fingers, and Toes. For what his industrious Toes have trod, his ready Fingers have written, his subtle head dictating".¹ He was "irrecoverably addicted" to travel, the word affecting him "in a Waine-oxe, or Packehorse".² The mere superscription of a letter from Zurich set him up like a top: Basil or Heidelberg made him spin: and at seeing the word Frankford or Venice, though but on the title of a book, he was ready to break doublet, crack elbows, and overflow the room with his murmur. Nor does Jonson forget to mention Coryat's qualities as a writer. Besides being an insatiable tourist, dedicated to travel, wandering unknown amidst passing variety of strange peoples living in strange places, Coryat was also a "carpenter of words" and a linguist. "With his contemporary *litérateurs*," Boies Penrose avers, "he possessed that God-given gift of mastery of English prose which seems to have been the birthright of all who put pen to paper at that time. He could write with a straight-forward and forceful simplicity or with hyperbole and a richness of vocabulary which approaches Rabelais. His love of exact statistics and minute details is blended with an extravagance of superlative adjectives that is well-nigh overpowering."³

1. Ibid., sig. b1 recto.

2. Ibid., sig. b2 recto.

3. Op. cit., p. 65.

While Coryat's contemporaries mocked him for his oddities, they also admired him for his singleness of purpose and his unrivalled love of travel. To have walked nineteen hundred and seventy-five miles at least in one pair of shoes "in five months space" and compiled out of "strange notes, foure hundred leaves, twenty thousand lines" was considered to be an amazing performance, a feat that "farre surpasseth Hercules his fifty in a night."¹ The Crudities was bound to be popular. Moreover, the variety of things Coryat had dealt with also contributed to its popularity, no less than its panegyric verses and its "pseudocomic" and "pompous" prose style. It treated

Of mounts, of founts, of rockes, of stockes, of stones,
Of Boores, of whoores, of tombes, of dead mens bones,
Of bowers, of towers, and many a stately steeple,
Helvetians, Rhetians, and many an uncouth people ...²

When therefore this all-embracing Baedeker³ appeared it created a sensation in the literary world; poets and wits rushed to add their elegant inventions, and Coryat became one of the most popular figures of his day, a wit without rival in a society of wits.⁴

Like William Lithgow, Coryat took his profession of traveller seriously, being as anxious to impart information as to obtain it. Both of them maintained that people should travel for the good of the state and the enlargement of learning. To this end they provide information about prices, food, the looks of women, and the villainy of natives, for the 'itching traveller', together with historical or topographical discourses for the vicarious enjoyment of those who cannot

1. Coryat's Crudities (1611), sig. e3 recto.

2. Ibid., sig. e2 recto.

3. See Boies Penrose, op. cit., p.63, for a comparison of the Crudities with Baedeker.

4. Dorothy Carrington, The Traveller's Eye (London: The Pilot Press, 1947), p.7.

travel. Possibly the fact that they travelled for pleasure gives their books virtues which the accounts of merchants, passing through countries intent upon their destination, could not possess. Moreover, their longer voyages contained dull miles of sea, where they could not observe anything, had not anything to write about, and consequently became much too prosaic and dull. Even those who far outdistanced Lithgow and Coryat appear to be their inferiors in style, in observation of customs and individuals, and in wealth of incident. Coryat and Lithgow were the sort of travellers who not only had an eye for everything curious, but also an ability to write in a fascinating style. Even where they are undesirably detailed - for so they sometimes appeared to people who loved to be precise and practical - their interest does not flag, for they undoubtedly knew how to make their narratives clear and lively. Lithgow's style is no doubt sometimes euphuistic (for instance, 'ruvidous vulgarity' is his stock epithet for peasants), and the more self-pitiful or indolent he grows the more redundant his prose, with occasional lapses into verse. Coryat's style is comparatively simple and straightforward,¹ but at times it becomes as affected and pompous as Lithgow's, especially when the author parades his learning. Both fail when they attempt artistry in writing, but even then they give perverted enjoyment. The reader is always aware that they were men who travelled purely for pleasure and wrote out of sheer enthusiasm.

1. - See Douglas Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1946), p.173. This writer observes that "Coryate's 'sesquipedalian verboojuice' (to quote another ink-hornist wanderer, Mr. Polly) is not, like Lithgow's chronic and gritty, it is the occasional and oratorical effervescence of vitality" (p.173). For some interesting comments on their prose style, see W.G. Rice's 'Early English Travellers to Greece and the Levant' (University of Michigan Publications, X, 1933), pp.222-236.

Some of Coryat's contemporaries were indeed jealous of his growing popularity and had nothing but contempt for him and his work. To such men he was no more than "a mere tomb-stone traveller." Suggestions were put forward that he should have written about affairs of state rather than copied out inscriptions and epitaphs. Coryat was well prepared for the charges of his critics. He admitted that he had not written much about governments and affairs of state, but he also made it clear that he was "a private man and no statist." Moreover, he told his critics that it was not always safe to pry into state matters - an argument which could hardly have satisfied them, for to write about state matters is not necessarily to pry into state secrets. Many travellers before and after him exercised the prerogative of writing about political matters. Coryat was in fact handicapped by his not having sufficient time, and not by any consideration of the danger involved in such descriptions. He himself was aware of this when he pointed out that "it was impossible for me in the space of five months to observe all these matters in descriptions of cities that I have handled; and politique affaires also." However, he promised his readers an account of his next journey with a lot of political matter in it.

Returning to Aleppo from the Holy Land, he waited for about
Ambition for fame and love of travel once again prompted him to undertake long, hard and dangerous travels. Nothing, not even poverty, could restrain him. Before finally leaving his country, however, he

visited Odcombe, where he delivered an elaborate oration and later hung up in the church the pair of shoes he had worn during his continental journey "as a donarium for their bringing him safely home to his native soil."¹ There seems, by the way, to be a dim echo of this incident in Pompey's reference to "brave Master Shoe-tie the great traveller" in Shakespeare's Measure for Measure, Act. IV., Scene III. As Coryat returned from his first walking tour in 1608, Shakespeare could not have alluded to this incident in this play which was produced in 1604. The allusion, as Sir William Foster rightly believes, "must have been introduced afterwards - possibly by some player induced thereto by the attention excited by Coryat's perambulations."²

Setting out for his Eastern journey on the 20th October 1612, just before the death of his patron, Prince Henry, Coryat sailed to Zante and Scio, where he arrived on the 13th January 1613. He then made an excursion to the ruins of Troy and on to Constantinople where he met Sir Paul Pindar, the English Agent.³ From Constantinople he appears to have proceeded by ship to Scanderoon on Alexandretta, where he disembarked and hastened up to Aleppo. From here he made his pilgrimage to Jerusalem and had his arm tattooed with the mark of the cross and other devices. Returning to Aleppo from the Holy Land, he waited for about three months for a caravan, and then started out for Persia, passing through Ecbatana, Kazvin (Qazvin), and Ispahan where he remained two months. From Ispahan he journeyed with a caravan to Lahore, meeting

-
1. Thomas Pennant, The View of Hindoostan (London: Henry Hughs, 1798), vol.I., p.73. These shoes were taken down about 1702. See Anthony a Wood, Athenae Oxonienses (London, 1815), vol.II., p.214.
 2. Early Travels in India (London: Humphrey Milford, 1921), p.235.
 3. Coryat reached Constantinople in April 1613 (not 1612 as Thomas Pennant believes).

on the Indian frontier Sir Robert Sherley and his lady, who were travelling from "the court of the Mogul, (where they had been verie graciously received, and enriched with presents of great value) to the King of Persia's court."¹ Sir Robert showed him, to his singular contentment, a copy of the Crudities neatly kept, and promised him to show his book to the Persian King and to interpret to him some of the principal matters in the Turkish tongue. "Both he and his lady," wrote Coryat, "used me with singular respect, especially his Lady, who bestowed forty shillings upon me in Persian mony; and they seemed to exult for joy to see mee, having promised me to bring mee in good grace with the Persian king, and that they will induce him to bestow some Princely benefit upon me ..." ² Coryat was extremely delighted to hear of this, and had little doubt that he would one day receive a warm welcome in the Persian court if his "facetious hieroglyphicks" were "truelie and genuinely expounded" to the King.

At Multan Coryat met a Muhammadan who was for many years a slave in Leghorn and knew good Italian. This man had the impudence to offend Coryat by calling him a Giaour or an infidel, with the result that Coryat made a violent attack upon the Muhammadan religion in Italian before, as he says, "an hundred people" who could hardly understand what he said. Writing to his mother about this incident he informs her that if he had made that speech against Mohammed in Persian or Turkish, "they would have rosted me upon a spitt; but in the Mogols

-
1. Coryat to Laurence Whitaker. See Thomas Coriate Traveller for the English Wits: Greeting (London: Printed by W. Jaggard, and Henry Fetherston, 1616), pp. 14 et seq.
 2. Ibid., pp. 16 et seq.

Dominions a Christian may speake much more freely than hee can in any other Mahometan Country in the world."¹

Coryat was absolutely correct. He had heard of the religious tolerance of the Mughal Emperors, probably through the merchant adventurers who had returned from India or from other travellers whom he might have met on his way thither. The tenor of his speech shows that Coryat was at times capable of rising to great heights of florid declamation and could be as scurrilous in a foreign language as in his own native tongue. Of his great powers of eloquent speech nourished by his knowledge of the ancient classical rhetoricians, there is another example in the oration he made in the Persian tongue to the Great Mughal before many of his nobles. In the first, while attacking insolence and Islam, he had shown what Cowley would have said "the wretched affectation of scurrile laughter," whereas in the second, wishing to please the Mughal Emperor, he resorts to artful flattery. Both speeches succeed: the first in silencing the insolent Muhammadan, the other in pleasing the Great Mughal, who awarded him a purse of a hundred rupees at a time when Coryat had only twenty shillings left in his purse.² The amount thus obtained enabled him to continue his travels farther.³

-
1. Mr. Thomas Coriat to his friends in England sendeth greeting (London: Printed by I.B., 1618), sig. dl recto.
 2. Ibid., sig. b4 verso.
 3. Writing about this incident in the Mughal court, Philip Anderson observes: "The Mohammedan potentate was pleased to hear himself compared by Coryat to Solomon, and to be told that as the Queen of Sheba had heard of the Jewish monarch's fame, so the Englishman had heard of the Emperor's, and like her acknowledged that what he saw far surpasseth all that had been reported." (The English in Western India, p.59.). These comparisons, however, are nowhere to be found in the text of the speech which Coryat made before the Emperor. Philip Anderson, Anthony a Wood, Arnold Wright and others have evidently accepted Edward Terry's account in A Voyage to East-India (London, 1655), pp.69 et seq., without examining the speech itself.

It took him twenty days to travel from Lahore to Agra, where he wished to see the Emperor. The journey between these two cities was, as Coryat says, "through such a delicate and even tract of ground, as I never saw before; and doubt whether the like be to be found within the whole circumference of the habitable world."¹ This is his characteristic manner of expressing approbation - always in superlatives, but there was some truth in what he wrote. The north Indian plain stretching from the Punjab to Bengal is certainly the most fruitful and even part of the whole sub-continent, and its highways have always had rows of trees on each side - especially the one alluded to by Coryat, the well-known road made by Sher Shah which connected the Punjab with the city of Sonārgāon in the kingdom of Bengal, and which later came to be called the Grand Trunk Road. "And here it is very observable," wrote Edward Terry, describing the same road that linked up the two great cities of the Mughal empire, "that from Lahore to Agra it is four hundred English miles, and that the countrey betwixt both these great cities is rich, even, pleasant, and flat, a Campania; and the road-way on both sides all this long distance planted with great trees, which are all the year clothed with leaves, exceeding beneficial unto travellers for the shade they afford them in those hot climes."² From the same authority one learns that this highway was called by travellers "The Long Walk" and had innumerable "villages and towns for passengers every where to find provision."³ Abbās Khān, a native chronicler of

-
1. Thomas Coriarte Traveller for the English Wits: Greeting (London, 1616), p.17.
 2. Op cit., pp.68 et seq.
 3. Ibid., p. 284.

the sixteenth century who wrote his Tarikh-i Sher Shahi by order of the Emperor Akbar, says that the trees on both sides of the highway were "fruit-bearing trees, such as also gave much shade."¹ The management of the sarais or rest-houses which, according to this writer, were built on it by Sher Shah,² seems to have greatly deteriorated in the reign of Jahangir. Coryat does not mention having seen any of these places where formerly travellers used to get free beds and food and also grain for their horses. Peter Mundy, however, journeying from Agra to Patna, noticed many sarais and praised, like Edward Terry and Thomas Coryat, the Gangetic plain for its fertility.³

For the first time in his life Coryat had an opportunity of witnessing some of the strange marriage customs of India. On his way to Agra he came across certain tribes among whom polyandry - Tibetan polyandry as opposed to Nair in which the woman remains with her own kin but entertains at will such suitors as she pleases⁴ - was a common practice and sometimes only one woman served an entire family of six or seven men. The information he imparts is evidently correct, for as Sir William Foster points out, "polyandry is still common in parts of the Dehra Dun and other Himalayan tracts."⁵ The Jats of North-Western India

-
1. H.M. Elliot and John Dowson, The History of India as told by its own Historians (London: Trubner and Co., 1872), vol.IV, p.418.
 2. Ibid., pp.417 et seq.
 3. See British Museum Harl. Ms. 2286, f.58.
 4. W. Robertson Smith, Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1903), p.145.
 5. Early Travels in India, p.244n. Abdu-r Razzak, who visited India in the fifteenth century, found a tribe near Calicut "in which one woman has several husbands, of which each one engages in a separate occupation" (Elliot and Dowson, op.cit., p.101). Pyrard de Laval (Voyage, Hak.Society, vol.I, p.384), Linschoten (Voyage, Hak. Society, vol.I, p.280), Nicolo Conti (India in the Fifteenth Century, Hak. Society, p.20), have also alluded to this practice in their narratives of Indian travels.

have always had a distinct character of their own, and they not only permitted their widows to remarry but practised polyandry on a large scale.¹ Up till now Coryat's knowledge of this practice was based on what he had read in Strabo (XVI.4.25) concerning Arabia Felix or Yemen. On his arrival in India he happened to pass through the very region where a small polyandrous group existed. It must indeed have been a new, exciting experience to this eager, enthusiastic traveller, for he does not forget to mention this in a letter to his friend, Lawrence Whitaker.²

Arriving at Agra, Coryat found that the Emperor had moved to Ajmer with all his multitudes of attendants and retinue of both sexes. Before proceeding thither, he made a brief halt and was lovingly received by his countrymen in the English factory. In all his wanderings from Aleppo to Agra, he had taken great care to spend as little money as possible and had in fact spent only three pounds in all, living "competentlie for a pennie sterling a day."³ Only once had he occasion to part with a lump sum of ten shillings, and that was when he was robbed of it by "certaine lewde Christians of the Armenian Nation." The secret of Coryat's economy lay in the fact that food was very cheap in those regions and people were extremely hospitable and kind to strangers, especially to wandering pilgrims. Nevertheless he must have experienced many a hardship, forced as he was to travel with an extremely light purse. Having stayed at Agra for some time to rest and restore his energy, he again began to traverse the Mughal's territory coming at last to Ajmer, where he had wished to see the fabulous Mughal and his court.

1. William Irvine, Later Mughals (Calcutta and London, N.D.), vol.I, p.83.

2. Thomas Coriate Traveller (1616), p.18.

3. Ibid., p.29.

2.

During his short stay at Agra, Coryat had mixed freely with the natives and taken great pains to learn the native tongues. Through his wonderful facility in languages and his free association with people at Ajmer, where he stayed for fourteen months, he soon learnt both Persian and Hindustani¹ which enabled him to impress the natives as no other English traveller at that time could do. But what distinguished him more than anything else from his countrymen in India was not just this unique linguistic attainment: it was also his dress - the Oriental dress in which he travelled and mixed with people. This may not have been due to any love for all that is exotic and alien, but in all likelihood it was because of Coryat's belief that man should be able to adopt the dress of the country of his visit, especially when the new dress is more comfortable. Coryat's behaviour was not always eccentric and foolish: on the contrary, he was occasionally extremely prudent and circumspect. In this particular instance, his dress, besides gaining for him the sympathy and hospitality of the natives, afforded him ease and comfort which his cumbrous English dress could not have done in a tropical climate.

Thus dressed, Coryat commenced at Ajmer, where he arrived in early July 1615, those numerous antics which have rendered his name immortal. He found here some English factors engaged in negotiating a commercial treaty with the Mughal emperor. To these men eager for some sort of diversion, none could be more welcome than the Odcombian wonder. Coryat was happy because he did not have to spend, "one little peece of

1. Coryat to his mother. See Mr. Thomas Coriat to his friends in England sendeth greeting (London, 1613), sig. bl verso.

mony, either for diet, washing, lodging, or any other thing," but had a wonderful opportunity to enjoy at will the unique sights afforded by the Emperor and his troops of retainers. Here he met Peter Rogers,¹ a chaplain, who carried his letters down to Surat and then to England. The same year in October Sir Thomas Roe arrived as King James's ambassador to obtain for his countrymen those trading privileges which Hawkins and others had vainly sought. Coryat was exceedingly pleased to hear of the arrival of Sir Thomas, whom he described as "a very generous and worthy English Knight, a deare friend of mine."² "This newes," he wrote to Laurence Whitaker, "doth refocillate (I will use my old phrase so well knowne to you) my spirits: for I hope he will use me graciously, for old acquaintance sake."³

On his first meeting with the ambassador he welcomed him to Ajmer in "a long, eloquent oration,"⁴ but Sir Thomas was little pleased to renew his acquaintance with him. He was anxious at that time to do all he could to enhance the prestige of his country, which the English factors no less than the Jesuits and the Portuguese had lowered. Without this it was impossible to get the Great Mughal to sign a commercial treaty. Coryat's eccentric dress and behaviour, however, did not exalt the character of the British nation. He moved freely from one place to another, occasionally entering into wordy brawls and performing feats that afforded the natives great fun at his expense.⁵ If the English

1. Coryat describes him as "a worthy man ... to whom I am exceedingly obliged for his singular offices of humanity exhibited unto me." See Thomas Coriate Traveller for the English Wits: Greeting, pp.26 et seq.

2. Ibid., p.35.

3. Ibid.

4. The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India (London, 1899), vol.I, p.104.

5. See Edward Terry, op.cit., pp.70 et seq.; Purchas his Pilgrimes (London, 1625), Part II, p.476.

factors alone regarded him as a fool and rejoiced to have him in their company, things would have been different, but Coryat had begun to be regarded as a half-witted English fakir even by the natives. In the beginning Roe was not unkindly disposed to Coryat - once he spoke of him as one "whom the fates have sent hither to ease mee"¹ - but this was an impression formed much too early. Coryat's oration before the Great Mughal, which won him a sum of hundred rupees, made the ambassador furious because, in his opinion, Coryat had degraded his nation by presenting himself "in that beggarly and poore fashion to the King out of an insinuating humor to crave mony of him,"² whereupon Coryat "answered our Ambassador in that stout & resolute manner after I had ended my business, that he was contented to cease nibbling at me."³

Not long after the incident of the oration, Coryat undertook a short journey to a place about forty miles north-east of Ajmer. Here he met a noble and generous Christian of the Armenian race to whom his command of the Persian tongue was so welcome that he entertained him "with very civill and courteous complement,"⁴ and at his departure gave him twenty rupees. Coryat does not, however, mention the name of the Armenian who entertained him so kindly or that of the place where he had gone to see "certain remarkable matters." In all probability it was Zu-l-Qarnain, in charge of the government salt works at Sambhar, whom Coryat had met, for he was the only Armenian near Ajmer known to be in a position to be so liberal to a foreign guest. The Mughal

-
1. Roe to Lord Pembroke, 14th February 1616. See the Embassy (1899), p.104n.
 2. Mr. Thomas Coriat to his friends (1618), sig. b4 verso.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid., sig. c1 recto.

Emperor speaks of this man as "intelligent and fond of work" and "an accomplished composer of Hindi songs."¹

At the outbreak of war in the Deccan Jahangir resolved to move to Mandu, the capital of Malwa, closer to the scene of warfare. Sir Thomas Roe had been with him for more than eight months, always trying to persuade him and his ministers to accede to a commercial treaty between England and Hindustan; but he had apparently failed and therefore decided to accompany the Emperor to Mandu, taking only his immediate attendants with him. It was impossible for Coryat either to accompany the ambassador or to stay on indefinitely in the English factory at Ajmer. When, therefore, he was told that the factory would be dissolved after the departure of the court, he wisely agreed to accompany two of the English merchants going to Agra. On 12 September 1616, nearly two months before the ambassador's departure for Mandu, Coryat left Ajmer and arrived at Agra on the 22nd of the same month. He records with obvious gratefulness that before his departure from Ajmer he received a valuable gift from Sir Thomas Roe - "a péece of Gold of this Kings Coine worth foure and twenty shillings, which I will save (if it be possible) till my arrivall in England."²

Of the numerous places he wanted to visit in India, Hardwār was to him the most important. He had written to his mother from Agra about his great desire to visit this place because of its "notable spectacle" - the strange ceremonies of the Banians, their superstition and impiety. From Hardwār he intended to go to Lahore on his way to Persia. Had

-
1. Memoirs, II, p.194. See Fernao Guerreiro, Jahangir and the Jesuits (London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1930), pp.94 et seq.
 2. Mr. Thomas Coriat to his friends (1618), sig. cl recto.

he lived to write more about his experiences of the Indian travels, he would surely have included in it an account of his journey to this place and impressions of it. But he was destined never to return to his country, never to write another letter to his friends and mother in England, after his return to Agra from Hardwār. It is from Edward Terry's Voyage to East-India and Sir Thomas Roe's journal that we get some valuable information about him from this time to his death in December 1617. Edward Terry informs us that Coryat went not only to Hardwar on the Ganges but also to the famous temple of Jwālāmūkhī in the Kangra district in the N.E. of the Punjab.¹ But the journey was fraught with ominous consequences. It shattered his health, already affected by the climate of the place. He returned to Agra, tired and ill. A journey to Lahore at this time was therefore out of the question, and for some time at least Coryat had to lie idle in the Agra factory, taking rest and living upon the hospitality of his countrymen. One day, however, a letter from Sir Thomas Roe asking whether he would go with him to Persia, set his ambition adrift once again. He set out at once for Mandu to see the ambassador and communicate to him his willingness to accompany him on his journey.

Reaching Mandu, Coryat found a sympathetic friend in Edward Terry, whose quarters he had to share. But this journey only precipitated the utter decline of his health. He also began to be haunted by the fear that he would never be able to go back to England and give his countrymen the promised account of his Indian journey. One day in the

1. A Voyage to East-India (London, 1655), p.87.

very presence of Sir Thomas Roe and his chaplain "he fell into such a swoon, that we had very much ado to recover him out of it."¹ When he recovered the ambassador asked him to stay there and rest. Meanwhile Roe received intimation from England that he was not to proceed to Persia. All chances of a comfortable journey to Persia in the company of the English ambassador were now gone. Coryat therefore decided to return to Surat while Roe accompanied the Mughal Emperor to Gujarat. At Surat Coryat was seized with a flux, that was increased by a treat of sack, given him by some English merchants. Although ordinarily a temperate man, he could not resist the temptation of his favourite liquor, so unexpectedly falling in his way.² Thus, in December 1617, he was, in the words of Fryer, "killed with Kindness by the English Merchants, which laid his rambling Brains at Rest,"³ and buried on a small hill on the left hand of the road leading to Broach.⁴ "Sic exit Coryatus," wrote Edward Terry. "Hence he went off the stage, and so must all after him, how long soever their parts seem to be: For if one should go to the extremest part of the World East, another West, another North, and another South, they must all meet at last together in the Field of Bones, wherein our Traveller hath now taken up his Lodging, and where I leave him."⁵

-
1. Ibid., p.75.
 2. Philip Anderson, The English in Western India (London, 1856), p.60.
 3. A New Account of East India and Persia (London: Hakluyt Society, 1909), vol.I, p.253.
 4. Ibid. William Crooke, who has edited Fryer's account for the Hakluyt Society, does not accept this statement, but finds Edward Terry's account more probable. According to Terry, Coryat was buried at Swally on the sea-shore. Sir William Foster, however, remarks that Terry "was writing nearly forty years later, and, as we have seen, his recollection was frequently in fault over matters of detail." (Early Travels in India, p.239).
 5. A Voyage to East-India, pp.77 et seq.

All that Coryat wrote about India is contained in the five letters he wrote from Ajmer and Agra to Laurence Whitaker, Sir Edward Philips, the High Seneschal of the Fraternity of Sireniacal Gentlemen and to his loving mother, and in certain observations given to Purchas by Sir Thomas Roe. Even from these scraps there emerges an observant traveller who has a gift for full and accurate narration, and who might one day have become as great as Fryer or Bernier had he lived to publish his account of the Indian journey. Even in his Crudities, which was uproariously advertised, he impresses one as "a pleasant, well-informed, and rather sober writer."¹ From his letters written from India, this impression receives a further justification. Even those critics who see no false modesty in the title of his earlier work admit that he gives some really valuable information about India. Students of Indian history are indebted to him for a fine character-sketch of Jahangir. Sir Thomas Roe and Edward Terry did not hesitate to accept Coryat's accounts as true and to draw upon information which he had gathered during his Indian travels. Although his letters and notes do not satisfy the curiosity of his readers, they "contain much to make us remember with gratitude the eccentric wanderer who sleeps in an unknown grave on the banks of the Tapti."²

Coryat's first four letters were published in 1616 under the title Thomas Coriate Traveller for the English Wits: Greeting, his fifth letter being published separately in 1618 along with a number of

1. Dorothy Carrington, loc.cit.

2. William Foster, Early Travels in India, p.240.

M^r Thomas Coriat

to his friends in *England*
sendeth greeting:

From Agra the Capitall City of the Dominion
of the Great MOGOLL in the Easterne India,
the last of October, 1616.



Thy Trauels and thy Glory to ennamell,
With Fame we mount thee on the lofty Cammell;
But Cammels, Elephants, nor Horſe nor Aſſe
Can beare thy Worth, that worthleſſe doſt ſurpaſſe.
The World's the beaſt that muſt thy Palfrey be,
Thou rid'ſt the World, and all the World rides thee.

At London printed by I.B. 1618

commendatory verses under the title Mr. Thomas Coriat to his friends in England sendeth greeting. The first letter, addressed to Sir Edward Philips and written from Ajmer in 1615, does not contain any valuable information about India. Engaged throughout in talking about himself, Coryat got but two opportunities to mention the Mughal Emperor. In one place he calls him "the most puissant Monarch the great Mogul," and in another he refers to his court as "this glorious Court of the Mogul." This letter, however, is important as it throws some valuable light on the writer himself. One learns from it that Coryat travelled mostly on foot from Jerusalem to Ajmer and that when he first arrived in India the fatigue of the journey had not told upon his "pancraticall and athleticall" health and no sign of physical break down was at that time manifest. The letter also reveals Coryat's morbid egotism, to which his hypersensitiveness and exaggerated statements can be traced. From the very beginning of his letter he shows an extreme consciousness of his own greatness which reaches its climax when he observes:

Neither do I doubt, but that your Honour it selfe will likewise congratulate the felicitie of our Sommersetshire, that in breeding me, hath produced such a traveller, as dooth for the diversitie of the Countries he hath seene, and the multiplicitie of his observations, farre (I beleeve) out-strippe anie other whatsoever, that hath beene therein since the blessed Incarnation of our Saviour...¹

A man like Coryat could never stand the slightest suggestion of insult to his person or intellect. That was why he did not like Sir Thomas Roe to know about his flattering oration before the Great Mughal. His contemporaries took care not to offend him while having

1. Thomas Coriate Traveller for the English Wits, pp.4 et seq.

their fun at his expense. Once, however, Sir Thomas Roe is said to have given him a letter and in that a bill to receive ten pounds when he should return thither. The letter, addressed to Libbeus Chapman, spoke of Coryat as "a very honest poor Wretch"¹ and desired the consul to receive the bearer with courtesy and furnish him with ten pounds. Coryat liked the gift well, but the language did not in the least please him. He told Edward Terry that "my Lord had even spoyled his curtesy in the carriage thereof; so that if he had been a very Fool indeed, he could have said very little less of him than he did, Honest poor Wretch! and to say no more of him was to say as much as nothing."²

The whole letter is a shameless piece of self-praise. It speaks eloquently of the linguistic achievements of the writer, his insatiable greediness for seeing strange countries, the feelings of wonder and admiration it will produce in the man to whom it is addressed, and even compares the writer with Ulysses. Coryat's delight in superlatives, already referred to, can be met with also in this letter. In all his travels since he left England, he had enjoyed as sound a constitution of body and firm health "as ever I did since I first drew this vitall ayre."³ On his return to England he would not have any "peere in the whole kingdome to match him."⁴ He would "out-strippe anie other whatsoever, that hath beene bred therein since the blessed Incarnation of our Saviour."⁵ The Mughal Emperor appeared to him to be "the most puissant Monarch" on earth.⁶ He even believed that if ever

1. Edward Terry, A Voyage to East-India, p.74.

2. Ibid.

3. Thomas Coriate Traveller, p.4.

4. Ibid., p.5.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., p.3.

any accident worthy of admiration ever happened to Sir Edward Philips in all his life-time, it would be the receiving of his letter from India.¹ "His rage for superlatives," remarked Robert Sencourt, "was but one expression of his general tautology."² Thus, writing of Jahangir, he says: "He is of complexion neither white nor black but of a middle betwixt them: I know not how to expresse it with more expressive and significant epitheton than olive: an olive colour his face presenteth." Again, of a present to Jahangir he observes: "The whole of it, was worth ten of their Leakes as they call them: a leake being ten thousand pounds stirling; the whole a hundred thousand pounds stirling."³

Coryat's second letter, addressed to Laurence Whitaker from Ajmer in 1615, is more than double the length of the first. It contains many interesting remarks about the Mughal court and is the only detailed source of information about Coryat's journey from Aleppo to India. After describing in brief the places he visited, the mode of his travel, his meeting with Sir Robert Sherley, etc., he describes his experiences of India, beginning with the customs of the mountainous tribes of the Punjab. His remarks on the beauties of the Indo-Gangetic plains and polyandry among the Jats of North-Western India have already been examined. Coryat's description of the Mughal empire, its splendour and magnificence, is most one-sided and appears to have been written by one who was either much too dazzled by the superb brilliance of the scene or was deliberately exaggerating to create a grand impression. It is

1. Ibid., p.2.

2. India in English Literature (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1923), p.113.

3. Ibid., p.114.

not without significance that he has chosen to describe only those objects which were likely to create a sensation. Nothing is said about the peasants, the general slackness and inefficiency of the administration which characterized the reign of Jahangir, or the manner in which the fabulous revenue was collected. Coryat gives an excuse for ignoring many things: he meant to be "very compendious, lest I should otherwise preoccupate that pleasure which you may here after this reape by my personall relation thereof."¹ To be compendious is one thing, but to be partial to a particular set of objects, which alone are considered worthy of treatment, quite another. There is indeed no reason why only the grand things likely to create a sensation should have been described and the bad things completely ignored.

Of the numerous things Coryat describes in this letter the following stand out most distinctly: the weighing ceremony of the Emperor,² his complexion, the extent of his empire, the fertility of his land and his revenue, his religious tolerance, the animals he loved to keep, his routine, sports and pastimes, his elephants, his women, and the city of Delhi, and the well-known pillar there. All these have been described very briefly, and the impression left by the description as a whole is that of a country where everything is strange and wonderful, without any sign of misery and poverty. The Emperor is described as a worthy

1. Thomas Coriate Traveller, p.20.

2. The circumstance is well utilized by Thomas Neale in The Ward (Act II, Sc.II):

I now begin to thinke of the exotic course
The great Mogoll doth use when that each year
He weighs himselfe against much (gold),
Whereby he doth conjecture of the state
Of his full being.

person, by name Salim, of an olive complexion. He is fifty-three years of age, his birth-day having been celebrated with wonderful pomp since Coryat's arrival at Ajmer. On this occasion he weighed himself in a pair of golden scales, a custom that he observed most strictly every year. The ceremony over, he distributed all the gold he was weighed with among the poor. His dominion was very spacious, being in area four thousand English miles. There were at least two things that made Jahangir a greater monarch than the Turkish ruler - the fertility of his land and "the conjunction and union of all his territories." A great part of the Turkish empire was barren and stérile, and the territories were divided by seas and scattered. Naturally, the Indian empire yielded more revenue to the Mughal than the Turkish empire did to its sovereign. Jahangir spoke reverently of Christ and was the only Muslim Emperor in the world who treated Christians so benevolently. He was fond of taming all kinds of strange beasts, including leopards and bears, which were brought from Bengal, a very fertile region in the kingdom. The Emperor presented himself thrice every day to his nobles, at the rising of the sun, at noon, and at five o'clock in the evening. Twice every week, elephants were forced to fight before him, "the bravest spectacle in the world." The Emperor had thirty thousand elephants in all and spent an incredible amount of money in feeding them and his lions and other beasts, at least ten thousand pounds sterling a day. He had a thousand women in his harem, the principal queen being called 'Normal' (Nurmahal, or the Light of the Palace).

This is the substance of all that Coryat writes about Jahangir and his empire in this letter. Of himself he says that he wished to see

the Ganges, that he had ridden an elephant and that in Delhi he had seen a 'brass' pillar erected by Alexander commemorating his victory over Porus, a king of India. This last piece of information is in flagrant contradiction to all authorities. As a matter of fact, Coryat laboured under a triple delusion when he wrote about the Delhi pillar, for Alexander did not fight Porus at Delhi, nor did he set up a pillar there; furthermore, the one to which Coryat alludes was of polished sandstone and not of brass. Once a legend gains sufficient currency it is apt to be accepted without criticism, and we are not surprised when William Finch states that the Asoka pillar in the Allahabad fort "seemeth to have beene placed by Alexander or some other great Conquerour, who could not passe further for Ganges."¹ Sir Thomas Herbert thought that the Allahabad pillar was "probably fixt there for ostentation by Alexander or Bacchus," and quotes in support Ovid's verses:

Whose conquests through the Orient are remown'd,
Where tawny India is by Ganges bound. ²

Thevenot in his accounts of Ellora mistook Buddhas and Bodhisattvas³ for Greek giants and ascribed the rock-hewn temples to Alexander. But Indology was a science yet to be born when these travellers went to Delhi and Allahabad. The average educated European of Coryat's day knew the story of Alexander's Indian campaign and naturally associated things of a gigantic dimension with the Greek hero, just as Indians were wont to credit to Bhima all performances involving superhuman exertion.

1. Purchas his Pilgrimes (1625), vol.I, bk.IV, chap.IV, p.437.

2. Some Years Travels (London: Andrew Crook, 1665), p.69.

3. For the names of the Buddhas who appeared prior to the Maha Bhadra Kalpa and for those of twenty-four Buddhas, who successively foretold the advent and exaltation of the present Gautama Buddha, see "Notes on the Buddhas from Ceylonese authorities" in J.A.S.B., June 1836, vol.V, no.54, p.321.

Other details in his letter are on the whole quite reliable. At the time Coryat saw him, Jahangir was not fifty-three, but only forty-six, having been born in 1569. On his lunar and solar birth-days he allowed himself to be weighed according to an old Hindu custom which his father, Akbar, had adopted. Many foreign travellers and native chroniclers of the period have described this splendid ceremony but none so graphically as Sir Thomas Roe. Coryat's statement that the scales were of gold finds support in Roe and Mandelslo, although there are some equally important pieces of evidence to show that they were only plated with gold. Neither the Ain-i-Akbari nor the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri says anything about the kind of scales used for the ceremony. Both, however, inform the reader that the weighing ceremony was held twice a year and various articles were put into the scales. On the first day of the month of Aban (15th October) which was the solar anniversary of Akbar, he was weighed twelve times against gold, quick-silver, silk, perfumes, copper, drugs, ghee, iron, rice-milk, seven kinds of grain, salt, and rūh i tūtiyā, the order of these articles being determined by their costliness. According to the number of years he had lived, there was given away an equal number of sheep, goats, fowls, to people who bred those animals. A great number of small animals were also set at liberty. Akbar was weighed a second time on the 5th of Rajab, his lunar birthday, against eight articles, silver, tin, cloth, lead, fruits, mustard oil, and vegetables. This custom of weighing the emperor was introduced for reasons of auspiciousness, and as an opportunity of bestowing presents upon the poor.¹ Jahangir

1. See Abul Fazl Allami, The Ain-i-Akbari, tr. by H. Blochmann (Calcutta, 1873), vol. I, pp. 266 et. seq.

continued this custom in his reign. Writing about the 38th birth-day anniversary he says in his Memoirs:

According to custom they got ready the weighing apparatus and the scales in the house of Maryam-zamani (his mother). At the moment appointed blessings were invoked and I sate in the scales... The first time the weight in gold came to three Hindustani maunds and ten seers. After this I was weighed against several metals, perfumes, and essences, up to twelve weighings...¹

There is no doubt that Coryat's relation of this ceremony is very brief. He mentions only one article against which the Emperor was weighed - gold, which must have lent support to the popular idea that the East was the land of incalculable treasure and fecundity. The grim picture of poverty and superstition had just begun to find its way into England, but the popular myth of the mystic and golden East took some time to yield to anything truer and more real. The word India remained throughout Elizabethan and Jacobean periods the metaphor of wealth and empire, partly through ignorance and partly through such exaggerated accounts as Coryat and other travellers wrote home.

It is difficult to ascertain whether or not Coryat actually saw all the gold being distributed among the poor. The passages from the Ain and the Tuzuk quoted above mention gold among the articles with which the Mughal emperors were weighed, and also suggest that everything was later distributed among the poor. Some pieces of gold and silver were undoubtedly distributed, but not solid gold. Edward Terry, who was present at one of these ceremonies, found only thin pieces of silver and some of gold, made like flowers, cloves and nutmegs, being cast

1. Alexander Rogers and Henry Beveridge (tr. and ed.), The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1909), pp.77 et. seq. Also see p.333 for another description of this ceremony.

about among the standers-by.¹ Sir Thomas Roe observes that the Emperor was weighed "with Gold and Jewels, and precious stones, but I saw none; it being in bagges might bee Pibles... I heard he threw Gold till I came in, but found it silver so thinne, that all I had at first, being thousands of severall pieces, had not weighed sixtie Rupias."²

Mandelslo confirms Terry's account by saying that the Emperor (Shah Jahan in whose reign he visited India) "causes to be cast among the Grandees, Nuts, Pistachoes, Almonds, and several other Fruits of Gold, but so finely wrought, that a thousand of them weighed not thirty Crowns..."³

Yet Coryat clothes the whole thing in a dazzling garb. So long as it was gold, it mattered little whether it was thin or heavy. His friend in London must envy his lot, must think how fortunate Coryat was to have seen with his own eyes what one only saw in dreams! That apparently was the motive of Coryat. But he alone was not to blame. It was difficult to withstand the blinding glitter of Oriental riches. Sometimes as sober a person as Sir Thomas Roe was absolutely taken in, refusing to see things in their correct perspective. He says that the scales in which the Emperor was weighed were made of "massie Gold" and beset with rubies and turquoises on the borders - a statement which the German traveller, Mandelslo, repeats in his description of the festival of the Mughal's birth-day.⁴ But we know from Edward Terry that they

1. A Voyage to East-India (1655), p.396.

2. The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe (London, 1899), pp.412 et seq.

3. See The Travels of John Albert de Mandelslo into The Indies (London, 1669), p.42.

4. Ibid.

were only plated with gold.¹ Hawkins, who was in the Mughal court for a number of years, states from personal experience that on the day of the weighing ceremony "the King goeth into a very faire roome, where a ballance of beaten Gold is hanged."²

The comparison which Coryat draws between the Indian and Turkish empires is not unnatural. The Turks who had in the fifteenth century occupied Constantinople had many a time influenced European history and were considered as powerful as any nation in the world at that time. They had for some time challenged the Portuguese in Arabian seas before allowing them to grab the monopoly of the eastern trade, and dreamt of extending their empire as far as India. So no traveller desirous of giving an idea of the Mughal empire to his European friends could have done better than compare it with the Turkish empire. Writing from Ajmer in January 1616, Sir Thomas Roe had observed: "His Territorie is farre greater then the Persians, and almost equall, if not as great as, the Turkes. His meanes of money, by revenue, a custome of Presents, and inheriting all mens goods, above both..."³

All contemporary travellers speak of the remarkable productivity and yield of the soil in India. Coryat does not exaggerate when he speaks of it, but forgets to throw any light on the condition of the Indian peasant. We know from a traveller like Francisco Pelsaert, who was in Agra for seven years, that the lot of the Indian peasantry was hard and tyranny and oppression were everywhere rife.⁴ Pelsaert's

1. A Voyage to East-India, p.395.

2. Purchas his Pilgrimes (1625), I, p.225.

3. Roe to Lord Carew. See the Embassy (1899), vol.I, p.111.

4. W.H. Moreland and P. Geyl (tr.), The Remonstrantie (Cambridge: W. Heffer, 1925), p.47.

language is probably exaggerated, but there is no doubt that some deterioration in the position of the ordinary peasant started in the reign of Jahangir, due largely to the increase in his reign of the practice of remunerating officials by assignments of land¹ - a practice which Akbar had sought to abolish, although he did not wholly succeed. The practice in itself was not so bad, but with the quality of the staff available the peasants could not expect fair play. The Revenue Ministry of Jahangir became a hotbed of conspiracy and corruption, with the result that the income from the reserved areas fell off seriously and progressively.² Yet Jahangir's revenue was equal to about 56½ millions of pounds sterling when the public revenue in England was then only about £425,000 per annum.³ Coryat was told that the revenue of the Mughal was 40 millions of crowns per annum, twenty-five millions more than that of the Turk. This estimate was obviously wrong. Though Jahangir's income had declined, it had not fallen to this low level. "Even assigning a higher value to the rupee," says William Foster, "and supposing the figure to relate to land revenue only, it is probably too low an estimate."⁴

Jahangir's love of watching elephant fights is well known.⁵ A large and spacious area was set apart for this purpose in the Shahburj, or royal bastion, of the Fort, the walls of which were built of red cut stone, very high and about four miles in perimeter. In appearance, as well as in cost, says a contemporary foreign observer, it surpassed

-
1. W.H. Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzeb (London: Macmillan and Co., 1923), pp.248 et seq.
 2. CHI, vol.IV, p.466.
 3. William Foster (ed.), Early Travels in India, p.100.
 4. Ibid., p.246.
 5. For a vivid description of an elephant fight see Bernier's Travels in the Mogul Empire (Oxford University Press, 1914), pp.276 et seq.

"many of the most famous structures in the world."¹ It was situated on a moderate elevation with a delightful prospect all about, but especially towards the Jumna, where it was splendidly decorated with lattice work and gilded windows, and here Jahangir used to sit and enjoy the horrid spectacle. While the massive animals roared and thundered, their riders remained firm in their seats, but more often than not they were thrown down and bruised and battered by the enraged beasts they had forced to fight. In taking delight in a spectacle that appears to-day inhuman and diabolical, Jahangir was certainly not alone, for in countries like England, the baiting of bulls and bears by dogs was not only recognized by Shakespeare's contemporaries as a legitimate sport, but was also encouraged by Queen Elizabeth and King James I and their courtiers. The description which Bernier has left of an elephant fight is not more horrid than those we read of bear-baiting in Elizabethan literature. If one were to witness

a bear, encompass'd round with dogs,
 Who having pinch'd a few and made them cry,
 The rest stand all aloof, and bark at him,²

one would probably feel the same sort of horror as one would have felt on watching two elephants fight. Moreover, just as people riding on the elephants were very often thrown down and crushed to death, so also the blind bears used occasionally to break from their chains and run wild among the crowd with disastrous results. As the matches were mostly played on the sabbath, many people, mostly Puritans, protested

1. The Remonstrantie (1925), p.3.

2. Shakespeare, Henry VI, II, i, 15-17. Quoted in Shakespeare's England (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916), vol.II, p.430.

against this practice. Thus Edward Hake,¹ the satirist, wrote:

What else but gaine and money gote
Maintains each Saboth day
The bayting of the Beare and Bull?
What brings this brutish play?²

European travellers, aware of the religious intolerance prevalent in their own countries, speak very highly of Jahangir's liberality in the matter of religion. Coryat did not invent the story of Jahangir's speaking respectfully of Jesus Christ. Fernao Guerreiro also mentions the deep regard for Christ that Jahangir always showed.³ Pietro della Valle speaks in glowing terms of the religious toleration of Jahangir.⁴ Edward Terry's praise is equally high when he says that all religions are tolerated, and their priests or ministers find regard and esteem amongst the people. "My selfe," the chaplain continues, "often received from the Mogoll himselfe the appellation of Father, with other many gracious words, with place amongst his best nobles. The Jesuites have not only admittance into his presence but encouragements from him by many gifts, with libertie of converting to them..."⁵

An idea of Jahangir's practice of coming out three times to show himself to his nobles and men and of his expenses can be better formed from other contemporary records. Roe's journal gives a fuller account of Jahangir's routine, pastimes and pleasures, while Hawkins deals at some length with the incredible expenses incurred by the Mughal Emperor on himself, his beasts and his wives. Although Coryat's

1. See D.N.B. (1908), vol.VIII, p.889.

2. Quoted in Shakespeare's England, vol.II, p.432.

3. C.H. Payne (ed.), Jahangir and the Jesuits (London: George Routledge, 1930), p. 63.

4. Travels of Pietro Della Valle (London: Hakluyt Society, 1892), pp.30, 127.

5. W. Foster, op.cit., p.331; Edward Terry, A Voyage to East-India, pp.440 et seq.

estimate of these expenses is not in keeping with contemporary figures, yet it must be admitted that the amount spent was "incredible to be believed."¹ Hawkins was told by the Emperor's purveyor that "every daie in the yeare he spent in meate for them (his elephants) 70,000 ripeas, which is 35,000 rialls of eight."² The number of Jahangir's wives can be imagined from the expenses incurred in keeping them. The Emperor is said to have spent thirty thousand rupees daily on his women alone.³

In a lengthy postscript to this letter Coryat talks of his health, describes a rich present Jahangir received from the king of Bijapur, and expresses great pleasure at having heard of the arrival of Sir Thomas Roe in India. Sir Thomas Roe evidently wrote to Lord Carew about the embassy from Bijapur after having heard of it from Coryat, who was an eye-witness. This important event is mentioned also by Jahangir in his memoirs.⁴

In sheer vanity Coryat sent along with his letter a poem entitled "To the Odcombian wonder, our laborious Countriman, the generous Coryate," written by one John Browne, "a Londoner borne," praising the writer of the Crudities. Coryat wanted Laurence Whitaker to read these verses to his friends, especially to "the Sirenical gentlemen" — the members of the Mermaid Club. It is a very indifferent piece of composition without the least poetic merit. Only the first and the last stanzas deserve mention, if at all:

1. John Jourdain, Journal (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1905), p.165.

2. Ibid.

3. W. Foster, op.cit., p.104.

4. See the Tuzuk, vol.I, p.298.

What though thy Cruder travels were attended
 With bastinadoes, lice, and vile disgraces?
 Have not thy glorious acts thereby ascended
 Great Brittaines stage, even to Princes places,
 Led on in triumph by the noblest spirits
 That ever deigned to write of anies merits?

After recommending a number of places in and outside India which Coryat should visit, the poem drags itself to the following conclusion:

This done, at Alexandria seeke your passage
 For Englands happy shores, wher How & Mundy
 Will strive to make your travels out-last age,
 So long as stand their Annals of our Country.
 For Mandevill will come of thee farre short,
 Either of travell, or a large report.

The third letter of Thomas Coryat, written from Ajmer and addressed to "the High Seneschall of the right Worshipfull Fraternitie of Sireniacal Gentlemen," begins with a Greek proverb, and after praising the members of the Mermaid Club, goes on to speak of miscellaneous matters not at all connected with his experiences of India. The letter, however, is remarkable for its vigorous prose style, sometimes elegant and euphuistic, sometimes pedantic and highflown. He considered it to be "supervacaneous to commemorate" to the High Seneschal the almost incredible distance he had traversed from Jerusalem to India. He described his passport as "superexcellent Commeate"; India is "the most famigerated region in all the East;" he praised the members of the club for "that incomparable elegant safe-conduct, which, a little before my departure from England, your Fraternity with a general suffrage gave me for the security of my future peregrination, concinnated by the pleasant wit of that inimitable artizan of sweet elegancy, the

moytie of my heart, and the quondam Seneschall of the noblest society, M.L.W."¹ He entreated these "generosities" to entertain Peter Rogers, the carrier of the letter, in friendly fashion for his sake and to "exhilarate him with the purest quintessence of the Spanish, French, and Rhenish Grape which the Mermaid yeeldeth."² The postscript dated 8th November 1615 contains a list of about twenty-four persons to whom Coryat wished to be commended. It includes John Donne, Ben Jonson and Samuel Purchas. Nothing, however, can be more remarkable about this letter of Coryat than his signature at the end. "Your generosities most obliged Countreyman," it runs, "ever to be commanded by you, the Hierosolymitan-Syrian-Mesopotamian-Armenian-Median-Parthian-Persian-Indian Legge-stretcher of Odcomb in Somerset, Thomas Coryate."³ This is without doubt in keeping with the rest of Coryat's character.

The last two letters of Coryat are addressed to his mother and are very affectionate in tone and simple in style. He deservedly calls himself the only Englishman to have performed "this hundred yeares" such a notable journey through Greater Asia. He catalogues the names of places he had visited, commenting on them where necessary. Then he consoles his mother, telling her that he will return home safe in the company of caravans with whom he generally travelled. He also explains what a caravan is and how it goes from one place to another with camels, horses, mules, tents and pavilions. The rest of the letter is extremely tender and fills one with great sympathy for both

1. Thomas Coriate Traveller (1616), p.38.

2. Ibid., p.42.

3. Ibid.

Coryat and his mother. Coryat assures the old mother that he will return in four years and that he hopes to see her alive and sound in body and mind. He requests her to forgive him for his long absence, for, he says, he has resolved to go from India to Scythia, Samarkand, Persia, Babylon, Nineveh, Cairo and Alexandria. This will enable him to contemplate "very effectually and profitably...a great part of this worldly fabricke." The traveller who has been represented hitherto as an incorrigible braggart is now a picture of tender submissiveness before his mother, and rightly so, for fate, all unknowing, was dictating this letter and cruelly mocking the writer, who was never to return to his mother.

The second letter to his mother, published separately in London in 1618, in the volume Mr. Thomas Coriat to his friends in England sendeth greeting¹ was written from Agra and contains purely personal matters. He informs his mother of the reason which had led him to stay for fourteen months at Ajmer, of the advantages of the variety of languages which he had learnt in this period and how one day he had delivered an oration in Persian before the Great Mughal. He also describes how the English ambassador reacted to this incident and how he, Coryat, answered him. He tells her of his journey to the Sambhar Lake and his meeting with a generous Christian there, which information is followed by a tentative plan of action. He desired to see the Persian King and talk to him in the Persian tongue which would, he hoped, please

1. A number of Panegyric verses and copies of Coryat's oration made before the Great Mughal and before a Muhammadam at Multan are also appended to this volume.

him and secure for Coryat "benevolences of worthy persons to maintaine me in a competent maner in my whole pilgrimage till I come into England." He also tells his mother of the excellent opportunity he expected to have of going to the famous river Ganges, about five days' journey from Agra. Before concluding the letter he sends her a copy of the oration he had made at Multan before a Muhammadan who had called him an infidel (giaour), and advises her not to expect any letters from him after this till his arrival in Christendom.

Coryat's "Observations"¹ contain some very interesting, though not always reliable, details. He sends home a number of stories which he had heard in India, evidently from his friends, the English factors. He tells, first, the story of an atheist who came to believe in God after developing a fatal gangrene caused by one of his women plucking a hair from his breast. He was a soldier and should, therefore, "have dyed by the stroke of a Sword, Speare or Bow," but God, he thought, intended to punish him for his blasphemy and atheism by killing him with a little hair. This seems to have been a popular tale of the time. It was repeated to Sir Thomas Smythe by the Rev. Patrick Copland as having been told by Sir Thomas Roe in one of his letters.² Edward Terry added the following verse to it in his narrative:

Till sin into the world had made a breach,
 Death was not heard of: ever since in each
 Poor creature may it, doth it couchant lye,
 The kernel of a Grape kills one; a fly
 Another choaks...
 When death comes arm'd with Gods imperial word
 An hair can pierce as deep as sharpest sword.³

-
1. See Purchas his Pilgrimes (London, 1625), Part I, Chap.XVII, pp.600-602.
 2. See The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe (London, 1899), vol.II, p.311.
 3. A Voyage to East-India (1655), p.415. This story of the atheist can also be found in a pamphlet published in London in 1622, entitled A True Relation without all Exception, of strange and admirable Accidents, which lately happened in the Kingdom of the great Magor or Mogul who is the greatest Monarch of the East-Indies. See The Harleian Miscellany (London, 1744), vol.I, pp.251 et seq.

The story about Akbar that follows is utterly baseless. Akbar is said to have learnt all kinds of sorcery and cut off the head of his chief queen which he later succeeded in setting on again by virtue of his magical powers.

In the paragraph that follows Coryat gives an example of "wively fidelity." All contemporary historians speak of the hard lot of Khusru, the eldest son of Jahangir. Nur Jahan, who apprehended that Sultan Khusru would succeed his father¹ and desired to establish herself well, had frequently offered her own daughter to him, before she married her to Sultan Shahryar. Already married, and devoted to his wife, Khusru spurned the offer, with the result that Nur Jahan conspired to destroy him. When he was in prison, he was sent numerous messages saying that if he married Nur Jahan's daughter he would be immediately set free. But he refused to be thus blackmailed. "His Wife on the contrary," says Pietro della Valle, the Italian traveller,

who lov'd him as well as he lov'd her,
 obtain'd to be the person allotted to serve him
 in the prison, and accordingly went thither, and
 liv'd with him so long as he was there, never
 ceasing to persuade him to marry Nurmahal's
 Daughter, that so he might be deliver'd from those
 troubles...²

Coryat's account is essentially in conformity with this and other contemporary relations, but it is impossible to trace the source of his story of the Emperor's hunting expedition and the building of a tower for Khusru's confinement during the Emperor's absence. His

-
1. Sultan Khurram (Shah Jahan) had the same fears. See The Remonstrantie (1925), p.71.
 2. Travels of Pietro della Valle in India (London: Hakluyt Society, 1892), vol.I, p.57.

brief allusion to the punishment inflicted upon the supporters of Khusru gives but an incomplete idea of the barbarity with which all the rebels, the partisans of the Prince, were punished. Husain Beg was sewn in the raw hide of an ox and another rebel, Abdur Rahim, in that of an ass, with horns obtruding. Seated on asses with their faces towards the tail, both of them were paraded through the streets of Lahore.¹ Then, as Coryat points out, a long line of flesh-hooks appeared on each side of the road leading from Mirza Kamran's garden to the city of Lahore. Upon each stake appeared a prisoner, writhing in agony. Still not satisfied, Jahangir brought out his unfortunate son on an elephant and made him ride through the ranks, asking him, in inhuman mockery, to receive the homage of his followers.²

Coryat, however, does not fail to bring out the kind-heartedness of the Mughal Emperor after having referred to his cruelty. Jahangir's character was no doubt, at moments, quite baffling. It seemed to Edward Terry to be composed of extremes; for sometimes he was barbarously cruel, and at other times he would seem to be exceedingly fair and gentle. Sir Thomas Roe, Hawkins and Jourdain had formed the same impression. Coryat was extremely delighted to learn about the charitableness of the Emperor. He found his kind disposition "upbraiding the coldnesse of our charitie." He records a familiar habit of the Emperor: how he called for certain poor and old men at night in his private apartment and talked to them, giving them clothes

-
1. Francis Gladwin, The History of Jahangir, ed. by K.V.R. Aiyangar (Madras: B.G. Paul and Co., 1930), p.32.
 2. For a detailed account of the rebellion of the Prince and of the punishment meted out to the rebels see the "Relations of Father Fernao Guerreiro" in Jahangir and the Jesuits, tr. by C.H. Payne (London, 1930), pp.3-12; Pietro della Valle, Travels, I, pp.55-58; Sir Thomas Roe, The Embassy, pp.280-283.

and bountiful alms before their departure.¹ Sir Thomas Roe describes from personal experience how once he saw Jahangir talking to a beggar, a poor silly old man, all ashed, ragged and patched.² Coryat cites another example of the piety of Jahangir. He alludes to Jahangir's pilgrimage on foot to "the Tombe of the Prophet Hod. Mundin (Muinuddin)" at Ajmer and to his cooking there for the poor a dish of rice in an immense "Heidelbergian aequipollent Brasse-pot." The practice of going on foot to the shrine of Shaikh Muinuddin Chisti had an interesting story behind it. Akbar, before the birth of Salim, who later became the Emperor Jahangir, longed to have an heir to the throne. Though only twenty-five, his extremely precocious nature had already developed its paternal feelings to the full. While success, brilliant and magnificent, crowned his public activities, his domestic life remained unhappy. His first children had died and the yearning of his heart for an issue remained unfulfilled. Even his incessant prayers to the Almighty Father seemed to have gone in vain. Akbar, in sheer anguish, turned to saints, living and dead. Every year he went to Ajmer, to bow at the tomb of the Shaikh - the holiest of Muslim shrines in India, and vowed in all solemnity to make a pilgrimage on foot to this sacred spot if the one dear wish of his heart were fulfilled. Not long after a son was born,³ Akbar left the capital on Friday, 20th January 1570, and walking on an average about fourteen miles a day, he reached Ajmer on Sunday, 5th February, and straightway went to bow and pray at the shrine.⁴

1. Purchas his Pilgrimes, I, p.601.

2. The Embassy, p.366.

3. Salim was born in August 1569.

4. See "Ajmer - A Great Pilgrimage Centre for Muslims" in the India News (London), February 14, 1959

Coryat does not tell us this story, his purpose being only to show Jahangir's charitableness and piety. He found in the Emperor a real patron of the poor, a very kind-hearted monarch, whose unstinted generosity deserved praise. In this he certainly appears a better judge of human character than most of the early European travellers to India, who dismissed Jahangir as a hard-hearted, fickle-minded tyrant, soaked in wine and sunk in perdition. Coryat loved the Mughal Emperor for his meekness, for his exemplary readiness to talk to the poor and to offer them lavish presents.

Coryat concludes his "Observations" with the interesting story of a young Christian, converted from Islam, who was in the service of an Armenian. The Emperor wanted to know if the Christian missionaries had ever converted a single Moor "for conscience sake, and not for money." The Armenian brought forth his servant as an example, whereupon the Emperor wanted to know what had induced him to renounce Islam and become a Christian. The man gave "certaine feeble, implicite, Jesuiticall Reasons, and avowed that hee would never be other." As the answer did not satisfy the Emperor, he did his utmost to bring the man back to his old faith, but he remained unmoved, forgoing all the pensions and prizes the Emperor had promised. The Emperor then turned to threats and tortures, but with no success. Satisfied with the integrity of the man, he gave him a pension of a rupee a day and sent him home to serve his master, the Armenian. After two months he sent through the same servant a hog for his master. A few Moors (Muhammadans) seeing him carry a hog so hooted him that he threw down the present in a ditch and went home, concealing from his master what

had passed. When Jahangir knew of this, he not only withdrew the pension which he was giving the man, but also had him whipped, and "bade all men by his example take heed, that seeing hee gave libertie to all Religions, that which they choose and professe, they may sticke unto."¹

In the Relations of Father Fernao Guerreiro, we come across similar stories,² but they all glorify the converts and thereby Christianity. The converts are described as paragons of integrity and perfection, always ready to lay down their lives for the new religion. Coryat, while showing how Jahangir did not like irresolute-ness in the matter of religion, revealed an aspect of Jahangir's character which most travellers had ignored. They portrayed him mostly as cruel and tyrannical, persecuting his subjects out of sheer delight in bloodshed. But here is a different picture of Jahangir drawn by a sympathetic painter who undoubtedly had wide experience of the world and its men. Coryat's Jahangir is a sensible, kind-hearted man, very courteous and cultured, with a passion for justice. At moments this passion betrays him into acts of unforgivable cruelty, but as a rule, he is a humane, affable and kind monarch, always ready to listen to the sufferings of the poor and to offer them his help.

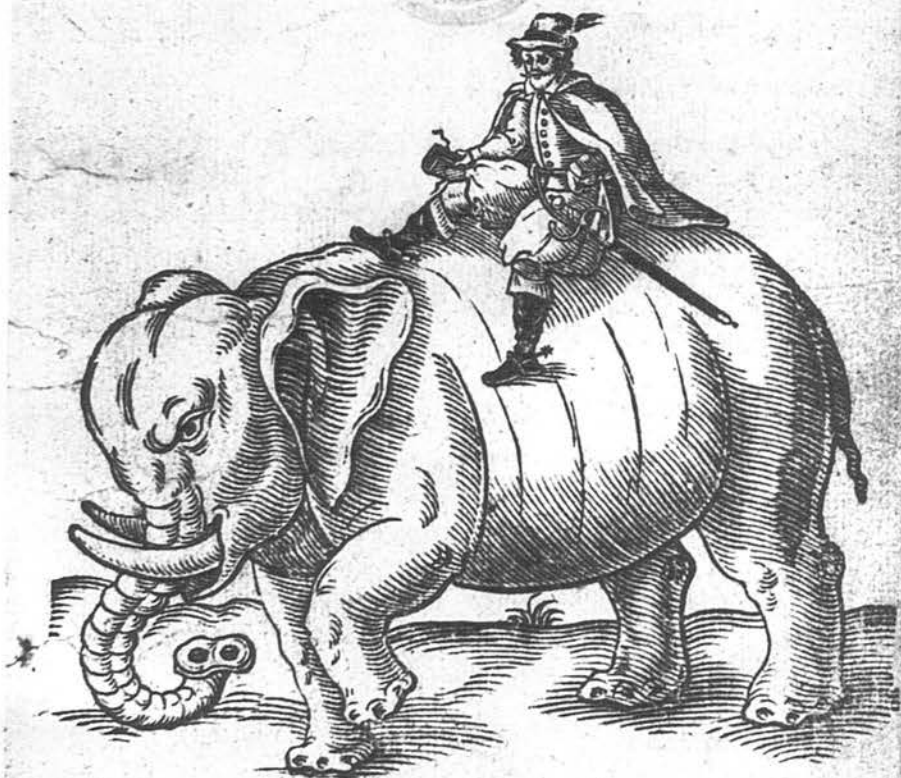
An instance of Coryat's veracity as a recorder of minute details is furnished by his remark on Jahangir's first meeting with Miherunnisa, who later came to be known as Nur Jahan. He speaks of fancy bazars

1. Purchas his Pilgrimes, I, p.602.

2. See Jahangir and the Jesuits (1930), pp.70-76.

THOMAS CORIATE
Traueller for the English
VVits : Greeting.

From the Court of the Great M O G V L, Resi-
dent at the Towne of A S M E R E, in
Easteine I N D I A.



Printed by W. Iaggard, and Henry Ferherston,
1616.

that were held "for the purpose of inquiring into the many wonderful things found in this world," and of Jahangir's first meeting with her at such a fair. Lest this should appear a stray observation or a tale gleaned from that romance in which the figure of Nur Jahan has always been shrouded, we can refer to other contemporary records and examine Coryat's statement in their light. Both Iqbāl-nāmā and Maasir-i-Jahangiri corroborate his information and tell us that in March 1611, Jahangir happened to see Miherunnisa, then a widow, at the vernal fancy bazār, fell in love with her and married her towards the close of May.¹ It is unfortunate indeed that Coryat does not describe this fair in detail as, for instance, Bernier does, but whatever he has said about it, is borne out by various contemporary authorities, both native and foreign. Akbar's court historian, Abul Fazl, has shown the usefulness of such fairs, while the French traveller, Bernier, gives a picturesque account of it in his Travels.

That Coryat's Crudities and letters were read and valued by his contemporaries in England is apparent from allusions to them in some of the well-known dramatic works of the period. He had written from the Mughal's court in 1615, three years before Beaumont and Fletcher's The Queen of Corinth, that "I had rid upon an Elephant since I came to this Court determining one day by Gods leave to have my Picture expressed in my next Booke, sitting upon an Elephant." In the play above-mentioned the dramatists present Onos or Lamprias, a very foolish

1. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir (Allahabad, 1930), p.176.

traveller, who reminds us of Thomas Coryat. Onos's tutor is made to deliver the following speech that is reminiscent of Coryat's style:

Our Peregrination was nere so facilitated, as since we enter'd the line of your gracious favor, under whose beamy aspect, and by which infallible Mathematical compass, may we but hereafter presume to sail, our industries have reach't their desir'd termination and period; and we shall voluntarily sacrifice our lives to your resplendent eyes, both the Altars and fires of our devoted offerings.¹

The allusion to Coryat and his letter becomes obvious when we come to the following remarks of Neanthes:

A plague on him for a fustian Dictionary; on my conscience this is the Ulissean Traveller that sent home his Image riding upon Elephants to the great Mogoll.²

The reader cannot but lament the absence of a detailed account of Coryat's Indian travels similar to the one he had written about his European tour. A book dealing with India by Coryat would have been an invaluable asset to Anglo-Indian literature and Coryat would have been hardly less important than those of his countrymen who distinguished themselves as writers of Indian history. Geo. Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, considered him to be better qualified than Sir Thomas Roe to write about the eastern countries. In a letter to Sir Thomas Roe dated 19th February 1619, the Archbishop "approves of his making observation of the religious rites of those eastern people, but confesses it must needs be a great labour, since he understands not the

1. The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1908), vol.VI, p.37.

2. Ibid.

language, and the Indians have no books to express their superstition and idolatry." ¹ He also "wishes for Thos. Coryat's return to England, because he would report of the furthest eastern countries in a better fashion than any Englishman hitherto hath been able." ²

Even though he left us only scraps on Indian life, Coryat is not a negligible author. But the pity is that these scraps always remind us of the great possibilities of what Coryat could have done if he had returned home safe from his Indian journey. Like hundreds of those fearless sailors who laid down their lives for the glory of their nation, Coryat also laid down his in a manner that was not ignoble. Like all true-born Elizabethans - like Hawkins, Drake and Lancaster - he was also an explorer, though never a seaman. He was a navigator in the limitless expanse of knowledge, a wanderer

Who living did rejoyce,
 Not out of need but choyce,
 To make his life a Pilgrimage.

-
1. Calendar of State Papers (Colonial Series), East Indies, 1617-1621, p.247.
 2. Ibid. The Archbishop did not evidently know that Coryat was dead. According to Terry, Coryat died in December 1617, and not in 1616 as Dr. Fuller believed.

CHAPTER VII

WILLIAM FINCH

(1608 - 1611)

If London-merchants dare to doe,
 such actions as hee did:
 Then why should not their acts be tolde,
 why should his fame be hid.

— H. Roberts, Lancaster his Allarums.

1

One of the most interesting and useful narratives dealing with the reign of Jahangir is that of William Finch, who landed with Hawkins at Surat on 24th August 1608, and stayed in India for nearly four years, observing the manners and customs of the people there and describing many aspects of Indian life in a way that had no precedent in the writings of other travellers.

Nothing is known of his early life except that he was a native of London¹ and servant to Master Johnson in Cheapside.² After his association with the East India Company we have a full account of his life and achievements. This association dates from the year 1607 when he was appointed agent to an expedition sent by the Company, under Hawkins and Keeling, to treat with the Great Mughal. The Portuguese stubbornly opposed them on their arrival at Surat, but Finch managed to secure permission from the governor of Cambay to dispose of his goods. Soon after, Finch unfortunately fell ill

1. D.N.B. (1908), Vol.VII, p.20.

2. Robert Coverte, A True and Almost Incredible Report (London: Thomas Archer and Richard Redmer, 1612), p.25.

and Hawkins went on alone to the Mughal court at Agra. On 12th July 1609, Finch, still at Surat, wrote to Hawkins, congratulating him on his appointment as "Captain over 400 horse etc.",¹ and expressing his keen desire to go to Cambay where he thought their whole stock might be "employed in rich indigo with some other drugs there to be had"² for export to England. The letter is important also for various other details. It contains Finch's most pronounced opinion of the Portuguese whom he describes as "still the fundamental cause of all our losses," and some remarkably noble sentiments expressing his willingness to do anything for the good of the Company and his gratitude to God for the envoy's success in the Mughal court.

On 2nd September 1609, one of the ships of the Company called the Ascension foundered near Surat, but fortunately there was little loss of life. Robert Coverte, one of the crew of the ill-fated vessel paid tribute to the generosity of Finch who did all he could to help them. He is said to have "curteously" gone "to the Governour, and acquainted him with our distresse, who (as hereafter we found it to be true) was bribed by the Portugals."³ The incidents which befell Finch at Surat and elsewhere are all recorded in what Boies Penrose calls "his extremely interesting Journal,"⁴ which Samuel Purchas, and later, Harris and others,

1. F. C. Danvers, Letters Received by the East India Company (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company, 1896), Vol.I, p.23.

2. Ibid., p.26.

3. Robert Coverte, Loc. cit.

4. The Travels of Captain Robert Coverte (Privately Printed in Philadelphia, 1931), p.105.

published in their collections of voyages and travels. Some additional light is thrown on Finch's career by other journals and letters of the time. John Jourdain, for example, informs us in his journal of the estrangement that occurred between Hawkins and Finch and the causes that led to it. This event, which is of some interest to the biographer of Hawkins, will be explained in its proper context.

Finch left Surat to join Hawkins at Agra, which he reached on the 14th April 1610. Here he had to encounter "tempting offers to attach himself permanently to the service of Jehanghire."¹ Finch, however, resisting these temptations, remained with Hawkins for more than a year. He was soon chosen by Hawkins to proceed to Biana for buying indigo. Finch, whose boldness sometimes bordered on rashness, made a mistake that had its repercussions on Hawkins, then engaged in seeking royal favour at the Mughal court. What happened was this: a servant sent by the Queen Mother came to Biana to buy indigo. Finch, perceiving this, offered a better price to the dealer and obtained all the indigo for the Company. This, if Jourdain is to be believed, incensed the King against Hawkins, who was held responsible for Finch's impetuosity. The same authority informs us further that Finch was sent to Lahore to sell the indigo which he had bought at Biana. Reaching Lahore, he found that "there was good profitt to be made of itt at Aleppo." He wrote, therefore, to Hawkins, seeking permission to depart overland with

1. D.N.B. (1908), Vol.VII, p.20.

a caravan bound for that place, and asking either to be allowed to carry the indigo for the Company, or to be paid his wages and left to go to Aleppo "upon his owne charge." The letter, writes Jourdain, "made Captaine Hawkins very fearfull least he would be gone before he could send thether; butt presentlie Captaine Hawkins went to the Portugall Jesuitts and entreated a letter to there factour that if Mr. Finch should ayme to departe with the carravan, that he would make staie of him and his goodes untill further order."¹ Not only was a letter of attorney sent to the Portuguese Jesuit at Lahore, but another factor, named Nicholas Uphlet, was dispatched for the same purpose. Finch was shocked to find his motives suspected, and when he learnt of the power of attorney, he could no longer bear this humiliation. He resolved therefore to return home and invited Jourdain to accompany him. Hearing, however, that certain English ships had arrived in the Red Sea, Jourdain asked Finch to return to Agra from where, he said, they would travel together to Surat. But Finch

utterlie refused, sayinge thatt wee weare led awaie with fancies and idle words of shipping; that he knewe well the Companie would never send more shippes for Suratt, and therefore would nott lose this oportunitie, exclaymeinge very much on Captaine Hawkins and his disconfidance, sayinge that he would not come to Agra because he would not see the face of him, for that nowe he knewe of the letter of attorney which was sent formerlie to the Portugall father concerninge him.²

From a letter ³ written by Bartholomew Haggatt, the English consul at

1. The Journal of John Jourdain (Cambridge, Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1905), p.157.

2. Ibid., p.158.

3. See F. C. Danvers' Letters Received by the E.I.C., Vol. I, pp. 273 et seq.

Aleppo, it appears that Finch left Lahore in company with Captain Thomas Boys, Lawrence Pigot and Thomas Styles, and that they travelled as far as babylon in safety, but there they died, with the exception of Styles.¹ We are also told that eleven mules belonging to Finch and all his goods were confiscated by the King of Babylon and so "eaten up by the Turks." The Venetian vice-consul made efforts to recover them, but there being no English consul to defend them, no means or threats could prevail. Haggatt sealed Finch's writings and gave them to Thomas Styles for the Company. In this way, Finch's valuable journal came to be preserved, and Purchas, recognising its value, thought it worthwhile to publish it. of Surat, whose various exactions have been described so accurately by Harkins. 2.

Finch's narrative of his travels as it has come down to us is divided by Purchas into two parts, the first of which deals with Sierra Leone and Sokotra and the second with India. Although the first part has all the literary and historical qualities of the second, we are here concerned only with Finch's impressions of India and matters relating to these impressions. In the second part of his narrative Finch gives a wonderful description of India, remarkable for its vividness and accuracy of observation. This sets him apart from the other travellers who have so far been considered in this study and reveals his originality of outlook and his aesthetic appreciation of Indian art and architecture.

1. Thomas Kerridge wrote to Thomas Aldworthe and Council at Surat on 7th September 1613 (see Danvers, op. cit., p.277) that they were poisoned at Babylon on their way to Aleppo by the water they drank, in which a multitude of grasshoppers had fallen. (Letters Received p.286).

The narrative opens with an account of the reception given to the English captain and his countrymen on their arrival at Surat on 28th August 1608. They were given a despicable lodging, "the porters lodge of the custome house," and their trunks were ransacked and searched by the customs officers. A gathering to which they were invited by a local merchant was spoiled by the host's tactless reference to Sir Edward Michelborne¹ and his piratical activities in the East. They were harassed by the Portuguese, their enemies and rivals, and by the local officials noted for their inordinate appetite for gifts. The most greedy of all the port authorities was Mukarrab Khan, the civil governor of Surat, whose avaricious exactions have been described so accurately by Hawkins. All these events, and many more, have been described by Finch in a style that is delightful, lucid and appropriate; and incidentally, they read like ominous foreshadowings of a tragic drama. One who knows the unhappy conclusion of William Hawkins' mission and Finch's untimely death in a country not his own, finds in them a rich portentous significance.

By 27th December 1608, Finch "was very ill of the bloody fluxe" of which he was cured by a certain Englishman called Carelesse, who was then in the English factory at Surat. From Carelesse Finch learnt all that had happened to the Portuguese in Malacca in the years 1606 - 7, of the reckless feasting and merry-making by the

1. King James I issued a licence to Sir Edward Michelborne "to discover the countries of China and Japan and to trade with their people." The East India Company protested vigorously against this infringement of the spirit, if not the letter of their patent, but in vain, for they had to contend with adverse Court influences which were proof against any representations, however weighty. Michelborne's voyage to the East with Davis as chief lieutenant was noted for its acts of piracy off the Javan coast. Michelborne returned home towards the close of 1606, a disappointed and discredited man. History has no further concern with his career beyond the evil influences created by his voyage.

Portuguese after their uncertain victory over the Dutch, and the shrewd and clandestine movements of the defeated enemy bent on taking vengeance. The Portuguese were successful in the initial stages of the war with the Dutch. When the enemy departed, they "fell to merriments and bragges of their victorie, not looking any more for the Hollanders." But the Hollanders returned to find the Portuguese disordered and feasting ashore. Thus they were able to sink and burn the whole fleet, making a cruel execution. Fortunately, the Portuguese Viceroy had dispatched six of his ships on some other business, and unknowingly prevented what would otherwise have been a total disaster. But what the Dutch had left undone Nature completed. A fatal sickness broke out, killing, amongst others, most of the Portuguese including their Viceroy and the Spanish Governor in the Moluccas, so that "their strength was laid in the dust" and their defeat and humiliation were complete.

The Portuguese suffered a heavy loss also at the hands of the Malabar pirates who sunk sixty small frigates belonging to them. Finch gives many other examples of the havoc caused by these native pirates. He heard on his arrival at Surat that a ship coming from Ormus was taken by the Malabars and three other frigates. Soon afterwards a fleet of twenty-five frigates from Cochin was attacked of which sixteen were taken and burnt by the Portuguese.

After dwelling once again on the cunning, duplicity, and cupidity of Mukarrab Khan, Finch reports that on the 26th March 1609, he heard at Surat that Malacca was besieged by the Dutch with thirty ships. In April and May he was "taken with a burning fever," which, he says, drew from him "much blood, besides the dayes fasting with a

little rice." The same year on the 12th of May he heard how Malik Amber, "King" of the Deccan, had besieged the city of Ahmadnagar with twenty-two thousand horse and how treacherously the Mughals had made their retreat. After an interval of a paragraph Finch resumes his relation of the Deccan affairs. On July 20, he heard that the Mughals under Khan Khana and Man Singh were preparing to invade the three Deccan principalities of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda, which had united to resist the Mughal forces.

In the paragraph that follows he describes the disaster that befell the Ascension and its crew of about seventy persons. Fortunately, there was no loss of life, but Finch could not fail to notice the utter servility of the natives who, threatened by the Portuguese and Jesuits, did not have courage enough to receive the English.

On 6th October 1609 a letter came from Hawkins at Agra,¹ telling of his marriage with the daughter of an Armenian and asking Finch to join him. December was the cruellest month, breeding fear in their hearts. Bahadur, son of Muzaffar Shah III, the last King of Gujarat, lay within two days' journey, ready to sack the city. The Governor, therefore, "cessed all men with the entertainment of souldiers," setting upon Finch's head ten men. Later, however, when Finch informed him that he had twenty Englishmen at his command, the Governor thanked him and freed him of further charge. The Governor of Ahmadabad sent one thousand horse and two thousand foot to protect Surat, with the result that Bahadur "withdrew to his holds."

1. He had left Surat on the 1st of February that year.

There follows a vivid description of the city of Surat, which Finch was obliged to leave on 18th June 1610. On his way to Agra he saw many cities and noted in his journal the various things they were famous for. There are at least three descriptions that stand out prominently here - descriptions of the cities of Burhanpur, Mandu and, finally, of Gwalior. Among the other places described in some detail by Finch on his journey to Agra are the cities of Bhadwar and Narwar and various castles and fortresses. The journey was very tedious, mostly through a region full of thieves, and damaging to his health. Once he drank from "a river of brackish water" and got the bloody flux which accompanied him to Burhanpur. At Aravad, a country village, he had to discontinue his journey on account of "the unseasonable thunder, wind and raine" which with his disease almost made an end of him. Sometimes the way was exceedingly stony and difficult (e.g. between Mandu and Lunera), sometimes it was exceedingly pleasant and easy, but mostly tedious and hazardous. After successfully overcoming all the difficulties of the journey Finch reached Agra on the 4th April 1610. Here he found Captain Hawkins, in no small favour at the court, countermining the Jesuits, and frustrating the plans made by them and their party for the destruction of the English interest and trade in India.

In May and June, fire caused great destruction in Agra; for a good while together it was hardly ever out in one place or another, so that several thousands of houses were consumed, and a great number of inhabitants and cattle perished. Finch was for long seriously ill and in June it was so hot that he was "halfe rosted

alive." On the 28th of this month came the news of the arrival of Father Pinheiro, "an Arch-Knave," a great enemy of the English. At this time Hawkins appealed to the King against Mukarrab Khan, but unfortunately nothing came of it. In July that year the court was rather alarmed with news of the ill-success of the war in the Deccan. Ahmadnagar, a town in those parts, fell into the hands of the Deccanis, the vast army of Jahangir, which was upon the march to relieve it, being forced by drought and famine to retire back to Burhanpur.

Finch also heard a good deal about King's commending Christianity in public before his nobles and at the same time attacking Muhammad and the Alcoran. He also commanded three princes, the sons of his deceased brother, to be made Christians and instructed by the Jesuits. On 1st November 1610, Finch was sent to buy indigo at Biana. The places he visited on his journey and subsequently described in his journal were Mundiapura, Khanwa and Fatehpur Sikri. On the 20th December 1610 he arrived at Biana, his destination. After describing the city he dwells at some length on indigo and how it was manufactured. It is the first clear account of indigo in English. About the 6th of January 1611, he heard how a Rajput captain staked his life to save the King from a lion and how, being extremely pleased with him and as a mark of gratitude, the King made him a captain of five thousand horse. Finch here inserts a short paragraph describing the manner of King's hunting. Then follows another dealing with the Deccan war.

Finch does not say when he returned to Agra nor how he managed to get all the indigo from the dealer, giving great offence to the

Queen Mother. Omitting all these details, he informs us in the subsequent sections of his journal how he was obliged to undertake a journey to Lahore from Agra and what places he visited on the way. He stresses the importance of places like Delhi and Vairowal on the Beas. In tracing the origin of the name of Fatehpur (Vairowal) he describes the history of Salim's (i.e. Jahangir's) rebellion against his father, Akbar, and that of Prince Khusru against Jahangir. Having escaped not a few dangers on the way, dangers due to the thievish people who preyed on travellers in those parts, Finch arrived at Lahore, "one of the greatest cities of the East," early in February 1611. He describes this northern metropolis of the empire in great detail, showing a keen aesthetic sense in his appreciation of the rarities of the palace and in his faithful picture of its extravagant richness. This interesting section of Finch's Indian travels ends with a paragraph dealing with the Pathans. He describes how they sheltered themselves in the mountains and came down with a great force to sack the city of Kabul, carrying off a great booty. They were a people who lived in perpetual defiance of the Mughal emperors, all whose might could not tame them completely; and every now and then, they sallied forth from their strong-holds in the mountains, and spoiled and ravaged the country.¹

The rest of Finch's journal describing "divers wayes in the Mogols Kingdome, to and from Lahor and Agra, and places of note in them" and "lands lying Easterly from Lahor, with their Lords," is

1. There is no doubt that the Pathans were able to mobilize strong tribal support in the hills and to maintain for years a spirit of independence which defeated all the efforts of Akbar and Jahangir to control it. See Sir Olaf Caroe's The Pathans (London: Macmillan & Co., 1958), pp.205-245.

full of topographical interest and is rightly claimed as one of the most authentic pictures of the early seventeenth-century India, more particularly of its North-Western regions. But all the places visited by him or his friend Nicholas Uphlet, whose account he is said to have used, are not described with equal interest and minuteness. Only the description of the celebrated sepulchre of Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti at Ajmer, of Jalor, Ahmadabad, Cambay, Kanauj, Ajodhya, the Undying Fig Tree (Akshaivat) in the Allahabad Fort, of Nagarkot and Agra deserve mention. The rest are brief running comments like those found in a Baedeker or modern guide books for tourists.

In the same work even such terms as 'fakirs' and 'dervishes' are to be found.

The brief outline of Finch's journal given above does not convey a comprehensive idea of its great literary qualities. Nor do the histories of English prose enable us to form any idea of the excellence of his writings. But it is evident from a perusal of his journal that he was master of descriptive prose and had qualities which not many of the prose writers of the age possessed. He was the first English writer to inaugurate what is today called Anglo-Indian prose — a kind of prose that freely introduces words of Indian origin, especially when the writer is dealing with Indian subjects. This kind of prose became very popular with later writers who found that certain Indian ideas and pictures could best be described not through the medium of

pure English but through English interspersed with Indian words and phrases. Here is an example from Sir Walter Scott:

This was intimated to the Begum's messenger by the Prince in person, as, kneeling before him, he presented the nuzzur, (a tribute consisting of three, five, or seven gold Mohurs, always an odd number,) and received in exchange a Khelaut, or dress of honour. The messenger, in return, was eloquent in describing the importance of his mistress, her devoted veneration for the Prince, the pleasure which she experienced on the prospect of their motakul, or meeting, and concluded with a more modest compliment to his own extraordinary talents, and the confidence which the Begum reposed in him. He then departed; and orders were given that on the next day all should be in readiness for the Sowarree, a grand procession, when the Prince was to receive the Begum as his honoured guest at his pleasure-house in the gardens.

In the same work from which this extract is taken are to be found words like 'fakirs', 'naggra' (nagārā, a big drum), 'chobdārs', 'howdaw', 'chowry' (chawanr), 'chabootra' and many others, all in less than half a dozen pages. Another nineteenth-century work noted for its profusion of Indian words is W. M. Thackeray's The Tremendous Adventures of Major Gahagan, not to speak of some of the famous works of Robert Southey and Thomas Moore that deal exclusively with Indian or Oriental themes.

Some of the Indian words used by William Finch have not only become naturalised in the English language, but have met with ample recognition in its various dictionaries. Finch is the first English writer to use the words 'mohall' (Mahal, palace), 'medon' (maidān), 'dew' (deva, god), 'cheet', 'sikar', 'peally' (pyāli, cup), 'punka', and 'tamasha'. Of these 'chit', 'sikar',

1. The Chronicles of the Canongate (Edinburgh: Cadell and Co., 1827), Vol.II., p.348.

'punka', 'tamasha', and 'maidan' are familiar enough to the English ear and have been used by various English writers from time to time. The word 'chit', derived from the Indian 'chitthi', a letter, signifies, according to Murray's New English Dictionary, 'notes', and according to the Concise Oxford English Dictionary, a 'note or written paper, esp. character given to servant.' Finch's use of this word is in this manner:

At last I got his cheet for some, though with great abatements; esteeming halfe better secured then to endanger all.

Mary Martha Sherwood in The Lady of the Manor (III. xxi. 294) used the word in exactly the same sense: "The chit was found on Miss Crawford's dressing-table; a chit which nobody wrote, but which everybody read." In the Athenaeum, dated 2 September 1871, the following example occurs: "In India the practice of writing chits, i.e. notes, on the smallest provocation has always been carried to excess."

Various quotations from divers sources, showing the use of 'dēva', 'punkā', 'sīkār', and 'tamāshā', are collected in Murray's Dictionary and better still in Henry Yule's and A. C. Burnell's Hobson-Jobson. From Murray's Dictionary we learn of a writer, Sarah J. Duncan, using 'punkah-wallahing'. It is certainly a very humorous use of an Indian word, an Anglicising that is both uncommon and farcical. But in most cases the use of native words tended to create a comic effect except, of course, where some

seriousness was intended. In The Private Life of an Indian Prince, a work published in 1953, Mulk Raj Anand, a well-known Indian novelist, used nearly a hundred and fifty Indian words, all of which he explained in a glossary appended to the novel. In most cases the Indian words are used flippantly, for a comic effect, as in the following sentences:

"Where is Lakshami?" Partap Singh said, leading us into the old-style baithak (p.218).

"She was going out to eat the midday meal with a saheli..." (p.103).

"I had hardly walked up to the main deorhi..." (p.106).

"It is the sherbet of Khas with the arec of Keora in it" (p.116).

"But I wonder why she sent the Ayah to call me". (p.130).

"Chup raho, you young dog, you are no one to speak!" (p.139).

The word that rivals 'punkahwallahing' of Sarah J. Duncan in oddness is 'madarihood' of Mr. Anand. No reader, however serious, will fail to chuckle at this fantastic invention. In Finch too the use of Anglo-Indian expressions tends towards flippancy and absurdity, as in the following sentences:

"Portraitures of the King in state sitting amongst his women... behind one punkawing..."

"Before this lyeth the medon, which is pleasant greene".

"The unseasonable thunder, wind, and raine, with my disease, almost made an end of me; which made us make mukom the third and fourth".

"... a mussocke of water being sold for a rupia".

"Within the second court is the Moholl, being a four-square thing, about twice as bigge or better then the Exchange, having at each corner a faire open devoncan..."

The novelty of these Indian words has obviously fascinated the traveller, for all these words could be easily rendered into their English equivalents. But to convey an exact idea of the Indian scene it was expedient that the writer should employ native

phraseology, and that is what impelled Finch to use these exotic words. Their spellings today are quaint and the words appear very remote from their modern forms, but in almost every case the context provides a clue to their correct reading.¹

Finch was the first Englishman to express an interest in Mughal painting and in the admirable designs of Indian buildings. He does not tell us what led to the efflorescence of Indian art in the reign of the early Mughals, but to students of Indian history the reasons are pretty obvious. The suzerainty of the Mughals put an end to long-drawn-out feuds and rivalries and gave a much needed respite to the people. Though its career was over within the space of less than 200 years, there is probably nothing in the history of the whole world to compare from the point of view of romance, adventure and sheer splendour and pomp with the epoch of Babar, Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan. Babar has recorded the vicissitudes of his career in the fascinating pages of Barbarnama, which was embellished with beautiful miniatures in the time of his grandson Akbar. Jalaluddin Akbar was no writer himself, and is even said to have been illiterate; but he was perhaps the most intellectual of all the Mughal sovereigns. He gathered a band of artists under the supervision of his own drawing master Khwaja Abdul Samad, a native of Shiraz in Persia, and as his friend and biographer Abul Fazl writes, "an immense album was thus formed; those that have passed away have received

1. None of the Indian words used by Finch seems, however, to have become current by the time Dr. Johnson compiled his famous Dictionary of the English Language.

a new life and those who are still alive have immortality promised them."¹ The art of painting made great strides as a result of royal patronage and during the reign of Jahangir it reached its zenith. Even in its inception it was not solely confined to book-illustration and miniature portrait painting, for traces of large wall paintings which once decorated the royal apartments at Fatehpur Sikri are still to be seen. Jahangir even went so far as to have the ceilings of his father's tomb at Sikandara painted with frescoes mainly depicting subjects of Christian theology. The palace-walls of Lahore and Agra were covered with all sorts of paintings and Jahangir's passion for the graphic art was so great and his disregard for the sentiment of orthodox Musalmans so complete that even in the audience-hall at Agra, as William Finch noted in 1611, on the right of the throne on the wall behind, was the "picture of our Saviour; on the left, of the Virgin." Finch gives some details of the elaborate scenes depicted on the palace-walls of Lahore:

In the Gallery where the King useth to sit, are drawne overhead many Pictures of Angels, with Pictures of Banian Dews (devas, gods), or rather Divels, intermixt in most ugly shape, with long hornes, staring eyes, stagge haire, great fangs, ugly pawes, long tailles, with such horrible difformity and deformity, that I wonder the poore women are not frighted therewith... At the end are drawne many portraitures of the King in state sitting amongst his women, one holding a flaske of wine, another a napkin, a third presenting the Peally (pyāli, a small cup), behind one punkawing (fanning), another holding his sword, another his bow, and two or three arrowes, etc...²

-
1. Ain., Vol.I., p.108.
 2. Purchas his Pilgrimes (London: Henry Fetherstone, 1624), Vol.I, Bk.IV, Chap. 4. 6. p.433.

But the age of fresco-painting as well as of great sculpture had passed, and even the Imperial patronage of the Mughals could not recall the grand manner and the glorious traditions of the fresco painters of a millennium ago. The soul of the people found its expression primarily in the realms of religion, philosophy, literature, architecture and painting. India is a land of early maturity and the seedling of the time of Babar blossomed into a stately growth in the reign of Jahangir and attained its highest development and pinnacle of glory during the time of Shahjahan.

Underlying some of William Finch's descriptions of rural landscape is his sheer love of natural beauty. He was obviously as much interested in the barbaric splendour of the royal courts and palaces as in the gardens attached to them. Thus in Lahore he noticed Asaf Jhan's garden,

.... small, neat, with walkes (planted with Cypresse-trees) divers Tankes and Jounters: as you enter, with a faire Devoncan supported with stone pillars, with a faire Tanke in the midst, and in the midst of that, on foure stone pillars, a Jounter for coolenesse. Beyond are other Galleries and walkes, divers lodgings for his women neatly contrived; and behind, a small Garden, and Garden-house. In the midst of the Garden is a very stately Jounter with faire buildings over-head, and a Tanke in the center with large and goodly Galleries alongst the foure sides thereof, supported with high stone pillars. Adjoyning to this is a Garden of the Kings, in which are very good Apples, but small, Toot white and red, Almonds, Peaches, Figges, Grapes, Quinces, Oranges, Limmons, Pomgranats, Roses, Stock-gellow-flowers, Marigolds, Wall-flowers, Ireos, Pinks white and red, with divers sorts of Indian Flowers. 1.

1. Ibid.

From the stately palaces of the Mughals Finch comes direct to the simple beauty of their gardens:

In the waters side within the Moholl are divers large Devoncans, where the King with his Women often passe their times in beholding Gemini, paying his Tribute to Ganges. Between them and the waters side at the foote of the wall is a pleasant Garden shaded with Cypresse Trees, and abounding with excellent fruits and flowers, having in the midst a faire Banquetting House, with privie staires to take Boate From hence in October or November when the great Frost is past ... 1

Sirhind has been described in the following remarkable lines:

... it hath a faire Tanke with a Summer-house in the midst, to which leads a Bridge of fifteene stone arches very pleasant. From hence is a small River cut to the Kings Garden a corse distant, with a cawsey of forty foot broad, planted with trees on both sides to it. The Garden is foure square, each square a cose in length, or better, inclosed with a Bricke-wall, richly planted with all sorts of fruits and flowers, rented yeerely (as I was told) for fifty thousand Rupias; crossed with two maine walkes forty foot broad, and eight high, with water running alongst stone channells in the midst, and planted on both sides thicke with faire Cypresses: one of these cawseys is also paved with peble curiously inter-wrought. At the crossing stands an eight square Mohol with eight chambers for women, in the midst thereof a faire Tanke; over these eight other roomes, with faire Galleries round about: on the top of all a faire Hounter; the whole Building curiously wrought in stone, with faire painting, rich carving, and pargetting: and on two sides two faire Tankes in the midst of a faire stone chounter, planted round with Cypresse trees: a little distant is another Mohol, but not so curious. 2

It is, however, in the description of castles and their magnificence that Finch appears to be most at home. Not only do these give some fresh details, but they are also good specimens of the author's prose, conveying the traveller's thrill with which

1. Ibid., p.437.

2. Ibid., p.431.

he always recounts the wealth of the Mughals. In some of these passages he so well conveys his impressions of the opulence of Oriental scenes that there is hardly any vagueness left.

Consider, for example, a passage like this:

Before this Gallery is a faire paved Court, with stone gratings, and windowes amongst the waters side; at the end a faire marble Jounter, convexed over-head, looking over the River, beneath it a Garden of pleasure; behind, the Kings lodgings very sumptuous, the walles and seelings all over-laid with pure gold; and round amongst the sides, about a mans height, some three foote distant are placed faire Venice Looking-glasses, three and three each above other: and below these amongst the walles, are drawne many pictures of this mans Ancestors... But to returne to the entrance of this Moholl, passing forth of that court thorow a strong gate you enter into the City againe; this house and appurtenances of Mohols being at the least two English miles in circuit. On the East-side of the Castle hard without the wall, is the Garden of Asoph Caun, small, neat, with walkes... On the West-side of the Castle is the Ferry to passe over to Cabul... Infinite numbers of Gardens full of rarity exceeds, two or 3 c. in length... 1

Or like this:

This place (Ajmer) is only famous for the Sepulchre of Hoghee Munde, a Saint much respected by the Mogols, to whom (as is said before) the Acabar made a Romery 2 on foot from Agra to obtayne a Sonne. Before you come to this Tombe, you passe three faire Courts, of which the first contayneth neere an acre of ground, paved all with blacke and white Marble, wherein are interred many Mahomets cursed Kindred: on the left hand is a faire Tanke inclosed with stone. The second Court is paved like the former, but richer, twice as bigge as the Exchange in London; in the midst whereof hangs a curious Candlestick with many lights. Into the third you passe by a Brazen gate curiously wrought; it is the fairest of the three, especially, neere the doore of the Sepulchre, where the pavement is curiously interlaid: the doore is large and inlaid with Mother of Pearle, and the pavement about the Tombe of interlaid Marble;

1. Ibid., p.433.

2. A Portuguese word, meaning 'pilgrimage'. (A 'romeiro' is a palmer, a pilgrim).

the Sepulchre very curiously wrought in worke of Mother of Pearle, and Gold, with an Epitaph in the Persian Tongue. A little distant stands his seate in a darke obscure place, where he sat to foretell of matters, and is much revered. On the East-side stand three other Courts, in each a faire Tanke; on the North and West stand divers faire houses, wherein keepe their Sides or Churchmen. Note, that you may not enter any of these places but bare-foot.¹

In every case the description is remarkably intimate, vivid and minute and provides an admirable example of English prose at the stage of its most robust development. One of the reasons why we do not get a blurred impression is that the writer does not simply provide a mass of detail. He takes the reader to the various objects he saw one after another. More than that, he himself had a distinct impression to convey. Finch was honestly impressed, and he managed to get some sense of favourable impression into his descriptions. In the last passage quoted above he uses the words 'curiously' and 'faire' four and five times respectively. These give not only facts but feelings. We are told that everything about the shrine was wonderful and moreover we are made to feel that it was an excellent thing too. The exquisite skill of Indian craftsmen is once again praised by Finch as follows:

The castle (at Ahmadābād) is large and strong, where resideth Caun Asom his Sonne, the Vice-Roy in these parts. The buildings comparable to any Citie in Asia or Africa, the streets large and well paved, the Trade great (for almost every ten dayes goe from hence two hundred Coaches richly laden with Merchandise for Cambaya) the Merchants rich, the Artificers excellent for Carvings, Paintings, Inlayd Workes,

1. Purchas, op.cit., p.435.

imbroidery with Gold and Silver... 1

Although this passage as a whole contains some very flat writing and some well-worn epithets, it does nevertheless have a point of its own which it gets from the writer's use of simple but appropriate words. If the free use of epithets is a characteristic of mature prose, it must be admitted that Finch's prose style is mature and deserves to be placed beside that of his well-known contemporaries like Jeremy Taylor, Milton and Thomas Browne.

It is difficult to ascertain today what traveller's account made Milton couple Lahore and Agra together. It was in all probability William Finch's detailed descriptions that enabled Milton to form some idea of the prosperity of these Indian cities. But another famous poet who had some knowledge of the city of Lahore owes nothing to Finch. This was Thomas Moore, the writer of Lalla Rookh, an Oriental Romance, in which there is a prose account of the heroine's journey from Delhi to Lahore. It is an account "interlarded with absurd descriptions and to some extent with nonsense".² If Moore had read Finch's journal, he might, it is hoped, have got rid of some of the errors which render his description "too extravagant for even the most devoted lover of the Punjab".³

As regards the influence of Finch upon the Chroniclers of the 17th Century, it may here be pointed out that Joannes de Laet,

1. Purchas, loc. cit.

2. Robert Sencourt: India in English Literature (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. Ltd., 1923), p.305.

3. Ibid., p.306.

the Flemish geographer, philologist and naturalist, made free use of facts provided by Finch's journal. Thus Thomas Herbert who copied de Laet in the revised and enlarged edition of his Travels was indirectly indebted to our traveller. A few important facts dug out of Finch's writings by de Laet are here quoted:

Finch

At the top of all, at the entrance to the last gate, standeth a mightie Elephant of stone very curiously wrought. This Gate is also exceeding stately to behold, with a goodly house adjoyning, whose wals are all set with greene and blue stone, with divers gilded Turrets on the top. This is the Governours lodging: where is place to keepe Nobles that offend (he is said to have three such Noble-Prisons or Castles, this, and Rantimore 40 c. to which are sent such Nobles as he intends to put to death, which commonly is some two moneths after their arrivall, the Governour then bringing them to the top of the wall, and giving them a dish of milke, which having drunke, he is cast downe thence on the Rockes. The third is Rotas, a Castle in the Kingdome of Bengala, whither are sent those Nobles which are condemned to perpetuall imprisonment) from whence very few returne again.

de Laet

... in front of the fourth and last gateway stands the figure of an elephant skilfully carved in stone. This Gateway is magnificently built of green and blue marble; at its top are several tall turrets, which are gilded. Here dwells the governor of the place, and in the same spot noble Captives are imprisoned. The King is said to have three prisons of this kind: one here; a second at Rantipore (Ranthambhor), 40 cos from Gualere, whither are sent nobles who have been condemned to death; these are generally imprisoned there for two months, after which the governor of the fortress brings them forth, makes them stand on the top of the wall, gives them a drink of milk, and then flings them down on to the rocks below. The third prison is in the fortress of Rotas, in the province of Bengal, whither are sent those condemned to life-long incarceration: it is very rarely that they escape thence. 1

1. J. S. Hoyland: The Empire of the Great Mogol (Bombay: D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 1928), pp. 35 et seq.

Finch (Cont'd)

Lahor is one of the greatest Cities of the East,¹ containing some 24c. in circuit by the ditch which is now casting up about it, and by the Kings command, now to be inclosed with a strong wall. In the time of the Potans it was but a village, Multan then flourishing, till Hamawn enlarged this. The Town and Suburb is some 6c. throw. The castle or Towne is inclosed with a strong bricke wall, having thereto twelve faire gates, nine by land, and three openings to the River: the streets faire and well paved, the inhabitants most Baneans and handicrafts men; all white men of note lying in the Suburbs. ...²

Babur ... first set foote into India, with thirtie of his Nobles, all clad like Kalendars or Fookeers, which so came to Dely to Secanders Court then raigning, where by his very countenance he was discovered, yet found mercy, and returned upon his oath not to attempt anything during the said Secanders raigne; which he performed: but after his death, he sent his sonne Hamawne upon his Successor Abram, from whom he tooke the whole Kingdome. Yet at length rose up a great Captaine of the Blood-Royall in Bengala, who fought a great battel with Hamawne near Ganges, put him to flight, and so closely followed him, that he drave him forth of the Kingdome to the Persian Shaw; of whom hee

de Laet (Cont'd)

Lahore is by far the largest city in the East, for the circumference of its ditch (recently built by order of the King) and wall (built under Selim) is 24 cos. In the time of the Patan kings it was a mere village, Multan being then a much more important place; but it was enlarged by Hamaun. The city suburbs, are six cos long. The royal citadel is surrounded by a very strong brick wall. There are 12 gates, 9 of which lead into the suburbs, whilst 3 open upon the river. The streets of the city are fine, and are paved with stone. The inhabitants are chiefly Banianes and artisans.³ ...

Indian writers declare (and the portraits in the palace of Lahore bear out their statements) that Babur together with thirty of his nobles came to the court of Secander, King of Delly, disguised as Kalendars (a monastic order among the Turks). After some time he was recognised by the King, and though his guile was manifest, was allowed to depart to his own country on condition that he undertook no enterprise against the Kingdom of Delly so long as Secander was alive. Accordinly Babur made no further attack till Secander was dead, but then sent his son Homayon (or as others

1. Jhangir describes Lahore as "one of the greatest places in Hindustan." See The Tuzuk, p.63

2. Purchas, op.cit., p.432.

3. John H. Hoyland, op.cit., p.51.

Finch (Cont'd)

de Laet (Cont'd)

obtained new Forces (with whom came Byram, Caun Canna his father, for Generall) and reconquered all, living after that in security. This King dying, left Acabar very yong, appointed Byram Caun Protector, whom the Acabar, comming to yeares, cast off, and on a Roomery or Pilgrimage to Mecca, as is said, made away with him.¹

call him, Hamoune) who drove Abram, the successor of Secander, from his Kingdom.

However, not long after, there arrived from Bengala a brave warrior belonging to the royal family of Delly, who joined battle with Hamaune not far from the bank of the Ganges, defeated him, and compelled him to take refuge in Persia, whence he obtained fresh forces (under the command of Beyram), and returning not only regained his kingdom, but also greatly increased it. When this King died he left his son Achabar, who was still a youth, under the care of Beyram; but when Achabar grew older he is said to have made away with his guardian by treachery ... 2

Innumerable instances of such borrowings from Finch's Journal in de Laet's De Imperio Magni Mogulis, sive India vera, Commentarius ex variis auctoribus congestus can be cited, but lest it appear that de Laet's book is nothing but a close reproduction of Finch's narrative, we should point out that the former is an assiduous compilation in which not only Finch, but also Ptolemy and Texeira, Roe and Pelsaert, Terry and Withington, Hawkins and Steele, Benedict and Garcia have been largely drawn upon. It was so faithful and reliable a compilation that Sir Thomas Herbert copied it in many places. "The fact" says Sir William Foster,

1. Purchas, op.cit., p.433.

2. John H. Hoyland, op.cit., pp.125 et seq.

"that Herbert had actually made a voyage to India and Persia has perhaps assisted to give the impression that his descriptions of the former country were from his own observation; but in reality he saw scarcely anything of India outside her immediate vicinity of Surat, and the bulk of his work is a medley of information gathered from previous writers."¹

When the topographical and other facts provided by Finch's journal are examined they are found, upon the whole, to be as authentic as those provided by any other journal of the period. They never keep the reader long with the Emperor and his grandees and nobles. Finch takes him out to make a flying tour of the whole of northern and central India. Thus many places are visited and a general survey made. The reader sees for himself what northern India was like in the early seventeenth century, though he is not provided with a complete Gazetteer of Jahangir's northern empire. Inaccuracies there are, but that is a defect which it shares both with all contemporary foreign accounts and with all native chronicles. And these defects are more than offset by the large amount of acknowledged fact which it records.

Though Finch's references to the Deccan campaigns of the Mughals are very brief, they furnish, nevertheless, a piece of valuable historical information. The writer incorrectly regards Malik Amber as "King of Deccan,"² but the fact that this Abyssinian minister had reconciled the kings of Bijapur and

1. Early Travels in India (London: Oxford University Press, 1921), p.122.

2. Later in the Journal Finch corrects this error and refers to Malik Ambar as "Amberchapon, an Abashed and generall of the King of Decans forces."

Golconda and had led his army to besiege Ahmadnagar is borne out also by the Mughal court chroniclers. Jahangir, the Emperor, himself is not silent about this question. In his memoirs are copious references to "Ambar, the black-faced" and to his ceaseless efforts to harass the Mughals and wrest the sovereignty of the south from them. Amongst the native historians who deal with the Deccan campaigns of the Mughal army are Mutamad Khan, Muhammad Hadi, Muhammad Amin and various others.

Hawkins and Finch both refer to Bahadur of Gujarāt as one of Jahangir's arch-enemies. Finch writes:

In December we stood much in feare of Badur his comming upon Surat, he lying within two dayes journey with sixe hundred horse and many foote; for which cause the Governour cessed all men with the entertainment of souldiers, setting upon my head ten men ... During this time the Banians were forced to labour to barricado all the streets of the citie, great watches were appointed at the gates, certaine peeces drawne from the castle, and from Carode garrison fiftie horse; which had not sufficed, had not the Governour of Amadavar sent one thousand horse and two thousand foot to our succour; upon newes of which forces Badur withdrew to his holds. Two yeares before our comming had this man sacked Cambaya, whereof his grandfather had been king. 1

The royal report in the Tuzuk runs as follows:

At the beginning of my reign, a son of that Muzaffar Gujarāti who claimed to be descended from the rulers of that country lifted up the head of disturbance and attacked and plundered the environs of the city of Ahmadabad ... At length Raja Bikramajit and many mansabdars were provided by me with 6,000 or 7,000

1. Purchas his Pilgrimes (1625), p.423.

Also see Finch's description of Ahmadabad in the section called "Of divers wayes in the Mogols Kingdome to and from Lahor and Agra, and places of note in them."
(Purchas his Pilgrimes, pp.435 et seq.)

horse, and appointed to assist the army of Gujarat. It was decided that when things had quieted down, by the driving off of those seditious people, Raja Bikramajit should be subahdar of Gujarat ... After the arrival of the royal troops the thread of the rebels' union was severed; they took refuge in different jungles, and the country was reduced to order. 1

Expressing great delight at the death of this enemy the Emperor wrote in his memoirs:

The second piece of good news was the death of Bahādur, who was descended from the rulers of Gujarat, and was the leaven of disturbance and mischief (there). Almighty God had annihilated him in His mercy: he died of a natural illness. 2

When Finch describes an object from personal experience he is remarkably accurate. About Hasan Abdāl, for example, he wrote that it was "a pleasant towne with a small river and many faire tanks in which are many fishes with gold rings in their noses, hung by Acabar; the water so cleare that you may see a penny in the bottome." In Jahangir's Tuzuk the place is referred to as Bābā Hasan Abdal and eulogised in the following words:

I halted three days at this enchanting place, drinking wine with those who were intimate with me and employing myself in catching fish. Until now I had never thrown a sufra net, which is a famous kind of net, and which in Hindi they call bhanwar jal. It is not easy to throw. I threw it with my own hand and caught twelve fish, and putting pearls into their noses, let them loose in the water. ... The celebrated place at that station is a spring which flows from the foot of a little hill, exceedingly clear, sweet, and nice, as witness this couplet of Amir Khusrau:-

-
1. A. Rogers and H. Beveridge (ed.), The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1909), pp.49 et seq.
 2. Ibid., p.274.

"In the bottom of the water, from its clearness, a blind man Can count the sand-grains in the heart of the night". 1

Both Finch and Jahangir react in the same manner, loving Hasan Abdāl for its sweet, clear springs. They differ, however, in the expression of this reaction. The Emperor, more poetic, quotes a couplet which is a delightful piece of poetic usage, while Finch states bare facts. It is said that Huen Tsang, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim of the 7th century A.D., visited the tank of the Serpent King, Elapatra, which has been identified with the Spring of Baba-Wali or Panja Sahib, at this village. Innumerable legends of Buddhist, Brahman, Muhammadan and Sikh origin cluster around this sacred fountain which is even today a small square reservoir of pure water, generally full of fish.²

One more example of Finch's veracity as a recorder of minute details may here be given. At Mandu he noticed "a high turret of one hundred and seventiesteps high, built round with galleries and windowes to every roome, all exceeding for goodly ports, arches, pillars; the walls also all interlayed with a greene stone much beautifying." That it is not a fanciful description is proved by Jahangir's description of this turret in his memoirs. "The height of this tower (mīnār)," says he, "is $54\frac{1}{2}$ cubits, and its circumference 50 yards (gaz). There are 171 steps from the ground to the seventh storey."³ The memoirs throw some additional light

1. Ibid., pp. 99 et seq.

2. W. W. Hunter: The Imperial Gazetteer of India (London: Trubner & Co., 1885), Vol. V., p. 342.

3. The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, pp. 381 et seq.

on this magnificent building when they inform us that it was founded by Sultan Mahmud Khilji, a former ruler of Malwa. According to Henry Beveridge, it was the famous Tower of Victory which Sultan Mahmud I erected in 1443 to commemorate his victory over the Raja of Chitor.¹ Ralph Fitch, who passed through Mandu on his way to Agra, does not mention whether he saw this tower or not. John Jourdain, of course, mentions it,² but he is obviously indebted to Finch for most of this information.³

Various accounts of the way the rebel Prince Khusru was blinded are given by historians. Finch was told that the Emperor caused his son's eyes to be burned out with a glass. Others reported that he only "blind-folded him with a napkin, tying it behind and sealing it with his own seal." The native chroniclers are not silent about the matter. In the Intikhab-i Jahangir-Shahi it is said that Jahangir "ordered Prince Khusru to be deprived of his sight. When the wire was put in his eyes, such pain was inflicted on him, that it is beyond all expression."⁴ From the same authority we learn that the Prince, after being deprived of sight, was brought to Agra where his father's love for him again revived. Some of the most experienced physicians were ordered to take measures

-
1. Ibid., p.381n. Also Foster, Early Travels in India, p.141n.
 2. W. Foster (ed.), Journal of John Jourdain (London, Hakluyt Society, 1905), p.148.
 3. Ibid., p.147n.
 4. H. M. Elliot and John Dowson: The History of India as told by its own Historians (London: Trubner and Co., 1875), Vol.VI, p.448.

to heal the eyes of the Prince. By the skill of a physician of Persia, Hakim Sudra by name, Khusru recovered his original power of vision in one of his eyes, but the other remained a little defective in that respect.

While Jahangir in his Tuzuk mentions his affections for his unfortunate son¹ and the cruel punishment inflicted on his partisans, Husain Beg and Abdu-r-Rahim,² he does not allude to the order he gave to deprive the Prince of his sight. The Tarikh-i Salim-Shahi³ is similarly silent about the question of the punishment given to Khusru. Henry Beveridge is inclined to accept the popular story of the blinding of Khusru and finds it corroborated by Tavernier and Du Jarric who also affirm that Khusru was blinded. William Foster, however, disagrees with all these authorities⁴ and refers to Sir Thomas Roe and Edward Terry for the opposite point of view. But the evidence in favour of the version that Khusru was blinded is so overwhelming that Terry's and Roe's accounts seem to be quite misleading. Beni Prasad, whose History of Jahangir was described by Henry Beveridge in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1923, as "a valuable addition to recent works on Indian History," observes that the version of the Intikhab-i Jahangir Shahi comes nearer the truth

-
1. The Tuzuk, pp.111, 122.
 2. Ibid., pp.68 et seq.
 3. Elliot and Dowson, pp.256 et sqq.
 4. Early Travels in India, p.160n.

than any other and that the author writes with inside knowledge.¹ He, however, admits that the whole affair was wrapped in mystery. "The people at large knew that the Prince had been deprived of sight at least temporarily, but did not know how the process had been effected."²

According to Father Fernão Guerreiro, the Prince was brought from Lahore to Agra where to punish him for his misconduct Jahangir "caused him to be blinded by the application to his eyes of the juice of certain herbs, which had the appearance of milk."³ Guerreiro's authority, as C. H. Payne has pointed out, for this and other statements in connection with Khusru's rebellion against his father and the consequences thereof, was Father Xavier's letters to his Provincial at Goa. Payne believes that Guerreiro's is "the most authentic account we possess of the blinding of Prince Khusru; for, though Father Xavier may not have been in Jahangir's camp at the time the punishment was inflicted, he must have reached it a few days afterwards, and must have heard a great deal about it. He states in his letter that the juice of the 'leiteira' was applied to the victim's eyes. 'Leiteira' is the Portuguese name for plants of the Spurge family (Euphorbiaceae), nearly all varieties of which are to a greater or less degree poisonous."⁴

-
1. History of Jahangir (Allahabad: The Indian Press, 1930), p.166n.
 2. Ibid.
 3. C. H. Payne, Jahangir and the Jesuits (London: George Routledge & Sons Ltd., 1930), pp.47 et seq.
 4. Ibid., pp.102 et seq.

From some interesting passages in the narrative of William Finch we learn that Ajodhya, Allahabad and Nagarkot were important centres of Hindu religion. To these places went innumerable devout pilgrims every year. Finch, eager to know why Ajodhya was regarded as so holy, may have gone to one of these pilgrims to satisfy his curiosity. For he says that at Ajodhya are "also the ruines of Ranichand (sic) Castle and Houses which the Indians acknowlede (sic) for the great God, saying, that he tooke flesh upon him to see the Tamasha of the World."¹ His informant was obviously alluding to the popular Hindu belief that Ram Chandra, the hero of the Ramayana, was an incarnation of God, and that Ramkot was the fort and palace of this king. Finch found thousands of pilgrims coming thither from all parts of India, "which carry from hence in remembrance certaine graines of Rice as blacke as Gun-powder, which they say have beene reserved ever since."² He also noticed that the town was a great centre of trade and famous for its abundance of "Indian asse-horne."³ By the late nineteenth century this trade had obviously declined, but the place continued to attract pilgrims from all parts of India.⁴

About the well-known "undecaying Banian tree" in Allahabad fort, Finch wrote:

-
1. Purchas, op.cit., p.436.
 2. Purchas, loc.cit.,
 3. Rhinoceros horn.
 4. "Little local trade is carried on; but the great fair of Ramnami held here every year is attended by about 500,000 people." The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol.I., p.135.

In this Moholl is a Tree which the Indians call the Tree of Life (being a wilde Indian figge Tree), for that it could never bee destroyed by the Potan Kings and this mans Ancestors, which have sought to doe it by all meanes, stocking it up and sifting the very earth under it to gather forth the sprigs, it still springing againe, insomuch that this King lets it alone seeking to cherish it. This Tree is of no small esteeme with the Indians.¹

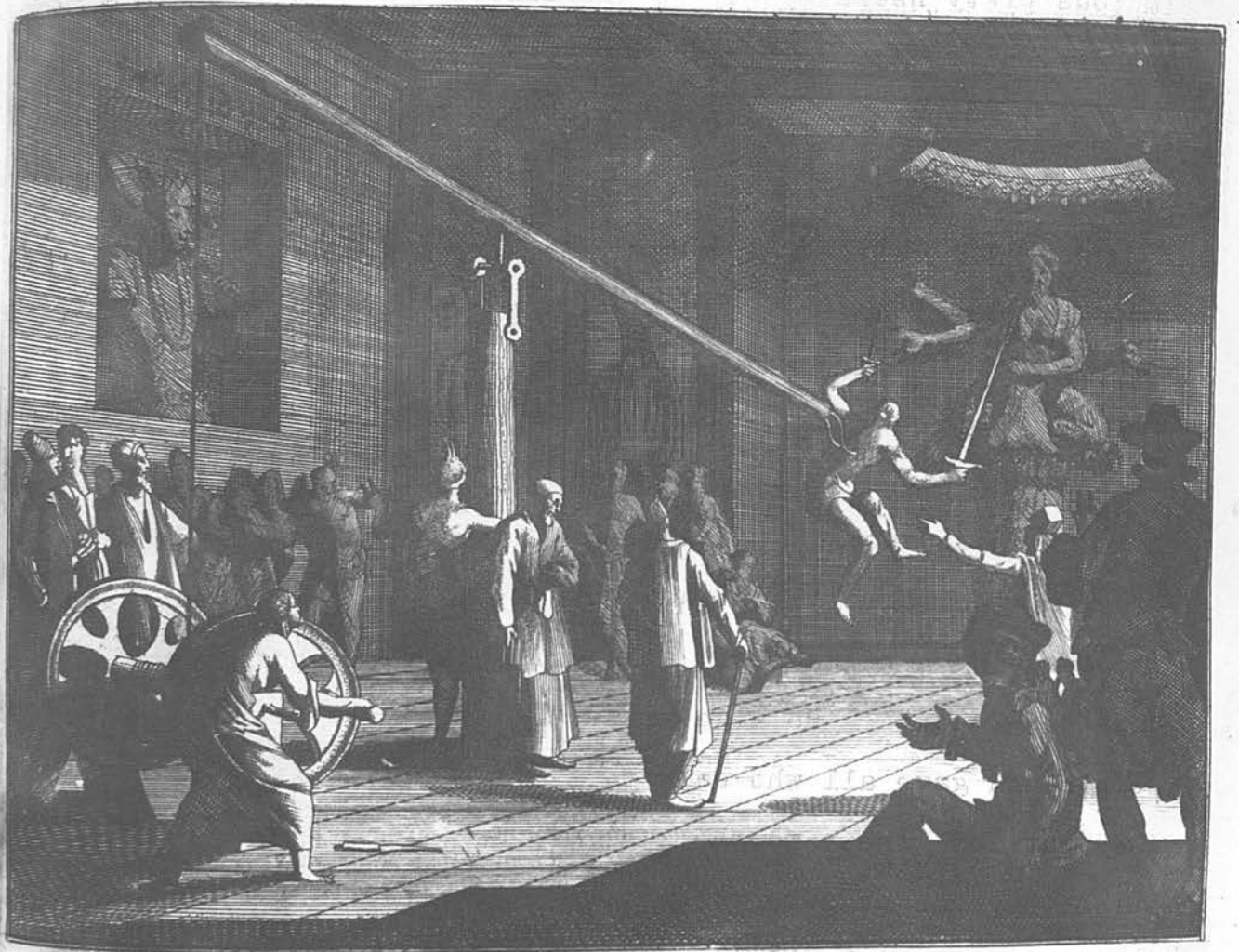
The tree here described is not an imaginary fig tree. It is still an object of worship at Allahabad. The first foreign traveller to have described it was the Chinese Buddhist Pilgrim, Huen Tsang, in the seventh century A.D.² It was then "a large tree with wide-spreading branches, which was said to be the abode of a man-eating demon."³ Huen Tsang found it surrounded with human bones, the remains of pilgrims who had sacrificed their lives before the temple. William Finch is the first Englishman to have written about this tree, although he was not the first to have visited Allahabad. Ralph Fitch had come down to Allahabad from Agra and had noticed there many a beggar going naked and looking like a veritable monster. Allahabad even today abounds in such beggars and people continue to "make great account of them." The fig tree described by Finch is one of the objects which draws together large numbers of pilgrims and, with them, an equal number of beggars.

At Nagarkot, now Kangra, Finch found the Hindus worshipping an idol of stone, cut in form of a man. Here "much is consumed in offerings to him, in which some also are reported to cut off a piece of their tongue and, throwing it at the idols feet, have

1. Purchas, op.cit., p.437

2. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol.I., p.196.

3. Ibid.



their aims might be blotted

"Some out of impious piety heere sacrifice themselves."

found it whole the next day (able to lye, I am afraid; to serve the father of lyes and lyers, how ever); yea, some out of impious piety heere sacrifice themselves, cutting their throats and presently recovering." At Burhanpur Finch had found some foolish Indians worshipping an elephant of stone, and at Lahore in the palace gallery "Pictures of Banian Dews, or rather Divels, intermixt in most ugly shape, with long hornes, staring eyes, shagge haire, great fangs, ugly pawes, long tailes, with such horrible difformity and deformity, that I wonder the poor women are not frighted therewith."¹ That the Hindus worshipped idols of various shapes is a fact frequently met with in travellers' and native accounts. Jahangir found the Hindus worshipping a "form cut out of black stone, which from the neck above was in the shape of a pig's head, and the rest of the body was like that of a man."² He also writes of a Jogi³ who lived in a temple and gave all who came to see him a handful of flour, which they put into their mouths and imitated the cry of an animal which they had at some time injured, in order that by this act their sins might be blotted out.⁴ To Jahangir, the religion which permitted such foolish beliefs and such idol worship was no doubt a worthless religion, and 'worthless' is the epithet that he chooses to apply to the religion of the Hindus. But Finch, surprisingly enough, uses the word "Indians" where he

1. Purchas, op.cit., p.433.

2. The Tuzuk, p.254. Jahangir is here referring to the boar incarnation of Vishnu.

3. "A Hindu Ascetic; and sometimes a 'conjuror'." Hobson-Jobson, p.461.

4. The Tuzuk, pp.245-5.

might with more appropriateness have used the word "Hindus" or like his fellow travellers, the word "Gentiles." He found "worlds of people ... out of all parts of India" coming to the famous temple of Bajreshwari Devi at Bhawan, a suburb of Kangra. In the fort of Allahabad he found a tree which "the Indians" call the tree of life. The stone elephant at Burhanpur was worshipped by "many simple Indians." Finch is the only early English traveller who does not always apply the terms "Hindus" and "Gentiles" (or "Gentios", "Gentoos", "Gentues") to the great majority of people of India who practised idolatry and seemed to their contemporary foreigners to be heathens.

But to write about the religious practices and social customs and institutions of the Hindus was not Finch's aim. He does not, in fact, describe any of the social customs of the natives, and whatever light he sheds on their religious practices is of secondary importance. Moreover, even his elaborate descriptions of places contain very little reference to the economic condition of the people living there. Only from such casual remarks as "Cuckra, a great Countrey Towne abounding with all sorts of Graine, Victuall and Mewa Wine",¹ and "Burrow a small Towne, but plentifull of Victuall, except flesh which is scarce all this way,"² can the reader form some idea of the economic life of the people in the reign of Jahangir. But the idea thus formed is not definite and clear. It becomes expedient, therefore, to supplement Finch's account by those of other travellers. Nor

1. Purchas, op.cit., p.426.

2. Ibid.

is Finch of great use to the student who wishes to get a complete picture of the Indian political scene at the time of Finch's sojourn in the country. He is, as has been pointed out earlier, at his best when describing places and their numerous sights. The descriptions served as guides to future tourists and to Company's Servants for future commercial transactions. Finch, besides noting down the historical and scenic importance of a place, also recorded the articles of commerce it was famous for. Thus at Malwa he found that the place was remarkable for its great production of opium. Those engaged in its manufacture gave the heads of poppies two or three scratches, causing a white fluid to ooze out from them. Congealed by the cold, this fluid soon turned to a reddish colour. The manufacture involved a great deal of pains for a small profit; for the heads were small, and dropped their tears very sparingly. Finch enquired the price of opium. At Sironj he found many betel gardens and at Gwalior several houses entirely cut out of the main rock, in which a part of the trading people lived. At the entrance of the north east gate of Fatehpore Sikri he saw "a goodly bazar (market place) of stone, halfe a mile long, being a spacious, straight-paved street, with faire buildings on either side." He described Khanwa as a small country town, famous for the quantity of indigo it produced. Uchen was even more famous than Khanwa for the manufacture of indigo, for the former was exceeded by none in the production of this commodity unless it was Biānā itself. He further stated that "the Biānā kind was worth from 40 to 60

mamudies per maund, while the Sarkhej one could be procured at half the price. There was yet another coarser variety obtainable at Jambusar and Vorodca (Baroda) for 15 to 20 mamudies."¹

The reason why Finch deals elaborately with the manufacture of indigo in India is that it was one of the most important commodities imported into England from the East in the early years of the seventeenth century. During the sixteenth century it was brought to England by her merchants from Aleppo. When, however, they first opened direct relations with India, they began to search for markets where they could purchase indigo for direct export to their country. Sir Thomas Roe managed to prohibit private trade by the Company's servants in indigo, "because it was considered an important commodity for export to Europe."² But that was when saltpetre, indigo, pepper and other commodities constituted the main items of import into England. After 1678 the position changed. Textile goods of various kinds, hitherto a mere "side-line" of the Company's business, almost monopolised the import trade, relegating indigo and the spices to a corner.³

That topography, not Indian history, was Finch's main concern is evident from the numerous inaccuracies in his historical accounts in contrast to the painstaking minuteness

-
1. See Bal Krishna, Commercial Relations between India and England (London: George Routledge & Sons Ltd., 1924), p.94.
 2. Ibid.
 3. P. J. Thomas, Mercantilism and the East India Trade (London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 1926), p.38.

with which he delineates places, forts and castles.¹ Not all historical allusions, however, are incorrect. Finch either relied upon what he himself saw or upon what others communicated to him. Reliance upon hearsay in most cases marred the authenticity of his account. Thus while his account of the Deccan war and his various allusions to it are authentic, being based on what the author himself saw, his history of Salim Shah Sur forcing Humayun to flee to Persia for aid is evidently confused.² Similarly, his notices of the Emperor's daily life and daily levees are valuable, but so recent an event as Prince Khusru's rebellion is related with numerous inaccuracies, and there is hardly any justification for his relation of the ignorant bazaar gossip that prisoners in the fort of Ranthambhor were brought to the top of the wall, made to drink dishes of milk, and then dashed upon the rocks. It is evident from an examination of these facts that Finch wrote down what he was told, without caring to verify the intelligence communicated. But if the journal is purged of all these inaccuracies, there still remains much that, to historians, is precious, authentic and reliable.

-
1. It is significant to note that interest in the wider field of cartography and topography began in England in the sixteenth century. By the time of William Finch many fine maps of the world had come out. For the considerable advance the English cartography made in the early seventeenth century see R. V. Tooley's Maps and Map-Makers (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1949), pp.47 et seq. It also furnishes a valuable bibliography on the subject.
 2. It was Salim Shah Sur's father, Sher Shah, who forced Humayun to seek aid from Persia.

Finch's greatness and claim to fame today lie, it must be admitted, not in the abundance of historical materials his narrative furnishes, but in his powerful descriptions of the north Indian cities he visited. In a sense, moreover, these descriptions are of considerable historical value. They reveal India's strength and weakness; — the prosperity of a certain class of men and the abject poverty of certain others. The magnificence of the castles¹ and the abundance of all sorts of foodstuffs in the markets are monumental evidence of the great plenty, prosperity, and culture of the Indians of those days. But there is, at the same time, "incontestable evidence that the lower strata of society consisting of the tillers of the soil, labourers, and mechanics lived very miserably ... That they were treated like helots is the observance of many reliable travellers. It was these people who used to sell themselves and their children as slaves in times of scarcity in Gujarat, Bengal, and throughout the Deccan."² Finch's references to Indian thieves and beggars support this argument. But for descriptions of India's poverty in the 17th century there are better authorities than Finch. Some of these are Sir Thomas Roe, Hawkins, Pyrard, Della Valle, Linschoten and Frederick.

Reviews of Finch's narrative have been generally and almost unexceptionably laudatory. W. M. Moreland pointed out that "Finch was careful to note details which interested him, and I

1. For an excellent book dealing exclusively with the forts of India, see Sidney Toy's The Strongholds of India (London: Heinemann Ltd., 1957).

2. Bal Krishna, op.cit., p.40.

can trace no sign of prejudice in his journal."¹ E. F. Oaten observed that it "contains a good deal of useful information on the subject of the daily levees which Jahangir used to hold."² Finch's references to the "golden bells" and the Emperor's savage delight in bloody spectacles have also been considered valuable. Robert Sencourt read in Finch's discourse "a more deliberate attempt to give an impression of the country"³ and considered Finch "the first Englishman to express an interest in the admirable and curious designs of Indian buildings."⁴ Boies Penrose said that the Journal was "extremely interesting,"⁵ while Sir William Foster pointed out that it was "a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of the dominions of the Great Mogul in the early years of the seventeenth century."⁶ In a marginal note to Finch's "Remembrances touching Sierra Leona" Purchas describes his narrative as "a good dish" and says of it that it is "supplied in substance, with more accurate observations of Men, Beasts, Plants, Cities, Deserts, Castles, Buildings, Regions, Religions, than almost any other, as also of Waies, Wares, Warres."⁷ Indian writers though not so lavish in their praise, are still eulogistic of the traveller's narrative. Beni Prasad

-
1. India at the Death of Akbar (London: Macmillan and Co., 1920), p.42.
 2. E. F. Oaten, European Travellers in India (London, 1902), p.156.
 3. Robert Sencourt, op.cit., p.98.
 4. Ibid., p.99
 5. Boies Penrose: The Travels of Captain Robert Coverte (Privately Printed in Philadelphia, 1931), p.105.
 6. Early Travels, p.122.
 7. Purchas, op.cit., p.414.

in his History of Jahangir considers it "chiefly valuable for the excellent descriptions of cities, towns, buildings, and roads,"¹ and Finch's observations regarding the palace at Allahabad are accepted and quoted by Dr. K. K. Datta in the Advanced History of India². In fact, all authoritative writers on Mughal India have used materials furnished by William Finch, especially those materials which deal with Mughal architecture.

Nicholas Winton was the first to see the value of the diary of Captain Thomas Baul, whose visit to the city of Allahabad in 1611 is supposed to have marked the first flight of the English flag in India. It secured the prestige of the East India Company, and led to the establishment of factories at various places, and to the acquisition of other parts of territory in India.

Though Finch's diary is not a work of high literary value, it seems to have been a great asset to the East India Company. Purchas, who was well acquainted with the diary, has written:

1. Philip Amerson; The English in India, p. 15.
 2. Cal. of State Papers, p. 214.
 3. In William Foster's India, p. 100.
 Winton in India, p. 100.
 an account of the diary.

-
1. Op.cit., p.457.
 2. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1950, p.589.

CHAPTER VIII.

NICHOLAS WITHINGTON

(1612-1616)

But you patrician spirits that refine
 Your flesh to fire, and issue like a flame
 On brave endeavours, knowing that in them
 The tract of heaven in morn-like glory opens...

- George Chapman, De Guiana Carmen.

1.

Nicholas Withington came to India in the year 1612 with the Captain Thomas Best, whose victory over the Portuguese is said to have marked the first rising of the British star in the East.¹ It exalted the prestige of the English as warriors and secured for them a royal firman granting general and perpetual trade and the establishment of factories in Surat, Cambay, Ahmadabad, Goga, "or any other parts of the country within the Great Mogul's dominions."²

Though Withington's narrative³ is not very popular to-day, it seems to have been in great demand in the eighteenth century. Purchas, who was well acquainted with its qualities, incorporated

-
1. Philip Anderson, The English in Western India (London, 1856) p.16.
 2. Cal. of State Papers, Domestic, Jac.I, vol. lxxv, nos. 31, 38, p.214.
 3. In William Foster's Introduction to the narrative of Nicholas Withington in Early Travels in India we have as comprehensive an account of Withington's life and achievements as is necessary to furnish a proper background against which his narrative can be studied. In the present chapter an attempt will be made to study his written work and to find out what literary and historical virtues it possesses.

a condensed version of it in his Pilgrimes (vol.I,bk.IV,chap.8); and this was followed more than a century later by an anonymous editor who reprinted it in 1734 as an appendix to A Journey over Land, from the Gulf of Honduras to the Great South-Sea Performed by John Cockburn, and Five other Englishmen, &c. In 1740 there appeared a second edition of the book, in the same form as before. Purchas, who sometimes took great liberties with the original writings of travellers, had not done justice to Withington's account, for what was published in his Pilgrimes was a mere fragment of the large work which Withington had written. In the eighteenth-century editions of his narrative, a comparatively large portion was given, but it appears from a comparison of Purchas' abridgment and the unnamed editor's version of 1734 that the latter also subjected it to a good deal of editorial deletion. Nevertheless, the narrative as printed in John Cockburn's Journey consists of nearly forty octavo leaves, whereas in Purchas it runs to only four and a half folio pages.

An analytical summary of Withington's narrative, based on both Purchas and the anonymous editor, would convey not only a picture of those objects which the traveller saw but of his personality as well. He seems to have been as clever as he was brave; and his literary qualities, though not first-rate, were undoubtedly above those of the average adventurer who undertook to describe the experiences of his journey. Withington, it appears, was more gifted than the first Elizabethans, Newberry and Fitch, from the point of view of literary style, but was not so adventurous.

The only memorable event with which his name is associated is his terrible journey through the Rajputana desert. But the entire overland journey undertaken by Ralph Fitch was extremely perilous and necessitated the qualities of fine judgment, patience and courage. The remarkable things Withington did or said, however, are matters yet to be examined and our final judgment of the man must rest upon what we see of him hereafter.

On 7 September 1612 his ship, sent out on the Company's Tenth Voyage, brought him to the Bar of Surat and on 13 along with his companions he entered the city, where the Governor and chiefs entertained him kindly. Here the Englishmen remained trading until 29th November, on which day the Portuguese came with a large squadron and attacked the two English ships, the old Dragon and the Hosiander, a mere pinnace. There followed a series of determined fights in which the advantage rested with the English. As well as inflicting heavy losses upon the Portuguese, the English had damaged them severely in reputation and had correspondingly enhanced their own prestige. By their spirited action they had confirmed the impression already made by Middleton that the English were a nation by no means inferior to the Portuguese on the sea of which hitherto the latter had been unchallenged masters. Sardar Khan, whom Withington describes as "a great Nobleman of the Mogull's", went to Jahangir and related to him at length the story of this fight, which made the Emperor admire the courage of the English merchants.

Withington had come to India as an attendant of Captain Thomas Best, the leader of this expedition. On 13 January 1613, he was

appointed a factor "bounde to the worshippingfull Companye of Marchaunts",¹ and because of his linguistic attainments he was permitted to stay at Surat. Those who were to stay in the country were sent ashore, and on 18th January, the ships departed for Achin and Bantam, where they were to call before returning to England. On 29th January, Paul Canning was dispatched to Agra where he arrived after seventy days of hard and tedious travel. Two of his companions, Richard Temple and Edward Hunt, having fallen out with him, returned to Surat, leaving Canning alone to present a letter (brought out by Best) from King James to the Emperor and to negotiate a grant of privileges. Jahangir offered him a cup of wine with his own hand and referred him to Mukarrab Khan, Sir Henry Middleton's old opponent, for a settlement of his business. Mukarrab Khan was unwilling to consent to his demands, but Canning did his best to dispel his doubts, whereupon he went to the Emperor to convey what Canning had said and the Emperor "rested well contente therewith".²

When one of Canning's musicians, named Lancelot Canning, died, the Jesuit Fathers would not suffer him to be buried in their churchyard which had been given by the Indian Emperor to the Portuguese for burial of Christians. Canning nevertheless buried

-
1. A Briefe Discoverye of Some Things best worth Noteinge in the Travells of Nicholas Withington a factor in the East-Indiase (London, 1734), p.277. See A Journey over Land... (London, 1735).
 2. Ibid., p.279.

him there. The Portuguese, however, dug out his body, and buried him in the highway. Jahangir, hearing of this Portuguese iniquity, made them bring the body back to the churchyard, threatening to turn out of his kingdom not only the living Portuguese but also the dead bodies of their countrymen from their graves.

Paul Canning, always apprehensive lest his enemies should poison him, wrote to the English factors¹ at Surat, requesting that Nicholas Withington be sent to join him. But before Withington could be dispatched to Agra, the news of Canning's death reached Surat, and it was reported that the goods belonging to the deceased were being kept safe by the Emperor till someone should arrive to take charge of them. Thomas Kerridge was sent to continue the negotiations in place of Withington, but it was also decided to send someone to England, overland from Mocha, with letters from the Surat Council to advise the Company of their proceedings. The choice fell on Withington, who agreed to undertake the journey. But fear of being circumcised and converted to Islam discouraged him, and the English factors finally gave up the plan. They decided, however, to send a letter through a messenger who knew Arabic, but news of the imprisonment of all Englishmen at Mocha, the result of Sir Henry Middleton's piratical activities in those parts, so frightened this man that he returned the letter in one of the ships belonging to the

1. The term 'factor', which actually designated only one rank in the Company's service, is, for convenience, used throughout to signify all Company servants in the East.

Mughal Queen Mother. The Portuguese captured this ship and confiscated her entire cargo, taking also seven hundred men of all sorts with them of Goa. Insolent acts of this kind, directed against the Mughal sovereign himself, were becoming so common that they were likely to result in the utter undoing of the Portuguese in India.

At this time, Withington informs us, one John Alkin, who had deserted Sir Henry Middleton and gone over to the Portuguese, returned to the English factory to relate how the Portuguese were actually growing weak and how "divers of their Townes" were "beseeged by the Decannes, and other Moores their Neighbours".¹ Another Englishman who had run away to the Portuguese, Robert Johnson by name, proceeded to Surat to join his countrymen, but meeting an Englishman who had turned a Muhammadan, he also agreed to be circumcised. The Emperor allowed him 7s. 6d. per day with certain other privileges, but within eight days of his circumcision he died. Likewise Robert Trully, one of Canning's attendants, went to the Deccan along with his German interpreter, and was there circumcised and given a large allowance. His German companion had already been circumcised when he was in Persia, therefore his second acceptance of Islam was considered fraudulent. He was sent back to Agra where he got himself into the service of a Frenchman and turned Christian again. Robert Claxton, another English factor, following the example of Trully, became a Moor, but he soon returned, showing

1. A Journey over Land ..., p.284.

himself very penitent for what he had done. In the end he collected some forty odd pounds, gave his companions the skip, and returned to the Deccan.

About 12 October 1613, Aldworthe and Withington, along with John Young, Aldworthe's attendant, and Jacob; a German, proceeded to Ahmadabad. Passing through Kosamba, Broach and Karvan, they came to Baroda, where the Governor was preparing to fight with the Rajputs. The merchants went to the Governor and presented him with cloth. They were glad to see peace concluded the same night between the Governor and the Rajput rebels. Withington and his party came at last to Ahmadabad, "the cheifest Cittye of Guysseratt".¹ Here they hired a house in a place where a number of Armenian merchants and Christians lived. The following day they called on the Governor and presented him with a piece of cloth and other trifles of small value. He expected better presents, in default of which he presently dismissed them unceremoniously.

Shortly afterwards, Aldworthe sent Withington to Cambay, giving him two hundred rupees to buy all sorts of commodities. Withington very soon concluded his business there and prepared to return to Ahmadabad. The Governor of Cambay at this time sent for him and asked him to translate the letter which Captain Best had brought from King James I. Withington, however, requested the Governor to send the letter to Aldworthe at Ahmadabad, which he did, and thus it was translated. From Ahmadabad they all went to Sarkhej,

1. Ibid., p.288.

then famous for its "flatte Indico" and "the Sepulchers of the Kings of Guyeseratt".¹ After completing their business and surveying the place from many a vantage point, they returned to Ahmadabad. Here Aldworthe had a curious experience. A Jesuit, whose business it was to convert heathens to Christianity, demanded of him some money, which Aldworthe provided. The Jesuit sent him a letter, acknowledging his gratefulness to his benefactor and requesting at the same time that the letter should be burnt. "I," wrote Withington, "note his Pride of Harte to bee willinge to receave a good Turne, but not openlye to acknowledge that hee had neede of yt."²

Since November 1613, the English factors at Ahmadabad had been hearing reports from caravans coming from the North that a ship had come to Sind and left some Englishmen there. These rumours became so persistent in the course of the following month that the factors felt it was high time to act. Under the mistaken belief that the Englishmen were some of their own traders and that they were still in Sind, the factors decided to send one of their own men to find them. Nicholas Withington was designated for this purpose.

Withington left Ahmadabad in December of that year, attended by four servants. Outside the city walls, the English party met a

-
1. Ibid., p.290. Also see M.S. Commissariat, A History of Gujarat (Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras: Longmans, Green & Co.Ltd.,, 1938), vol.I, pp.236-244.
 2. A Journey over Land...p.292.

large caravan of merchants going to Sind, and gladly joined the travellers. The caravan crossed the Gujarat plateau and on December 28 reached Radhanpur, where the journey through the Rajputana desert began.

Withington has left us in his Tractate a description of the terrible desert journey he endured. It lasted fifteen days, each day of which meant a racking twelve hour ride on camel back in a furnace of scorching sun and burning sands. There were no halting places, the travellers having to pitch their tents in the open, exposed to the severest extremes of heat and cold. No fresh provisions could be obtained; the men ate the food which they had brought with them while the animals nibbled at the small blades of desert grass that seemed to mock their hunger. Water was so scarce that the fierce thirst of the animals was slaked with the supply which the travellers had brought for their own use. When this had run out the travellers scooped up and drank the brackish water from the desert, but Withington could not stomach it and had to mix it with butter-milk to make it palatable.

But the worst was yet to come. At Nuraquimire, some fifty miles from Tatta, the caravan which had kept Withington company so far branched off westwards, leaving the Englishman and his servants to continue the rest of their journey to Tatta in the company of four Indian merchants and a handful of their servants. Almost immediately the wild marauders of the Sind desert began to harass the party. As the long line of animals and men wound its way wearily through the desert, looking like a giant caterpillar, a

far-off cloud of sand would suddenly betoken the approach of the robbers. Instantly the scouts and outriders would return at a gallop, to give the alarm. Amidst a perfect babel of human shouts and animal snortings, the camels were formed into a circular barricade, from behind which the travellers plied their bows and arrows until the robbers were either driven away or bought off with a paltry bribe.

Harassed and utterly weary of their struggle through the desert, the caravan at last reached Sarun. Here a Hindu trader coming from Tatta brought Withington strange tidings: there were no English traders in Sind. The merchants who had come to Lahri Bunder with Sherley had soon left and continued on their way to Sumatra. The only Englishmen now in Sind were Sherley and his retinue.

Although the Bania's story deprived Withington of his chief reason for proceeding with his journey, the English factor resolved to go on to Tatta without further delay. The Bania, however, warned him that though Tatta was only two days' journey from Sarun the way was very dangerous. He strongly advised Withington to provide himself with a suitable escort. In these circumstances, Withington appealed to the Raja of Sarun, and was glad when the latter offered to go with him in person along with fifty of his horsemen.

On 11 January 1614 the travellers started on the last stage of their journey. As they camped by the riverside that night their guides told them, to their great joy, that with an early start they should be able to reach Tatta by nine o'clock next day. The travellers were, therefore not surprised when they were awakened

very early next morning and the caravan started. But after they had marched for about five miles along the river the guides suddenly branched off in an easterly direction, and at dawn brought the party into a dense thicket at the foot of a hill. Here the Raja ordered the amazed travellers to dismount and open their packages. In fear and trembling the merchants did as they were told. The packages were found to contain rich merchandise - brocades, embroideries and cloth of gold and silver. The Raja and his men had no sooner seen this wealth than they resolved to kill the merchants. It was in vain that the men offered to give the robbers all that they had if only their lives were spared. The robbers paid no heed to their entreaties. They were for killing the Englishman too, but the Raja would not hear of this. He had taken a liking to Withington and pleaded strongly on his behalf. He pointed out that he "was of a verve farr Countrie, and would doe them noe Hurte, wantinge Language".¹ He assured his men, moreover, that there was no risk of detection as he intended to send Withington back to Ahmadabad. This appeal succeeded and Withington's life was spared. The robbers now proceeded to put their bloody scheme into execution. They seated their seven victims in a row and throttled them with a loop of camel hair rope twisted sharply round the neck with a truncheon. The bodies were then stripped naked and flung unceremoniously into a pit.²

1. Ibid., p.302.

2. The stranglers were probably thugs. For many interesting facts about the Thugs and about their cult and their operations see John Master's The Deceivers (Penguin Books, 1957). The postscript refers to some source books about Thuggee, and is followed by a valuable Glossary.

Withington's lot after this cold-blooded murder of his companions makes sad reading. The Englishman was sent under a strong escort to the Raja's brother, who lived in a mountain fortress some miles away. After being detained for over a month here he was despatched to another Raja, who, after another long detention, sent him on to Nagar Parkar under an escort. Half way to their destination, the escort robbed Withington and his servants and left them stranded in the desert, stripped of everything save their trousers. After a nightmare journey through the desert Withington fought his way to Parkar, whence a friendly Bania helped him to reach Ahmadabad.

In all Withington had spent more than three and a half months in his fruitless attempt to reach Sind. At Ahmadabad, he found, to his great mortification, that his compatriots, the English factors, had all left the city in his absence. He therefore proceeded to Surat after equipping himself with necessary apparel, money and a horse. No sooner had he reached Cambay than unfortunately he fell sick and continued five days in this predicament. When on 12 April he was able to resume his journey, he passed through Sarod, Broach and Kosamba, and finally reached Surat on 18 April 1614.

Withington's account of all this is followed by five long paragraphs dealing with Sind. He describes its important places, its trading centres and its inhabitants. His account of the inhabitants and their social and religious practices is of considerable length and of abiding interest. The rest of the narrative covers all that happened to Withington on his arrival at Agra, where he was sent to buy indigo. Here, on 9 June 1614, he visited the Jesuits

and had an opportunity of seeing how they lived and of observing their relationship with the natives, the Emperor and the Portuguese. On Nicholas Downton's arrival at Swally, Aldworthe at once asked Withington to purchase as much indigo as he could. Withington presently complied with this order and not only spent all he had, but also bought on credit, with the result that he had to hire many camels to dispatch the indigo to his Agent in Surat. Soon after all this was done Withington received a letter from the Surat Agent, advising him not to buy indigo as he could remit no money for the purpose. Withington therefore had to recall all the camels and get back all the indigo he had dispatched. When the merchants in consequence were asked to take it back, they would not listen, but came "cryinge and yawlinge for theyre Money" and put Withington to "soe much Trouble and Greife that made mee almost oute of my Witts".¹ At last the Governor of Agra had to intervene and settle the dispute between Withington and the local merchants. He took the lesson to heart, resolving thereafter to be cautious before trusting "to Letters of Advice while I live, havinge escaped this Error".² Withington's worries at this time occasioned a serious illness which continued for a period of three months. At length he was sent to Ajmer, where eventually he recovered.

Nicholas Downton's fleet set sail from Surat on 2 March 1615 leaving William Edwards as chief merchant for the English in those

1. A Journey over Land ... p.322.
 2. Ibid., p.323.

parts. Edwards decided to send up to Agra one Robert Young along with Nicholas Withington to dispatch some business. Accordingly Young and Withington arrived at Agra on 28 July 1615. The latter alludes in his narrative to the sarais he found between Ajmer and Agra, the milestones erected "at every course",¹ and to Akbar's pilgrimage on foot to the tomb of Shaikh Muinuddin Chisti at Ajmer - the holiest of Sufi shrines in India. He also explains the purpose of Jahangir's coming to Ajmer, his state and the bell of justice. Having completed his business and being at leisure, Withington rode to the Ganges, possibly at Kanauj, and saw some superstitious practices of the Banians. The rest of the narrative comprises either detailed relations of or bare allusions to cities, castles, the writer's unfortunate captivity at the hands of the English for his alleged malpractices, the way he defended himself against the charges of Edwards, the imprisonment of the Rev. Peter Rogers, the preacher, and the ambassadorial activities of Edwards in the Mughal court. These activities, according to Withington, were so base that Edwards was "kicked and spurned by the King's Porters out of the Courte-Gates, to the unrecoverable Disgrace of our Kinge and Nation",² He also refers to the arrival of Sir Thomas Roe as the first official ambassador of England to the Court of the Great

-
1. Course - coss or kos. The word is derived from Sanskrit krosa, a measure of distance. See Col. Henry Yule and A.C. Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, p.261.
 2. Ibid., p.335.

Moghul, and to his own subsequent dispatch to England where he arrived in October 1616, and was kept in prison for more than a month. "But," wrote Withington, concluding his narrative, "yt pleased God to sende me Friends, one whoe tooke me into his Howse, where ever since I have remayned . . . The other was Doctor Eglisem, whoe takinge Pittye on mee, in Charitye hath cured mee of my great Malladye and Sicknesse . . . But I hope God, whoe hath preserved mee in the greater, will likewise deliver mee from the lesse. And I hope that our greate Kinge, of whom the World rings Fame, Grace and Justice, will not suffer the Dove to be oppressed with the Greatness of the Eagle."¹

2

Withington's narrative is perhaps the best available document on the subject of the prestige and behaviour of the ordinary English factors in India during the years 1612-1616. When Captain Best reached Surat and won a decisive victory over the Portuguese, the prestige of his countrymen naturally rose high and they began to be esteemed as a considerable naval power. Similarly, some years later Captain Nicholas Downton sustained the reputation of which Captain Best had laid the foundation. But despite all this, individual

1. Ibid., pp.340 et seq.

Englishmen continued to be treated indifferently by the Mughal Emperor and his courtiers. Some of these Englishmen in their lust for money forsook their religion and turned to Islam. Though this sort of behaviour presumably pleased certain bigoted Muslims, it made a bad impression on others. Withington cites a number of examples of Englishmen embracing Islam for purely worldly gain. The way he himself was treated by his own countrymen, whether rightly or wrongly, was not in the least likely to create a good impression among the natives. He was carried to Ajmer with heavy chains on his heels, weighing twenty pounds. Edwards, who styled himself as English ambassador, was kicked and spurned by the Emperor's porters out of the court-gates.¹ Paul Canning, who had been dispatched to Agra with a letter from King James I, had died about six weeks after his arrival in the capital before he had effected anything beyond the delivery of the royal letter and presents. Thomas Kerridge, the next Englishman sent by Aldworthe, continued the negotiations for many weary months, without result.

Considering the importance of Captain Best's fight with the Portuguese, Withington's description of it is very brief, although it is by far the most vivid of all the accounts that have come down to us. Best's log of the voyage, Standish's journal, Robert Bonner's account and various letters written by those aboard the English ships during

1. Edward Terry, who joined Sir Thomas Roe towards the end of February 1617, gives in his account of India some more examples of the buffoons and debauches who came to India and by their mad activities undermined their national prestige. See Philip Anderson, The English in Western India, pp.55 et sqq.

the fight all describe it,¹ but none of the narratives is as expressive and powerful as Withington's. In language most befitting the description of a sea-fight Withington relates graphically the heroic venture of his countrymen and the utter defeat of the Portuguese:

...the Ozeander bravely redeemed the Tyme shee loste the Daye before. The fyrre Dragon (bestiringe herselfe) in some three Howers hott Feight, drove three of the Gallions on the Sands, and then the Ozeander drawinge little Water daunced the Haye aboute them, and so payed them that they durste not shewe a Man on their Deckes, killinge and spoylinge their Men, and battered their Shippes exceedinglye. In the Afternoone, the Flud beeinge come, the Gallionns, with the Helpe of the Friggots, were aflote agayne, and received a brave welcome of our Shippes, with whom they continued Feight about foure Howers, but much to their Disadvantage, and our greate Honour. It beeinge nowe Night, wee came to our Anchours, and their rode that Night, and all the nexte Daye, without meddling each with other ...2

Thomas Best describes the same events as follows:

As soon as the day gave light, I sett sayle and steered betweene them, bestirringe ourselves with our best endeavours, puttinge 3 of the 4 shippes agrounde on the Sands tharte of the barre of Suratte. At 9 I anckored. This morninge the Hoseander did good service, and came throughe also betweene the shippes and anchored by me. Upon the fludd the 3 shippes on grounde came of(f). Wee sett saile (they at anchore) and came to them, and spent upon 3 of them 150 greate shotte, and in the morninge some 50 shotte. And at night, wee givinge the admirall our 4 peeces out of the starne for our farewell, he gave us one of his prow peeces (either a whole or demi-cullveringe), which came even with the topp of our forecastle, shott throughe our david, killed one man, to witt Burrell, and shott the arme of(f) another.3

Writing to the Governor and Company of the Merchants Trading

1. See William Foster (ed.), The Voyage of Thomas Best (London: Hakluyt Society, 1934).
2. A Journey over Land, pp.273 et seq.
3. The Voyage of Thomas Best, pp.35 et seq.

to the East Indies, Thomas Best had reported that in "four separate days we had five separate fights, in which we (the Dragon) discharged 640 or 650 great shot and 3000 small; while the Hosiander spent 370 or 380 great shot".¹ It is obvious that Captain Best aimed at giving as precise an account of the fight as possible. As captain of the ships, he maintained a thoroughly faithful record of all that happened. That is why his description of the fight with the Portuguese is more or less an official report written in a matter-of-fact official style, giving precise details and figures wherever necessary. Withington's style is more literary, for notice the use of such metaphors as "the fyrye Dragon", "hott Feight", Hosiander dancing the hay"², "so payed them that they durste not shewe a Man on their Deckes" and "the Gallions ... received a brave welcome of our Shippes". "The fyrye Dragon (bestiringe herselfe)... drove three of the Gallions ... and then the Ozeander daunced the Hays aboute them" echoes a passage by Charles Butler in The Feminine Monarchie: "They doe most nimbly bestirre themselves, sporting and playing in and out as if they were dancing the Hey".³ That Withington ever had an opportunity of

1. Ibid., p.230.

2. "A country dance having a winding or serpentine movement, or being of the nature of a reel". J.A.H. Murray, A New English Dictionary, vol.V,p.134.

3. To dance the hay or hays seems to have been a very popular expression in those days. C. Leigh in Hakluyt's Voyages, III, 200, wrote: "Through variety of judgements and evill marinership we were faine to dance the hay foure dayes together." In 1607 Chapman in Bussy D'Ambois (Plays, 1873,II,14) wrote: "The King and subject, Lord and everie slave Dance a continuall Haie." See A.H. Murray's A New English Dictionary, vol.V,p.134. *

reading Butler's Treatise, published for the first time at Oxford in 1609, is quite uncertain, although from the numerous editions that this book went through in the seventeenth century¹ it is evident that it was very popular,² and perhaps a copy of it had fallen into the hands of Withington. The allusion, however, appears rather undesigned than resulting from the writer's wish to avail himself of the resources of English. The idiomatic phrase 'to dance the hay' has, no doubt, been very aptly used in the narrative. The reader is made to feel that although the Portuguese outnumbered the English, yet the latter cheerfully braved them, giving them the impression that they were like swarms of bees dancing the hay.

Ralph Standish, the surgeon of the Hosiander, confirms Withington's statement that Captain Best exhorted every sailor to muster courage and "trust in God, and nott to feare death". In Withington, on the other hand, there is only a passing reference to the speech made by Captain Best, whereas Cavendish dilates at some length on this subject. Nothing, not even the successful tactics directed by Best, testifies to his excellent leadership as does this impassioned speech. The writer who has recorded it has no doubt failed to reproduce the exact tone and power of it, but one can imagine how vigorous it must have been, for soon after the speech was ended, all the sailors determined to fight to the last and never to

-
1. According to the General Catalogue in the British Museum Library the book went through four editions in the seventeenth century alone, in the years 1609, 1623, 1634, and 1673.
 2. The book "travelled into the most remote parts of this great Kingdom of Great Britain, and was entertained of all sorts, both learned and unlearned." See Rev. F.R. Money, Charles Butler, Vicar of Wootton (Basingstoke:Aldworth Printing Works, 1952), unpagged.

desert their leader. Indeed, it was a speech full of solemn determination to die for a noble and exalted cause, a speech full of pious sentiments, and very persuasive. Thomas Best was evidently an optimist, a hopeful man who put great trust in God. "I will sett God allwaies before me," he said, quoting David, "for He is on my right hand; therffore I shall nott fall". Best reminded his soldiers of this Psalm of David because he knew that "a person who believes he has his succour at hand ... often exerts himself beyond his abilities". "I," wrote Joseph Addison in the Spectator, "could produce instances from history, of generals, who, out of a belief that they were under the protection of some invisible assistant, did not only encourage their soldiers to do their utmost, but have acted themselves beyond what they would have done had they not been inspired by such a belief."¹ Thomas Best was one such general who not only spurred his men to action, but himself did wonders that are not to be matched by one who is not animated with such a confidence of success.

The Portuguese version of the fighting in the Gulf of Cambay is given by Bocarro, who corroborates the essential points of the early part of Withington's narrative where the fight is described. Bocarro admits that on the first day of the fight the English "killed many of our men" and that the "soldiers, seeing the slaughter made by the enemy's (English) artillery and finding themselves denied the time or opportunity to show their valour in the vengeance they wished to take and could have taken, cursed the first inventor of that contrivance,

1. R.D. Gillman, The Essays of Addison (London: George Newnes, N.D.), p.535.

which is the consumer and destroyer of all the valiant men of the world.¹ From all such writings, from the logbooks of ships and the praises of the enemy, not to speak of the unrestrained encomiums of the English historians, Thomas Carlyle drew his material for an excellent passage on the achievements of Thomas Best:

For lo, we say, through the Logbook of the old India Ship Dragon, in the three last days of October, 1612, there is visible and audible a thing worth noticing at this distance. A very fiery cannonading, 'nigh Surat, in the Road of Swally.' It is the Viceroy of Goa, and Captain Thomas Best. The Viceroy of Goa has sent 'five thousand fresh men, in four great Galleons with six-and-twenty lusty frigates,' to demolish Captain Thomas Best and this Ship Dragon of his, - in fact to drive these English generally, and their puny Factories, home again, out of his Excellency's way. Even so:- but Captain Thomas Best will need to be consulted on the matter, too! Captain Thomas Best, being consulted, pours forth mere torrents of fire and iron, for three days running; enough to convince any Portugal. A surly dog; cares not a doit for our Galleons, for our lusty frigates; sends them in splinters about our ears ... Truculent sea-bear, son of the Norse Sea-kings; he has it by kind ...*2

Not being at Swally when Captain Nicholas Downton arrived with his fleet and fought the Portuguese in January 1615, obliging them to make an inglorious retreat to Goa, Withington does not describe this example of the desperate bravery of the English sailors. The news of the Captain's victory, however, reached him at Ajmer and he recorded with pride that the "General departinge with his 4 Shipp^s from Sualley had a greate Feight with the Portungalls, they cominge againste them

-
1. The Voyage of Thomas Best, p.222.
 2. Thomas Carlyle, Historical Sketches (London: Chapman and Hall, 1898), pp.90 et seq.
 3. New Year's Gift (Downton's flagship), Hector, Hope, and Solomon.

with 10 Gallions, 2 Gallies, and 60 Friggotts; in which Feight the General fyred 3 of their great Shippes, and slew a greate Number of their Men, himselfe receavinge little or noe Damage in the Feight, (the Lord bee prayed)."¹ As a matter of fact, the Portuguese fleet consisted of only six galleons of from four to eight hundred tons, manned by nearly eleven hundred men and carrying in all a hundred and fourteen guns. The rest of Withington's information was correct, for the Portuguese had two smaller ships of two hundred tons and a pinnace of a hundred and twenty, plus sixty frigates, including those already on the spot. Withington noted with pride that the Portuguese casualties in the conflict were heavy, whereas on the English side the loss was remarkably small. According to an anonymous letter in the Marine Records the English "loste but fower men; and the Portingalles loste at leaste 4 or 500 men, wherof 16 wer (sic) men of great note."² Downton himself reported to the Company that the "gallants of the Portugals' army were in this business, whereof divers killed and after-wardes burnt in the ships, and yet the report cometh from Damon that the frigatts carried thither to be buried above 300 Portugales."³ These figures were probably exaggerated, but there is no doubt that the Portuguese sustained a disastrous repulse, with the result that they had thenceforward to confine themselves to efforts to destroy the English vessels by means of fireships.

Although Jahangir prefers to remain silent about the embassy of

-
1. A Journey over Land ... p.324.
 2. The Voyage of Nicholas Downton (London: Hakluyt Society, 1939) p.179.
 3. Letters Received by the East India Company, Vol.II, p.186.

Hawkins and Roe and about the victory of Thomas Best over the Portuguese, he alludes to the English for the first and last time in his Tuzuk in connection with Downton's victory. "In the month of Bahman," he writes, "there came pieces of good news one after the other. The first was that the Rana Amar Singh had elected for obedience and service to the Court ... The second piece of good news was the death of Bahadur ... The third piece of news was the defeat of the Warza (Portuguese Viceroy), who had done his best to take the castle and port of Surat. In the roadstead of the port of Surat a fight took place between the English, who had taken shelter there, and the Viceroy. Most of his ships were burnt by the English fire. Being helpless he had not the power to fight any more, and took flight".¹ Jahangir does not mention Downton as the leader of this British expedition. The whole thing, however, has found a place in the memoirs because of the Emperor's great concern at this time over the growing ascendancy of the Portuguese who, in September 1613, had ventured to capture a Surat vessel of great value returning from the Red Sea, in spite of the fact that she was duly furnished with a Portuguese pass. She belonged to the Emperor's mother,² and this deepened the affront. Furious at the Portuguese insolence, Jahangir closed the Jesuits' churches and ordered the arrest of all the Portuguese in his dominions, sending Mukarrab Khan with an army to besiege their settlement at Daman. Such being the state of affairs, it may be imagined with what joy Jahangir and his courtiers learnt

-
1. Alexander Rogers and Henry Beveridge, The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1909), pp.274 et seq.
 2. The name of the ship was Rahimi. See The Voyage of Nicholas Downton, p.XIX

that the English had defeated the Portuguese. Mukarrab Khan gave a stately entertainment to Downton in his tents on shore. Downton also received from him a sword, the hilts of which were made of massive gold.¹

Withington does not appear to have been a good judge of naval strategy. He rejoices at Downton's victory, but does not consider how timidly the Captain had faced the Portuguese. In fact, as Sir William Foster points out, most, if not all the honours for the English victory "appear to belong of right to the Portuguese".² Downton himself reported that if "the Portugals had not fallen into an error at the first they might have destroyed the Hope, and by likelihood the rest hastening so to her aid".³ In his letter to Sir Thomas Smythe, dated 28 February 1615, Downton thanked God for "His accustomed mercies in maintaining the weak estate of His poor distressed servant."⁴ He was most severely censured by many, including Sir Thomas Roe, who observed that "Captain Best with lesse force mett them (the Portuguese) and beate them like a man, not by hazard; and if he had had that force which Downton had, I beleeeve had brought away a better trophee".⁵ Sir Thomas, therefore, always advised his countrymentto go out and meet the enemy "in sea Roome" rather than "in a fish Pond". Martin Pring, the commander of the 1617 fleet, agreed with Roe and wrote to the Company that if he were to be attacked, he should go out to meet the

1. Ibid., p.159.

2. Letters Received, vol.III,p.XIV.

3. Ibid., II,pp.186 et seq.

4. Ibid., III,p.26.

5. The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe (1899),II,p.411n.

enemy "in a more spacious place than the poole of Swally."¹ Like Withington, Roe was not an eye-witness to the fight in which both sides engaged with great resolution, and yet being an ever vigilant leader of men and a born commander, he could not fail to notice the hollowness of Downton's manoeuvres. To Withington these subtleties of naval warfare were probably unintelligible. Simply an English factor like many others, he remained content with the results of the fight and did not bother how it was conducted.²

Compared with Finch's descriptions of cities and routes, Withington's are generally very concise and omit sundry important details which, if included, would have enriched his narrative. Both Finch and Withington visited Ahmadabad, Cambay, and Sarkhej. The description of the first two places in Finch's narrative is more detailed than in Withington's, but the latter gives a very valuable description of Sarkhej, left undescribed by Finch.³ Withington's narrative devotes many pages to the experiences he had undergone in his journey to Sind, pages which Finch would have devoted to the description of cities, routes, and castles. Withington's narrative, however, supplements Finch's in more ways than one. It throws light on the condition of western India in the reign of Jahangir and furnished a

1. Ibid.

2. David Hannay, like Withington, overlooks the risk involved in Downton's manoeuvres and praises the latter in glowing terms. See Ships and Men (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1910), pp.136 et seq.

3. Edward Dodsworth's description of Sarkhej, however, compares favourably with Nicholas Withington's. For Dodsworth see The Voyage of Nicholas Downton (1939), pp.111 et seq.

detailed account of some of the social practices of the Hindus which Finch had not described. Moreover, it is refreshing to turn to Withington's descriptions of social customs and religious practices after having read so many turgid accounts of the Mughal court, the behaviour of the courtiers, and of the places visited by Coryat, Hawkins and Finch.

That indeed was Withington's fate. His retreat was only a temporary one, as a fair tale here would have dear.

Many contemporary records testify to the widespread prevalence of law. Withington's description of his journey through the Rajputana desert and of his various encounters with bands of professional murderers disguised as travelling merchants or pilgrims, or with hereditary stranglers and gang robbers, reads like a wonderful tale of adventure and imagination woven round an exemplary hero. It has all the characteristics of a romance - suspense, pathos, adventure, and a hero who was inspired with the loftiest of ideals, to inform his countrymen "of our settled factorye and to advise them of other things conveniente for our and theire tradinge." The forces of evil that torment the hero and concentrate all their energies on tempting him into submission are presented in Withington's narrative in the person of the wild marauders of the Sind desert. The temporary imprisonment of Withington is more or less like that of Christian and Hope in the Castle of Giant Despair. The comparison between a romance and this part of Withington's narrative, however, ends when the traveller is shown retreating to Ahmadabad. This retreat dispels all the halo of romance that seemed hitherto to surround him. Withington was, as a

matter of fact, a real, not an imaginary hero: his journey through the desert was a real journey, and the stranglers were real professional stranglers, not mere personifications. The writer of a fictitious story may well represent his hero as victorious in all tournaments, but howsoever brave and heroic a man may be, he has sometimes to yield to his more powerful adversary. That indeed was Withington's fate. His retreat was only natural in the circumstances. He could not face the robbers single-handed, as a fairy-tale hero would have done.

Many contemporary records testify to the widespread prevalence of lawlessness, theft and robbery in some parts of India even when the Mughal empire was in the flush and heyday of youth, of glory, and resplendence. Sir William Wilson Hunter, a famous historian of the late nineteenth century, who was appointed by the then Government of India to superintend a survey of the population and resources of the country, noted with his usual perspicacity and insight that a long succession of invasions was at the root of all the lawlessness rampant in the country. An unbroken stream of invaders, he pointed out, "during 700 years had crushed beneath them the preceding races. In many instances the previous inhabitants were driven from their fields altogether and forced to take refuge in the mountains or jungles."¹ These were the people who came to be known as a "depressed race", or a "predatory caste". "In every province," Sir William goes on, "we find one or more of these depressed or vanquished races, such as the Bhars of Oudh, the Bhils of Jalaun, the Gaulis of the Central Provinces,

1. The India of the Queen (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1903), pp.106 et seq.

the Chandels and Bundelas of Bundelkhand, the Ahams of Assam, besides the numerous hill tribes scattered over the country. In the last century there were over a hundred hereditary 'predatory castes' or marauding hill and forest tribes in India, and many of their names survive to our days in the census of 1871; that is to say, there were more than one hundred resolute communities openly living from generation to generation by plunder."¹

Though William Finch does not describe any experience of personal robbery, he nevertheless speaks of many highways as being beleaguered by thieves and bandits. Between a city called "Geloure" (Jalor) and Ahmadabad he found a region "full of theevish beastly men". On his way to Cambay he found the same thing - a "sandy, wooddie, theevish way". Bhadwar was to him "a filthy towne and full of theeves", and the one next to Nandurbar was "a beastly towne with theevish inhabitants, and a dirtie castle." Ralph Fitch had found abundance of thieves near Patna, while in Bengal he had to travel to Hughly through jungle because the ordinary road was exceedingly dangerous. About the year 1615, the English merchants found the roads from Surat to Ahmadabad and Broach infested by large gangs of robbers, and about the same time, Steel and Crowther reported that the roads between Agra and Lahore were not safe in the night.²

Among the subjects of social and religious interest described by Withington are sati, child-marriage, brahmans etc. He does not

1. Ibid., p.107.

2. W.H. Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1920), p.46.

show any particularly intimate knowledge of the social pattern of the Hindus, nor does he evince any scholarly interest in the practices he has described. It is nevertheless true that his account of the Hindus' being married in childhood and of the widows' burning themselves or living in perpetual disgrace after their husband's death is fundamentally correct. Some of his observations, such as

"They may not marrye but one of their owne Caste and Religion,"¹

"and some tymes they make Promise to one another, that their Children shall marrye together, before they bee borne,"² and

"they (the Brahmans) keepe their Pagods, and have Allmes or Tythes of their Parishioners, beeing esteemed marvaylous holye,"³

will hold good in many instances even today. When Withington sought to know why they married their children so young, he was told that "they would not leave their Children wiveless: If it should please God to take the Parents awaye of either of the Children, yet (say they) they have other Parents to ayde them, till they come to Yeares of Discretion,"⁴ It is scarcely to be wondered at if Ralph Fitch received a similar reply.⁵ Evidently, the ordinary Hindus did not concern themselves with how their multifarious customs and practices originated. It seems to have been a common belief that the practice of widow-immolation originated because certain wives treacherously poisoned their husbands for the sake of their paramours, which impelled "a certayne Kinge of theirs" to ordain "that when anye Husband dyed,

1. A Journey over Land, p.317.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p.319.

4. Ibid., p.318.

5. See Early Travels in India, pp.16 et seq.

his Wife should bee burned with his Corpes; and if hee had more Wives then one, as manye as hee had, should all burne together."¹ William Methold and Henry Lord found the same belief prevailing among the Hindus of Golconda and Surat.

Explaining the origin of the practice of sati, Methold observes:

It is amongst these Indians a received history, that there was a time, when wives were generally so luxurious, that to make way for their friends, they would poyson their husbands; which to prevent, a Law was made, that the husbands dead the wives should accompany them in the same fire, and this Law stands yet in force in the Island of Baly not far from Java ...²

This explanation is evidently derived from Diodorus Siculus's Bibliotheke, XIX, 30.³ The practice, as we know today, originated in a distorted interpretation of a particular hymn of the Rig-veda.⁴ Various incitements, especially that of a promised happiness in another world, presented to an afflicted mind at the instant of the great sorrow, too often induced a woman hastily to declare her intention of burning herself. The fear of contempt and degradation made her persist in the design through the very short interval which followed until its accomplishment. It was mostly in the upper castes, especially among the Brahmans, that the lot of the young widow was severer and she was expected never to hope

-
1. A Journey over Land, p.319.
 2. Purchas his Pilgrimage (1616), p.1001.
 3. See J.W. McCrindle, Ancient India (London: Archibald Constable, 1901), pp.202 et seq.
 4. See an article entitled "On the Supposed Vaidik Authority for the Burning of Hindu widows, and on the Funeral Ceremonies of the Hindus", by H.H. Wilson in the J.R.A.S., 1854, vol.XVI, pp.201-214.

A joy upon the world beneath;
But she must e'er with sorrows cope,
Sorrows which only end in death.

Withington's statement that "When the Baman dies, his Wife, after the Burninge of her Husband, shaves her Head, and weres noe more her Jewells, in which Estate shee continues till shee dye"¹ shows that although the practice of sati was widespread in India, there were certain sections of the Hindu population among whom this cruel rite did not prevail. The shaving of her hair if she chose to live was certainly a custom invented by the priesthood after the Code of Manu was compiled.² But widows belonging to the commercial and servile classes were permitted to marry; for them the point of the curse was blunted, there was only a dull sense of wrong. Moreover, some Brahmans, some learned scholars, always upheld the cause of child-widows and sanctioned a fresh marriage. These relied upon the Narada-smriti, a work posterior to the now extant Code of Manu, which allows the remarriage of widows.³ Narada laid down an elaborate

-
1. A Journey over Land, p.313.
 2. Innumerable rites and rituals not sanctioned by the scriptures were, in fact, invented by the priests, because of their inordinate greed for ceremonial fees. What religious book, for example, sanctions the practice of putting two silver coins on the chest of the Dear Departed in order to smooth out the passage of the soul into further regions? But the family priest in R.K. Narayan's Waiting for the Mahatma (Methuen, London, 1955, pp.179-180) demands a separate account for this although a lump sum had been agreed on for the entire ceremony. He informs those who had brought the bier that he is only repeating what the shastras say, that their ancestors knew what was best for them, and that he is merely a mouthpiece. When questioned as to what happens to the coins, one of the principal men in the assembly suggests that it goes the way of other coins, that is into a priest's money-box. "Yes," replies the priest, "it does. Do you expect the soul to carry the silver with it?..."
 3. See Julius Jolly (tr.), The Minor Law Books, Part I, Narada, Brihaspati (Oxford, 1889), pp.XIII-XV.

system of laws pertaining to divorce and separation. It is amidst these laws that the following is found:

When her husband is lost or dead, when he has become a religious ascetic, when he is impotent, and when he has been expelled from caste: there are the five cases of legal necessity, in which a woman may be justified in taking another husband. 1

Women, other than widows, could also marry afresh under certain circumstances.² Widow re-marriage among the non-Brahmans of Maharashtra was undoubtedly prevalent in the seventeenth century, and "marriage of a woman to a second husband in case of prolonged and continued absence of the first, depriving her of any means of livelihood was also permitted."³ Widow-remarriage was also prevalent among the Jats of the Punjab and Jumna Valley, and polyandry was a common practice among them.⁴

Hindu widows were led to their husbands' funeral pyres all attired with their "beste arrayments" and accompanied by their friends and kindred, "making much joye, havinge musicke with them". Francois Pyrard de Laval also observed that widows leaped into the fire which consumed the corpse of the deceased "with great solemnity in presence of the relatives, and to the sound of music".⁵ Robert Southey knew how the procession marched and how

-
1. Ibid., Narada, XII, 97.
 2. Ibid., Narada, XII, 96.
 3. Quoted by Sarkar and Datta, Modern Indian History (Allahabad, 1942), p.295.
 4. William Irvine, Later Mughals (Calcutta and London, N.D.) vol.I, p.83.
 5. Albert Gray (ed.), The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval (London: Hakluyt Society, 1887), vol.I, p.394.



"The dance of sacrifice!"

With symphony, and dance, and song,
 Their kindred and their friends come on.
 The dance of sacrifice! the funeral song!
 And next the victim slaves in long array,
 Richly bedight to grace the fatal day,
 Move onward to their death ... 1

Withington describes the ceremony in some detail. "Firste," he says, "shee (the widow) bewayleth her Husband's Death, and rejoycinge that shee is nowe reddeye to goe and live with him agayne; and then imbraceth her Friends, and sitteth downe on the Toppe of the Pile of Wood, and drye Sticke, rockinge her Husband's Head in her Lappe; and soe willeth them to sett Fyer on the Wood; which beeing done, her Friends throwe Oyle, and divers other Things, with sweete Perfumes, uppon her; and shee indures the Fyer with such Patience, that it is to bee admired, beeinge loose, not bounde."² Southey's familiarity with all the rites accompanying the burning of widows is evident from such lines as these:

Woe! woe! for Azla takes her seat
 Upon the funeral pile!
 Calmly the whole terrific pomp survey'd;
As on her lap the while
The lifeless head of Arvalan was laid ...
 At once on every side
 The circling torches drop.
 At once on every side
The fragrant oil is pour'd,
 At once on every side
 The rapid flames rush up.³

The unfortunate widow in her best array marched to the funeral pyre, but before it was lit

-
1. The Curse of Kehama (London, 1810), p.5.
 2. A Journey over Land, pp.313 et seq.
 3. The Curse of Kehama, pp.8, 9-10.

They strip her ornaments away,
 Bracelet and anklet, ring, and chain, and zone;
 Around her neck they leave
 The marriage knot alone ... 1

Southey based his description on such authorities as Bernier, Stavorinus, Abraham Roger and Pietro Della Valle. A careful reading of his own countrymen's journals and narratives, however, would have furnished no less authoritative an account of these sacrifices. Withington's narrative, in fact, contains all that is significant about sati, but Bernier's was evidently more elaborate, and even ordinary details were more clearly outlined. That was one reason why Englishmen were so enamoured of it and frequently drew upon it in their writings.

Some of Withington's statements are amazingly candid and expose the shameful hypocrisy and pietism of the Hindus who delighted in pushing widows forcibly into the fire. The traveller was informed that the kinsmen of the husband who died did not force the wife to burn herself, but her own kindred held it a great disgrace to their family if she refused to be burned. If she somehow managed to live on, she was permitted to do so only when she shaved her hair, pulled off her ornaments and tacitly vouchsafed to live all alone, "miserably, till her death". It was no imaginary experience Withington recorded when he said that

if any one of them purpose to burne, and (after Ceremonies done) bee brought to the Fyer, and these feelinge the scorchinge Heate, leape out of the Fyer, her Father and Mother will take her and bynde her, and throwe her into the Fyer, and burne her per force ...2

-
1. Ibid., p.8.
 2. A Journey over Land...., p.315.

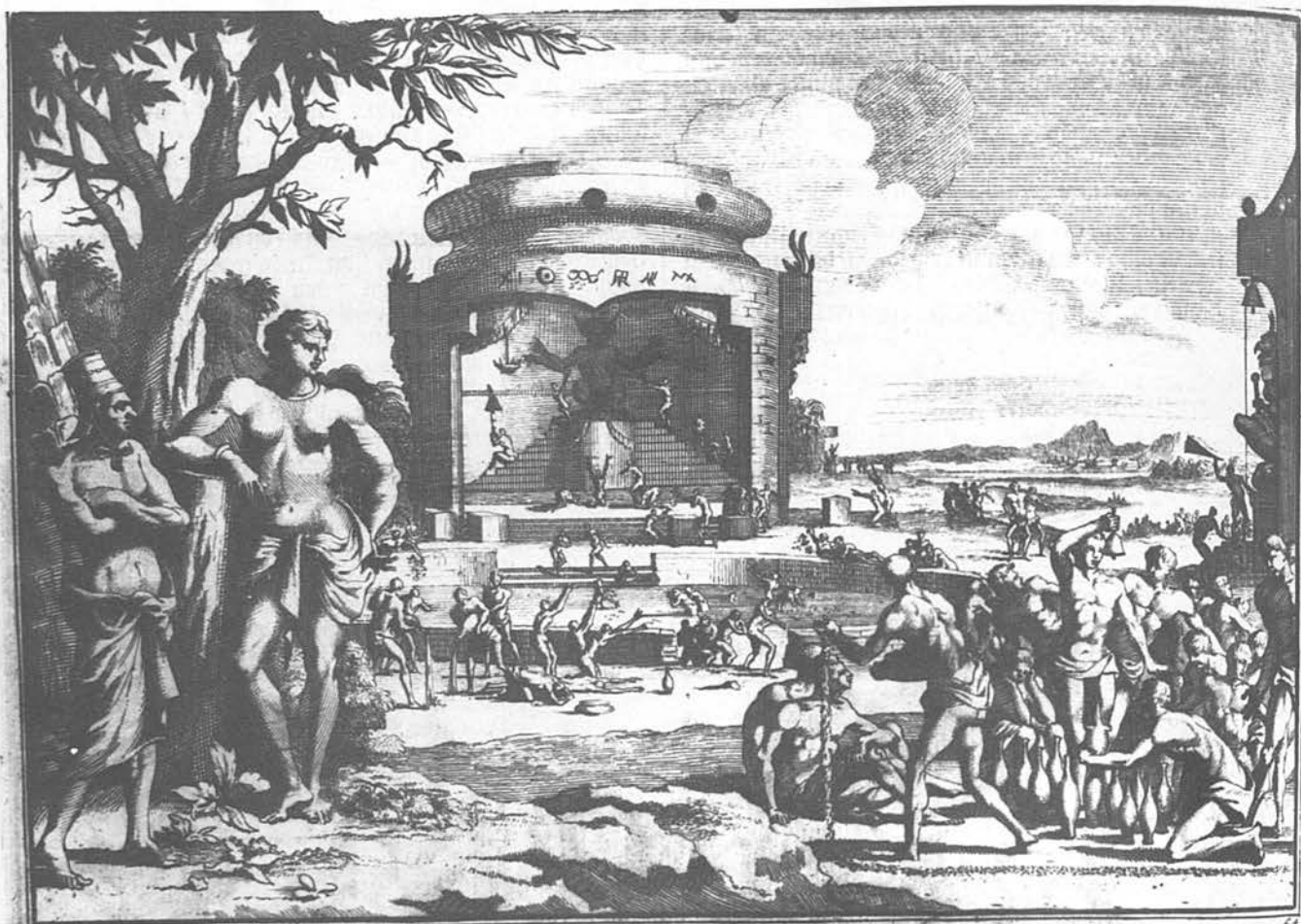
A few years later Bernier saw a young woman who had retreated five or six paces from the pile being thrust into the fire with long poles. At Lahore, he saw a young widow of twelve being forced to sit down upon the wood and eventually being bound to the corpse.¹ Dellon, whom Robert Southey considered as one of the best travellers in the East, affirmed that widows were burnt there de gré, ou de force.² Though the Mughals did their best to prevent the use of force in sati, it was only in the nineteenth century that, through the laudable efforts of the British Government, the widow and the female infant "ceased to be outside the protection of the law".³ They could no longer be coaxed or pushed on to their husband's funeral pile, and then held down by long bamboos. In fact, although widow-immolation is no longer practiced in India, child-widows there are innumerable and their lot is not much happier today. Their plight continues to be much the same as it was centuries ago.

Withington's description of the religion of the Hindus is singularly free from any prejudice. Even when he talks about such of their beliefs as must have appeared outlandish to him, as they did to other foreigners, especially to his own countrymen, he desists from passing any adverse judgment on them. As a matter of fact, his picture of the Hindus is on the whole very favourable. The Brahmans whom other travellers held responsible for the all-round degradation

1. The Curse of Kehama, p.273.

2. Ibid.

3. Behramji M. Malabari, The Hindu Child-Widow (Bombay, 1887), p.5.



Fitch found their idols "blacke and evill favoured,
their mouthes monstrous."

of Hindu society, were praised by Withington for their learning and workmanship. To Edward Terry they appeared to be "so sottish and inconstant in their grounds that they scarce know what they hold".¹ Their temples seemed to him to contain "images for worship made in monstrous shapes".² Fitch found their idols "blacke and evill favoured, their mouthes monstrous"³; to him these men were "a kind of craftie people, worse then the Jewes".⁴ Withington avoids the derogatory phrases used by other writers to deride the Brahmins and their religion, giving instead a faithful picture without extraneous comment. One of the most widespread beliefs of the Hindus regarding the Ganges has been allowed to pass uncensored. "The Water of the River Ganges," he says, "is carried manye hundred Myles from thence by the Banyans, and, as they affirme, it will never stinke though kepte never so longe, neyther will anye Wormes or Vermine breede therein".⁵ Then, "Here I stayed two Dayes," he reports again, "and observed divers Customes and Ceremonies of the Caste of Banyan, the River-side being full of Pagods kept by Bramans, the Relation whereof would bee too tedious to reporte heare".⁶ In all these comments one finds the writer maintaining an impartial attitude and taking upon himself the duty of a faithful recorder. This, indeed, was a rare achievement, for Withington rose above all national and religious prejudices and handed down to posterity a description that is

1. William Foster (ed.), Early Travels in India, p.321.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p.23.

4. Ibid., p.19.

5. A Journey over Land ..., p.327.

6. Ibid.

remarkable for accuracy and authenticity.

Though Withington alludes to the remarkable valour of the Rajputs, he does not quote any event from the annals of Rajasthan to prove that they knew "how to dye". Some examples of Rajput prowess in the battle-field and of the sacrifice of their women would undoubtedly have enriched his narrative. His reference to the treaty of peace concluded by the Mughal Emperor and the Rana of Mewar, however, is authentic. Amar Singh, the eldest of Rana Pratap's seventeen sons, offered to recognize Mughal supremacy, to wait on Prince Khurram, and to send his son to the Imperial court. Jahangir, on his part treated his defeated enemy with all possible courtesy and esteem.¹

Withington, like many other historians and travellers of his day, refers to Akbar's foot-pilgrimage to Ajmer. The event had apparently made a profound impression on the Emperor's contemporaries, native as well as foreign. Finch's reference to the journey has already been examined. Amongst other chroniclers of the period who speak of it in glowing terms are Nizamuddin, Ferishta, Badaoni, Muhammad Hadi, De Laet, Peter Mundy, Thevenot, and Herbert.² Withington's account of the wayside rest-houses between Agra and Ajmer differs slightly from that of William Finch. According to Withington, "at everye ten courses" there was a mahal, a "serralia or place of lodging boothe for man and horse", and at "everye course end" there

1. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir (Allahabad: The Indian Press Ltd., 1930), pp.239 et seq.

2. Ibid., p.8n.

was a great pillar erected. According to William Finch, however, the pillars were set up at each "course", and the mahals "with lodgings for sixteene great women" were erected at every eighth "course", and not at every tenth "course". De Laet, on the authority of Finch, observed that along the road leading from Agra to Ajmer each kos was "marked out by a stone column, and that at every eight kos a woman's apartment has been constructed, which can accommodate 16 ladies with their servants. These were erected by king Achabar, who having no sons walked on foot from Agra to Assmere..."¹ Finch's statement is further confirmed by Nizamuddin Ahmad, the celebrated author of Tabakat-i-Akbari, who says that the Emperor, leaving Agra for Ajmer on foot on the 12th Shaban 977, travelled "seven or eight kos" every day.² Thus in Withington's account there is a slight error of judgment regarding the actual distance between each pair of milestones, but the facts, as must be obvious, are undoubtedly basically correct.

Although Withington found a lot of poverty in India, poverty that made people in Sind "goe naked from the waste upwards" and in other places commit theft and murder, he was on the whole impressed by the wealth of Jahangir. A few of his observations regarding certain cities and towns imply the deep admiration with which he looked upon India. Agra was, to him, the biggest city that he had ever seen. The fairest thing there was the castle, where the Emperor

-
1. J.S. Hoyland (ed.) The Empire of the Great Mogol (Bombay: D.B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 1928) p.44.
 2. Elliot and Dowson, op.cit., vol.V, p.334.

kept his court. "The Wall of this Castle", Withington observed, "is some 2 Courses in Compase, and the fayrest and heigheste that ever I sawe, and within well replenished with Ordinants; one of the which beeing of Brasse, is far bigger then ever I sawe anye in England".¹ He saw Jahangir's "State soe greate in Comparison of most Christian Kinges, that the Report would bee almoste incredible".² Withington as well as Finch wrote admiringly of the well-known bells provided for the use of appellants in the palace at Agra. Withington wrote that Jahangir

hath a Bell hanging in his Seralia³ with a Cord which reaches into an outer Room, where (if anye of his Subjects be wronged, and cannot have Justice of his Nobles, they may repaire, and ringinge the Bell, he looketh out, causinge them to bee brought before him, and examineth the Matter; and if hee fynde that the poore Man bee wronged in Justice (be hee the greatest Nobleman about him) he presentlye takes away all his Meanes, puttinge him either into Prison perpetually, or cutts his Throate. In fyne, his Greatness is such, that I rather admire at yt than presume to write of yt. 4

This admiration betrays him into serious omissions. He forgets to mention what dreadful punishments awaited unsuccessful appellants, nor does he say whether the use of the bell was a popular mode of making appeals to the ruler. We know from Finch, however, that the appellants had to make sure that their cause was good before approaching the Emperor, lest they should be "punished for presumption". This

-
1. A Journey over Land ... p.328.
 2. Ibid., p.326.
 3. "A Place which his Women for his Pleasure are kept in" (marginal note, p.326).
 4. Ibid., pp.326 wt seq.

fear of getting into serious trouble if the appeal failed, coupled with the hardships of the journey from one place to another, made a dissatisfied suitor "consider in each case whether an appeal was worth the cost and risk".¹ Even at the slightest doubt he demurred from proceeding to the royal court, and chose to remain silent instead.

Withington is the first English traveller to have thrown some useful light on the social and economic conditions prevailing in Sind in the reign of Jahangir. It appears from his description that although in some of its cities great trade was carried on, it was nonetheless a very poor province where people went naked from their waist upwards. Some of the Baluchis of Sind dealt in camels, whereas many others were robbers on the high way and also on the river, murdering those whom they robbed. Withington was told how these Baluchis once attacked a boat with seven Italians and one Portuguese friar in it. In the fight that ensued, the Baluchis killed outright every man but the Portuguese, whose belly they ripped up to see if "there were anye Gould or pedareea (pedraria, jewels) in his guts." But all Baluchis were not bloody-minded villains; some of those living around Agra and Gujarat were very honest men. The highways of Sind, however, were mostly dangerous, being infested by robbers. It has already been shown how Withington attempted to march from Ahmadabad to Lahri Bunder on the Indus, but found the population utterly lawless, and was at last taken prisoner by the guard he had hired for his protection.

1. W.H. Moreland, op.cit., p.36.

Of the cities and ports of Sind Withington gives a very bright picture. He regards Tatta as the most important city in the matter of trade and reports that the harbours and roads of Sind were free. He rightly assigns a place of great importance to Tatta among the cities of India in the early seventeenth century. Edward Terry found Tatta "exceeding fruitfull and pleasant" and its chief harbour Lahri Bunder, "very famous for curious handicrafts".¹ Walter Payton called it "a great Citie one dayes journey from Diul".² According to Withington Lahri Bunder was three Days' journey from Tatta. In two months traders could go by water to Lahore, passing Multan on the way, and return in one month. Goods from Agra were carried on camels to Bucker in twenty days, and from that town to Lahri Bunder in fifteen or sixteen days in boats. Thus the three most inland but most prosperous emporia of Central and Northern India found a market for their merchandise in Tatta. The special local commodities were food-stuffs and raw material, such as rice, sugar, butter and salt; iron, pitch, and tar; cotton and indigo, though the latter were not as good as the Biana kind. Various kinds of excellent fine cotton-stuffs, baftas, and lawns were available in large quantities. The country was also well known for its horses and camels. The exports, however, "consisted of cotton goods, indigo, and a variety of country produce, carried either westwards to Persia and Arabia, or southwards along the coast of India".³ Walter Payton's report on the articles to be

1. Foster, Early Travels in India (1921), p.292.

2. S. Purchas, Purchas his Pilgrimes (London, 1625), Part I, Bk.IV, Chap.X, p.496.

3. W.H. Moreland, op.cit., p.204.

had there mentions "Indigo of Lahor Indigo of Cherques (Sarkhej). Callicoes all sorts. Pintadoes of all sorts".¹

The concluding part of Withington's narrative is wholly personal in character, and describes the humiliation he was subjected to by his own countrymen led by Edwards. In all his references to the tragic episode of his imprisonment, he tries to show his own innocence, painting Edwards as an arch-knave. His artless attempt to discredit his compatriot and deliberately hide his own guilt is too transparent to deceive his critics. The reader closes the book with a suspicion that Withington must have cheated or tried to cheat his employers. Towards the end, his genuine indignation at being ill-treated by his countrymen lends vigour to his narrative and leaves a lingering impression on the reader's mind. He was wise enough to shape his prose according to his mood and subject-matter. Thus while depicting Captain Best's fight with the Portuguese he had used a singularly apt image, likening the movement of the Osiander to that of a dancer. When describing some tragic experience such as the one he had in the desert during his march to Lahri Bunder, he adopts a simple narrative style, transporting the reader to the very scene of the action. There is nothing vague about the passage here quoted; the effect is direct and the whole thing is interesting:

... The Ragee sente for Fishermen, whoe tooke more in halfe an Hower then all the Companye could eate. Weesupped that Night with the Ragee, hee telling us, that by nine of the Clocke in the Mornings, hee would deliver us within the Gates of Tutta, which made us all verve merrye.

At two of the Clocke in the Mornings, hee had us

1. S. Purchas, op.cit., p.498.

lade our Cammells, and then ledd us alonge by the Riversyde, about a Myle and halfe, sayinge, the River was too deepe for our Cammells to passe, and then ledd us a cleane contrary Way as wee perceaved, which made us greatelye feare his Intente. At aboute breakinge of Day, wee came into a thicke Valley of Wood invironed about with Hills (a Place moste fitt for our bloudye Guyde to acte his pretended Tragedye) and beeing in the Middest of the Thickett hee bad us unlade our Cammells, for he would see wherewithall they were laden; which beeing done, hee caused us all to be bounde, and our Weapons to bee taken from us ... 1

Nothing can be more plain and simple than this. It reads like a passage taken from a novel dealing with the adventures of an unfortunate group of travellers who are cheated and robbed by a gang of outlaws. In the following passage, Withington spirts out his indignation against Edwards in a long sentence befitting his cumulative rage:

... After this hee continued in Adgemere, and sometymes went to the Court, where behavinge himselfe not as beseeminge an Ambassador, especiallye sente from soe worthye and greate a Prince as the Kinge of England (Beeinge indeed but a mecannycal Fellowe, and imployed by the Companye into those Parts), was kicked and spurned by the King's Porters out of the Courte-Gates, to the unrecoverable Disgrace of our Kinge and Nation, hee never speakinge to the Kinge for Redresse, but carryinge those greate Dishonours like a good Asse, makeinge himselfe and our Nation a Laughing Stock to all People in general, to the greate Rejoycinge of the Portugales, whoe openlye divulged the Disgrace of the English Ambassador received, by Letters throughout all the Countrye. 2

The concluding lines of the narrative have already been quoted. Another striking image is utilised to describe his surprise at the suddenness with which was put in irons. "This was a strange Alteration to mee," he says, "and a Wonder that this Thunder-clapp should fall so

-
1. A Journey over Land, pp.301 et seq.
 2. Ibid., pp.334 et seq.

suddenlve and noe Lightninge before".¹ The metaphor is indicative of the author's being a man of trained intellect. Indeed, from passages already quoted it is clear that Withington was an acute observer and well practised in the art of keeping records of his experiences. It is not surprising that the composition of his narrative is sometimes crude; the wonder is that it could be written at all. His style is nearly always simple and direct. Never does the narrator descend to self-glorification, or dwell unnecessarily upon the details of his imprisonment at the hands of his countrymen except towards the close of his narrative, where he bitterly complains of his lot, and sets forth his experience in extremely forceful phrases. His meaning is seldom obscure. We gain from his pages a vivid picture of his character and personality, seeing him probably as his contemporaries saw him. We actually seem to see him upon his long desert journey, squatting amidst his dusky fellows, and carrying cargoes upon the portage trail: we see him the butt and scorn of his countrymen, sometimes led through the streets handcuffed, and obliged to wait for a trial, or to plead guilty outright. Not only does Withington live and breathe before us in the narrative, but we have in it our first competent account of the Indian Thugs, at a time when the Mughal empire was in the hey-day of its powers.

1. Ibid., p.329.



THE REV. EDWARD TERRY.
 (from his "Voyage to East India").

CHAPTER IX

EDWARD TERRY
(1616 - 1619)

No spices, orient pearls, no tissues are
 Thy traffic; these with thee accounted ware
 For pedling dolts; thy venture no return
 Admits, but what enrich the mental urn ...

— Edward Waterhouse.

1

Amongst the preachers sent to India by the Company in the early years of its commercial transactions in the East, none is perhaps more widely known today than Edward Terry, who was installed in the Chaplaincy of the English Embassy to the Great Mughal after the death of the Reverend John Hall. His predecessors and contemporaries from William Evans and William Leske down to Patrick Copland are no more than mere names in the Court Minutes and other records of the East India Company. Only Henry Lord remains a possible rival to Edward Terry, but he, too, is not so well-known, and that quite understandably. His work, it will be seen, is restricted to a theological interest, albeit it is much more scholarly than the Voyage to East-India of Terry. The latter does not confine himself to the description of one particular aspect of Indian life, but tries to draw a comprehensive picture that is credible and authoritative. If, therefore, Terry has come to be recognised as an important contributor to Anglo-Indian literature, it is not because of any unmerited privilege granted to Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain: it is his work,

his achievements, that entitle him to this praise.

Precise information regarding Terry's pedigree, early life, and education can be obtained from such reference books as the Dictionary of National Biography and Anthony a Wood's Athenae Oxonienses. His association with the East India Company, with which our interest in him begins, dates from the spring of 1616 when he accepted an engagement for a voyage to the Indies as one of the chaplains in the fleet with Benjamin Joseph, commander of the expedition. It was the general practice in those days for candidates for appointment as chaplains to be summoned to preach trial sermons, on prescribed texts, before the governor and his colleagues. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge were requested to send their recommendations, and after their sermons had been appraised, an examination of the private lives of the appointees was made. All these steps were necessary to ensure that the preacher selected combined learning with eloquence and general honesty with willingness to forgo the profits of private trade.¹ This last consideration was important, for chaplains, drawing a stipend of £50 a year - sometimes even less, rarely more - could hardly resist the temptation of sending home a bale or two of saleable articles. Nothing is known as to how Terry was appointed and what sermon he was called upon to preach. His academic career, however, is said to have been as brilliant as it was unsullied and pure. Recommended highly by the

1. See an excellent article on the appointment of chaplains by the East India Company in Louis B. Wright's Religion and Empire, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1943), pp.57 et seq.

authorities of Oxford for his "pious and exemplary conversation," he would not have found it difficult to please the governor and other officers of the Company.

Edward Terry left England for the Indies on 9th March 1616 in a fleet consisting of six ships, the Charles, Unicorn, James, Globe, Swan, and Rose, all under the command of Captain Benjamin Joseph. The wind was favourable to them till 16th, when in the night a fearful storm overtook them, they being then in the Bay of Portugal. For five whole days and nights the storm continued with unabated violence, causing two of the ships, the Globe and the Rose, to be scattered. The Globe soon rejoined their company, but the Rose was heard of no more till her arrival at Bantam, about six months later.

On 28th they saw the Grand Canaries, between $27^{\circ}40'$ and $29^{\circ}30'$ N. and $13^{\circ}20'$ and $18^{\circ}10'$ W.,¹ and that mountain in the Island of Tenerise which is commonly called the Peak. On 31st they passed under the Tropic of Cancer, and on 7th April they found the sun directly over their heads. For almost two weeks they were "becalmed", enduring extreme heat. When at last the wind began to blow, it was a "tornado", "so variable and uncertaine, that sometime within the space of one houre, all the two and thirtie severall winds will blow." This violent storm was accompanied with much thunder and lightning, and with extreme rain, so noisome that it made their clothes

1. "These Islands lie in eight and twentie degrees of North latitude." Edward Terry in Purchas his Pilgrimes, (1625), Part II, Bk.IX, Chap. 6, p.1463. For climate, fauna and flora, industry and commerce of the Canaries see E.B., Vol.4, p.728.

presently to shrink upon their backs and the water "of these slimy unwholesome showres (sic)" brought forth many offensive creatures. In short, the situation was the same as that in which the Ancient Mariner found himself after killing the albatross:

All in a hot and copper sky,
The bloody sun, at noon,
Right up above the mast did stand,
No bigger than the moon.

Driven by a fair breeze the Mariner's ship entered the Pacific Ocean when suddenly it was "becalmed":

Day after day, day after day,
We stuck, nor breath nor motion;
As idle as a painted ship
Upon a painted ocean.

Coleridge's Mariner also found "slimy things" crawling "with legs Upon the slimy sea." But when the showers came and "the upper air burst into life", the Ancient Mariner was refreshed and his penance came to an end. Terry and his companions, however, continued to suffer in the rain and wind which ceased only when the fleet reached "two degrees South-west of the Equinoctial" where they arrived on 28th April. On 19th May they passed the Tropic of Capricorn, thus completing full seven weeks under the Torrid Zone, and on 12th June they reached the Bay of Saldanha, an inlet on the south-western coast of South Africa, forming a land-locked harbour. Here they found one of the Company's ships, called the Lion, coming from Surat. When at last they left the harbour, well furnished and refreshed, the fifth ship of the fleet, the Swan, took her separate way for Bantam. On 29th they doubled

the Cape of Good Hope, on 22nd July discovered the Great Island of Madagascar, commonly known as Saint Lawrence, and on the 6th of August met a portuguese carrack. When she was hailed by the Globe, "she answered indirectly ... calling our men Rogues, Theeves, Heretickes, Devils, and the conclusion of her rude complement was in loud Canon Language."¹ Terry gives a moving description of the fight that ensued between the English and the Portuguese, a dreadful fight in which the English lost their captain, Joseph, besides some half a dozen men, while the Portuguese lost more than four hundred lives, and their carrack, "reported of incredible wealth, both in money and commodities."² stuck fast between two rocks, was wrecked and burnt. The English fleet proceeded in search of a good harbour where their wounded and sick men could be comforted. They came to a very good island, exceedinly fruitful and "abounding in Beeves, Kids, Poultry, Sugar-canes, Rice, Plantens, Oranges, Coquer-nuts, and many other wholesome things."³ Having furnished themselves with supplies of nuts and other necessaries, they resumed their voyage to the Indies. After passing through a number of islands, they at last saw the mainland of East Indies on the 21st of September, and on the following day, sighted Diu and Daman, well fortified and inhabited by the Portuguese. On the 25th they came safely to Swally Road in the Bay of Cambay.

The rest of Terry's narrative has been divided by Purchas

1. Purchas, op.cit., p.1464.
2. Marginal note in Purchas, op.cit., p.1466.
3. Purchas, op.cit., p.1466.

into three parts:

1. Description of the Mughal Empire, and the most remarkable things of Nature and Art therein,
2. Of the people of Hindustan, their Stature, Colour, Habit, Diet, Women, Language, Learning, Arts, Riding, Games, Markets, Arms, Valour, Mosques, Burials, Opinions, and Rites of Religion, and
3. Of the Gentile Sects, Opinions, Rites; Priests, and other observations of Religion and State in those parts.

There is obviously no mention anywhere in these descriptions of how Terry came to be appointed as Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain and how he came to possess so abundant an experience of India. From the 1655 edition of his Voyage to East-India, however, we learn that immediately after his arrival in India, he was sent for by Sir Thomas Roe, Lord Ambassador, then residing at Jahangir's court, to occupy the post of the Reverend John Hall, his chaplain, who had died a month earlier. Terry lived with "that most Noble Gentleman" at the Mughal court about two and a half years, after which he returned home to England with him. During this period of his residence there, says Terry, he "had very good advantage to take notice of very many places, and persons and things, travelling with the Ambassador much in Progress with that King up and down his very large Territories."¹

Shortly after his return from India Terry wrote an account of his life in the East and presented the manuscript to the Prince of Wales in the year 1622.² It was probably from the Prince that

1. Edward Terry, A Voyage to East-India, (London: T. W. for J. Martin etc., 1655), p.57.
2. Ibid. See "To the Reader", sig. A.2 Recto.

Purchas acquired the manuscript of Terry's narrative, which he published, after some editorial pruning, in the second part of his Pilgrimes (1625). In 1655, at the request of a London printer who had somehow acquired his manuscript, Terry undertook to revise his work and published it in a much expanded form, seven or eight times the length of his original narrative in Purchas.

That his Voyage was an exceedingly popular work is confirmed not only by its republication, in 1655, in a volume containing the travels of Pietro della Valle,¹ but also by its numerous translations in foreign languages. Two Dutch editions of the narrative came out in the years 1707 and 1727, entitled Scheeps-togt van Edward Terry, Na Oost-Indien,² and a French translation, entitled Voyage de Edovard Terri, Aux Indes Orientales, appeared in 1663 and was reissued in 1696.³ More than a century after its first dumpy English edition of 547 pages, Terry's book once again appeared in London, this time a large octavo volume containing 513 pages. Of the other works by the reverend gentleman, two deserve mention: Lawlesse Liberty set forth in a Sermon preached before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor of London, etc. in Pauls,⁴ August 16, 1646, and The Merchants and Mariners Preservation and Thanks-giving, Or,

-
1. See The Travels of Sig. Pietro della Valle, a Noble Roman, into East-India and Arabia Deserta, (London: Printed by J. Maccock, for John Place, 1665).
 2. See P. Van Der Aa: Naaukeurige versameling der ... Zee-en Land-Reysen, etc. Vol.104, 1707, etc., and Aanmerkenswaardigst Zee'en Landreizen der Portugeezen, etc. Deel 6. 1727, etc.
 3. See Relations de divers Voyages Curieux, Paris, 1663 and 1696.
 4. See Sermons (1633-1758). Br. Museum Cat. No. E356(11).

Thankfulnesse Returned, for Mercies received. Set forth in a Sermon of Thanksgiving, Preached at St Andrewes,¹ September 6, 1649. It appears from the second that although after his return home he had little to do with the Company of East India merchants, yet at least on one occasion the merchants honoured their old chaplain by inviting him to deliver a sermon on the occasion of "a late Returne of seven of their ships together." On his arrival, Terry retired to his Oxford college for a while, but was soon appointed Minister of the Word and Rector of the Church at Great Greenford in the County of Middlesex, which position he held from 1629 till his death.

2

From the summaries given by Purchas at the heads of the three divisions of Terry's narrative it is evident that the writer covers a wide range of subjects and aims at presenting a comprehensive picture of the conditions prevailing in the Mughal Empire during Jahangir's reign. A perusal of the narrative itself confirms the belief that Purchas's enumeration of the subjects described by Terry was neither arbitrary nor fanciful. Terry² begins with a catalogue of territories in the possession of the Great Mughal. His dominion is said to have been bounded

-
1. See Collection of Pamphlets (1646-7). Br. Museum Cat. No. 694. E.6(1).
 2. His narrative as given by Purchas has been considered sufficient for the purposes of this study. The expanded 1655 edition of the Voyage included most of the details of the earlier version besides amplifying his previous statements and adding a good deal of moral and religious disquisitions. This edition, too, has been consulted wherever necessary.

on the east with the kingdom of the Mughls, west with Persia, north with the mountains of Caucasus and Tartary, south with the Deccan and Gulf of Bengal. The Deccan was divided among three Muhammadan kings and some other Rajput rajās. The spacious monarchy, called by the inhabitants Hindustan, was divided into thirty-seven "provinces", which in ancient times were particular kingdoms, covering about two thousand miles from north-west to south-east, and about fourteen hundred miles from north to south. Terry gives a list of these "provinces", mentioning their geographical position and certain other features wherever possible.

Some geographers, to the great surprise of our author, represented China and India as neighbours in their globes and maps. Terry corrects this error and points out that there were many large countries interposed between them. Next he recounts his impressions of the wealth and vastness of the Mughal empire. To him Jahangir is "the greatest knowne King of the East, if not of the World."¹ He finds his dominion extremely rich and fertile, "so much abounding in all necessaries for the use of man, as that it is able to subsist and flourish of it selfe, without the least helpe from any Neighbour."² There was plenty of good wheat, rice, barley and other kinds of foodstuffs obtainable everywhere in the kingdom. Indians grew wheat in the manner Terry's countrymen did, but Indian wheat was somewhat

1. Purchas his Pilgrimes, (1625), Part II, Bk. IX, Chap.6, p.1468.

2. Ibid.

bigger and whiter, the inhabitants making from it an excellent kind of bread. Terry describes how people made their bread and how they ate it. He is impressed with the number of cattle the Indians had. The large numbers of cattle, sheep and goats available provided them with butter and cheese and their buffaloes gave them good milk. The whole kingdom was full of forests, teeming with wild hares. Of fish and fowl there was an infinite variety, and geese, ducks, pigeons, partridges and peacocks were extremely cheap. In fact, a good sheep could be had for only a shilling, four "couple of hennes" for the same price, one hare for a penny, three partridges for as little. To season their good provision they had plenty of salt, and to sweeten it plenty of sugar, so cheap that one could buy a pound of it for two pence. Similarly, all kinds of fruits - melons, lemons, oranges, dates, figs, grapes, etc. - were everywhere available. Varieties of apples and pears could be had in the northern part of the empire. Amongst spices and salads they had onion, garlic, ginger, and other choice herbs. Toddy, a pleasant clear liquor, issuing from a tree very straight and tall, was very cheap and could be obtained at many places in the north.

As regards the climate of the country, Terry found that at Surat and in the regions round Agra it rained during only three months of the year when the sun came to the Northern Tropic. The rains were mostly violent, accompanied with most fearful tempests, thunder, and lightning, "more terrible than I can

expresse, yet seldom doe harme."¹ This heavy rain-fall enriched the country just as the Nile enriched Egypt. After the rainy season, however, the sky became clear once again, completely free of the clouds that had overrun it continuously for three months. The soil was extremely fertile, people tilling it with oxen and foot-ploughs. Varieties of trees, flowers and woods made the whole country attractive to the eye. The Indus and the Ganges, the two principal rivers of Northern India, irrigated this region. Terry reported a curious thing: a pint of the water of the Ganges weighed less by an ounce than any in the whole kingdom, and therefore the Emperor had it brought to him wherever he was "in fine Copper Jars, excellently well lin'd on the inside."² In addition to these rivers, the Indians had innumerable wells and ponds, and tanks filled with rain-water. "This ancient drinke of the World is the common drinke of India, it is more sweet and pleasant than ours, and in those hot Countries, agreeth better with mens bodies, than any other Liquor."³ The Indians made a kind of wine called "Raack" (arsk), distilled from sugar and jagra. People who were strict in their religion drank coffee instead of wine. Coffee helped digestion, quickened the spirits, and cleansed the blood. Another habit of the people was to chew a herb called pan or betel. It had many rare qualities: it preserved their teeth,

1. Ibid., p.1469

2. Terry, op.cit., p.105.

3. Purchas, op.cit., p.1470.

comforted their brain, strengthened their stomach, and cured or prevented a tainted breath.

The months of April and May and the beginning of June were unendurably hot and the wind blowing over the parched ground was very disagreeable. Moreover, there were occasional storms and gales, raising up thick clouds of dust and sand, which greatly inconvenienced the people. "But", expatiates the chaplain, "there is no Countrey without some discommodities, for therefore the wise Disposer of all things hath tempered bitter things with sweet, to teach man that there is no true and perfect content to be found in any Kingdom, but that of God."¹

Terry's opinion of Indian buildings is not very high. He found them generally mean, except those in the cities where they were made of brick or stone, "well squared and composed." In the north the houses were built high and flat on the top, without, of course, chimneys, for they used fire only for cooking. In their upper rooms they had many doors and windows to let in the air, but used no glass. The innumerable trees among their houses were meant to protect them against the violence of the sun.

Their staple commodities were indigo, cotton, silk, velvet, satin, and taffetas, gum-lac, and wax. Their rich mines yielded many precious minerals, such as lead, iron, copper, brass and silver. They imported spices from the islands of Java, Sumatra, and the Moluccas. Their numerous places of pleasure had

1. Ibid., p.1471

beautiful gardens, "planted with fruitfull Trees and delightful Flowers, to which Nature daily lends such a supply as that they seeme never to fade. In these places they have pleasant Fountaynes to bathe in, and other delights by sundrie conveyances of water, whose silent murmure helps to lay their senses with the bonds of sleepe in the hot seasons of the day."¹

But India was not an earthly Paradise. It had, besides its parching summer heats, many lions, tigers, snakes, and other dangerous creatures. Flies increased with the heat and caused much annoyance, covering the food as soon as it was placed on the table. Nor were the hot, oppressive nights free from such discomforts. Mosquitoes, bugs and rats were certainly not conducive to sleep; and Terry could only roll about in his bed, caught up in the coils of a prolonged insomnia, till the very early hours of the morning, when his eyes would close against his will. In summer clouds of dust rose and strong gales shrieked, striking terror into the heart of a foreigner unaccustomed to this sort of climate. Terry believed that these discomforts were meant to remind people of the imperfection of such contentment as was to be found on this earth. The inconveniences to be found in such a wonderland as India naturally strengthened his belief that no kingdom in this world, but only that of God, could bring perfect happiness to man.

Resuming his discussion of the various articles for which

1. Ibid., p.1471.

India was then noted, Terry states that the country also afforded very good horses, which the inhabitants knew well how to manage. Besides their own, they had many of the Persian, Tartarian, and Arabian breed. They had likewise a great number of camels, mules, asses, etc., and some rhinoceros. The number of elephants they had was astonishingly large, the King alone having fourteen thousand. Terry describes the size and colour of Indian elephants, their disposition, habits, food, and carriage, adding to his observations the story of a mad elephant which did not harm a lone child left by his mother, because she used to give it a handful of herbs whenever it passed by. Jahangir's love of elephants and of watching elephant-fights is then recounted and various undertakings the huge animals were employed in are described. Concluding his remarks on Indian elephants, Terry points out that when they are made to stand in the sun and are vexed by flies, they "make dust" with their feet and cast it about their bodies with their trunks. A mad elephant is kept fettered with chains, apart from its companions, but if perchance it gets loose, it strikes anything that comes in its way, except its master.

The second section of Terry's narrative opens with a brief account of the inhabitants of India. Before the Muhammadan conquest of the country, the inhabitants were "Gentiles, or notorious Idolaters, called in generall Hindoos,"¹ but after

1. Purchas, op.cit., p.1473.

it they came to be mixed with Muhammadans. There were also Persians, Tartars, Armenians, Abyssinians, and Jews. The Indians were like the Europeans in stature, but generally very straight and of a tawny complexion. They did not love a man or woman who was very white or fair, because that was, they said, the colour of the lepers so common amongst them. For their dress they wore white cotton-cloth, long breeches underneath, made close to their bodies, their shoes like slippers so that they could readily put them off before entering their houses, whose floors were covered with excellent native carpets. Men covered their heads with a long thin piece of cloth, which they did not remove when revering their superiors; they bent their bodies instead, putting their right hands to the top of their heads after having touched the earth with them, and saying "Greeb-a Nemoas, that is, I wish the Prayers of the Poore".¹ Muslim women did not come out abroad, except when forced by poverty or dishonesty. They covered their heads with veils and allowed their hair to hang down behind, twisted with silk. Those of rich families bedecked their necks and wrists with many jewels, their ears with lustrous pendants, and nostrils with radiant rings. "The women in those parts have a great happinesse above all I know", observed Terry, "in their easie bringing forth of Children, for it is a thing common there for women great with Childe, one day to ride carrying their Infants in their bodies;

1. Ibid.

the next day to ride again, carrying them in their arms."¹

The vulgar language of the Mughal empire was called "Indostan, a smooth tongue, and easie to be pronounced,"² and bearing a striking resemblance to the English language at least in the manner it was written. Persian and Arabic, the learned tongues, were written to the left, unlike Hindustani. Although the people lacked learning and suffered from a lamentable dearth of books, they undoubtedly had "strong capacities", and "were there literature among them, would be the Authors of many excellent Workes."³ They knew Aristotle and had his works translated in Arabic. For all kinds of diseases common in India their doctors prescribed fasting as an effective remedy. People in general lived as many years as Terry's countrymen did, but he found old men more numerous in India than in his own country. Indians loved music and had many stringed and wind instruments which seemed to his unaccustomed ears, to produce nothing but discord. They had many poets who composed stories and annals of their country, and a large number of astrologers, in whom people, poor and rich alike, had too much faith.

For the Gentiles the first of March was the beginning of a new year, and for Muhammadans the day when the sun entered into Aries. Terry witnessed the feast of Nauroz at Mandu, when the King was presented with numerous gifts by his nobles, and for the first time the English Chaplain "beheld most immense and incredible Riches ...

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., p.1474.

3. Ibid.

in Gold, Pearles, Precious Stones, Jewels, and many other glittering vanities."¹ The palace at Mandu had many excellent arches and vaults, all testifying to the exquisite skill of his subjects in architecture. Tom Coryat and other merchants coming from Agra had informed him of a palace there "wherein two large Towers, the least ten foot square, are covered with plate of the purest Gold."² Terry found no hangings on the walls of the houses: they were either painted, or else washed with a pure white lime; the floors were paved with stone or else made with lime and sand and spread with rich carpets. No one was permitted to enter the Emperor's harem but his women and eunuchs. Terry found a kind of preparation called Deu Pario "the most savorie meate" he had ever tasted, and considered it "that very Dish which Jacob made ready for his father, when he got the blessing."³ There were inns only in great towns, but not like those in England. In India one could obtain a room all gratis, but one had to bring one's own cook and the necessary provisions for meals. People of the lower rank rode on oxen, horses, mules, camels, or dromedaries, their women doing the same, or else they travelled in bullock-carts. The better sort rode on elephants or were carried from one place to another upon men's shoulders in a thing called a palankee (palanquin). For their sports and pastimes, people delighted in hawking and

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p.1475.

hunting of hares, deer and other wild beasts, and in their homes played "that most ingenious game we call Chesse."¹ Jugglers and mountebanks delighted them with their several tricks as did their apes and monkeys. In the southern part of India there were great numbers of white monkeys, the sworn enemies of those birds that made their nests in trees.

The rest of the section comprehends a great variety of subjects - Indian markets, the fidelity of the natives, their courage, munitions, mosques, burials, saints, priests, fasts, feasts, books, eunuchs, marriages, etc. Indians are praised for their faithful service to their masters and for their honesty and integrity. A stranger, Terry found, could travel alone, with a great amount of money or goods, without the least fear of being molested, kidnapped, or robbed on the way. The Baluchis and Pathans amongst the Muhammadans, and the Rajputs amongst the Hindus were well-known throughout the country for their heroism in battle. These people excepted, all the rest in the country were "Pusilanimous, and had rather quarrell than fight, having such poore spirits in respect of us Christians, that the Mogol is pleased often to use this Proverbe, that one Portugal will beate three of them, and one English-man three Portugals."² Their soldiers, however, were famous for their display of marksmanship. Apart from gun-powder, which they made "very good", they used lances, swords, and shields, bows and

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., p.1476.

arrows. Despite all their skill in warfare, however, the Indians did not know how to manufacture good swords, nor did they know good discipline. Usually, therefore, the armies on both sides began "with most furious onsets," but in very short time one side would be utterly routed, and the issue would be decided without much slaughter.

The mosques were built of stone, facing the east, their length being north and south, which way the Muhammadans buried their dead. At the corners were high pinnacles to which Mullahs would ascend at certain times of the day and proclaim in Arabic: "La Alla, illa Alla, Mahomet Resul-Alla: that is, No God but one God, and Mahomet the Ambassador of God."¹ Once Thomas Coryat had the rashness to contradict them and shout out: "La Alla, illa Alla, Hazaret-Eesa Ebn-Alla. No God but one God, and Christ the Sonne of God; and further added, that Mahomet was an Imposter."² In those places of Asia where Islam was more zealously professed this impetuosity of "the English fakir" would have caused him to forfeit his life "with as much torture as Tyrannie could invent."³ In India, however, every man had "libertie to professe his owne Religion freely."⁴ Mullahs, or priests, were free to marry and live like the rest of the people. Some of them no doubt lived retired lives, spending their days in meditation or preaching to their countrymen high moral precepts. Some of them prayed five

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

times every day "to the shame of us Christians."¹ Muhammadans as well as Hindus prized temperence, abstaining from such food and drink as their law forbade. They hated gluttony and esteemed drunkenness a second madness. The Muhammadan friars, called dervishes, subjected their bodies to such tortures as far exceeded those the Romanists boasted of. They did not marry, but those who did were allowed to have four wives by their religion. Only the priests had one wife, all the rest keeping as many women as they were able. Married Muslim women were not permitted to mix with men other than their husbands or their eunuchs. Still, however, there were innumerable brothels and "impudent harlots" were tolerated. Marriages were solemnized with great pomp and show.

The last section of the narrative, consisting of four folio pages of the Pilgrimes, is set apart for the description of the Hindus, their beliefs, dress, and festivals, and of various things relating to the administration of justice and Judicial procedure, civil and military services, the children of Jahangir, his religious toleration, etc. Terry's opinion of the Hindu religion was, on the whole, very low. He found the Hindus divided into "fourscore and foure severall Sects", all having illiterate Brahmans for their priests. Their churches were circular and called "Pagodes", and in these were installed their "monstrous" idols which they worshipped. Priesthood was hereditary, as it was in ancient times among the Jews. Inter-caste marriages were tabooed, but early marriages everywhere prevalent. Their dress did not

1. Ibid., p. 1477.

differ from that of the Muhammadans, but their women wore rings upon their toes and in their ears, and went bare-footed. Both men and women washed their bodies every day before they ate, this outward washing being taken for their spiritual purification. Thus they attached a certain divinity to rivers, especially the Ganges, daily flocking thither in large numbers. They burned their dead, and did not allow their widows to re-marry. To avoid their subsequent shame and humiliation, the unfortunate women preferred sati to enforced penitential widowhood. The Parsees, a "sect among the Gentiles",¹ neither burned nor buried their dead; they kept them on the towers specially constructed for the purpose, remote from the city and roadways, thus giving them "no other Tombes but the gorges of ravenous fowles."²

The remainder of the narrative deals with some well-known facts of history and also throws some valuable light on the general administration of the empire. Jahangir, the ruler, was the ninth in a direct line from Timur the Lame. He styled himself "The King of Justice, the light of the Law of Mahomet, the Conqueror of the World."³ Trials were quick and the executions commonly took place in the market place. There were no written laws: the King's will, in fact, was law. His viceroys were not allowed to continue long in one place, and were normally transferred annually to prevent them from becoming too popular. The Emperor followed a set routine: he showed himself to his

1. Ibid., p.1479.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p.1480.

subjects thrice a day, first at sun-rising, when he was greeted by them with the cries of "Padsha Salament"; at noon he was elephant fights or amused himself with other pastimes, and a little before sun-set showed himself at a window to the west. As regards his nobles, they were purely officers of the state. No element of heredity was involved in their appointment. Neither the offices nor the titles descended from father to son. The higher ranks of the hierarchy were graded into a combined civil and military service and were known as mansabdars, or holders of rank. Every holder of rank was required to equip and furnish a stated number of foot and horse and to maintain a prescribed establishment. The chief officers of the state were the treasurer, the master of the eunuchs, the secretary, the master of the elephants, the tent-master, the keeper of the wardrobe, etc. Although the Emperor had a great multitude of wives and concubines, he had only six children, five sons and a daughter. He tolerated all religions and held their priests in good esteem. Terry himself often received from Jahangir "the appellation of Father, with other many gracious words, with place amongst his best Nobles."¹

3

Though the abstract given here does no justice to the vast mass of information in the narrative, it makes clear one fact of profound significance for us. It suggests, by its extent and

1. Ibid., p.1481.

amplitude, not only the incompleteness of the narratives considered so far, but also the multiplicity of Terry's interests. There is evidently no subject that he has not either dealt with in detail or else briefly touched upon. His eyes have moved freely from the exalted palaces of the Great Mughal to the base cottages of the poor, enabling him to furnish in the pages of his Voyage a valuable repertory of descriptions of all kinds. It may also be pointed out that the accounts which add little or nothing to what we already know from Sir Thomas Roe are outnumbered by those passages which contain invaluable details that no other traveller furnishes. The Voyage to East-India affords, on the whole, an excellent picture of Jahangir's India, drawn by one of the most acute observers of the early seventeenth century.

Opinions are varied regarding the usefulness of Terry's moral and religious homilies, which are scattered throughout the 1655 edition of the Voyage. To Sir William Foster the expanded edition is "exceedingly wearisome to readers who have no taste for seventeenth-century divinity."¹ E. F. Oaten, on the other hand, considers this work to be "excellent and diverting reading, the writer, even in the midst of his perpetual sermonizing, remaining interesting."² Louis B. Wright, Robert Sencourt and others, are silent about the matter. These disquisitions, no doubt, impair the easy flow of the narrative and add little to the reader's

1. Early Travels in India (Humphrey Milford, 1921), p.290.

2. European Travellers in India (London: Kegan Paul, etc., 1909), p.167.

knowledge of India. They appear extraneous to the subject-matter and are too tedious to be palatable. In the seventeenth century, of course, such moralizings were not without meaning, especially when the writer was a preacher. Passages of pious rumination are interspersed also among the geographical narratives and descriptions of Purchas.¹ This very quality, as Louis B. Wright points out, "helped to give his writings authority and to make them interesting to his generation."² Today, however, such moralizings appear too aggressive, and the reader feels uneasy when he is imposed upon by writers who so obviously underestimate his intelligence.

It is only natural that the religious zeal which prompted Edward Terry to hang "long moral and religious disquisitions" on all possible pegs should also lead him to look with disfavour upon the religions of India. To understand why most of the English travellers sometimes evinced an unsympathetic attitude to Oriental religions, we must remember that they were acutely aware of the greatness of their own country which, to them, was "the supporter of Protestantism, the bulwark of Europe against Rome."³ They hated Spain as much for her material strength as for her adherence to a religion which they had discarded, and,

-
1. Louis B. Wright, Religion and Empire (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1943), p.133. For the universal fondness for homilies in the early 17th century see Wright's Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Chapel Hill, 1935), p.228 et sqq.
 2. Louis B. Wright, Religion and Empire, p.133.
 3. Wallace Notestein, The English People on the Eve of Colonization (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1954), p.10.

therefore, they delighted in capturing her ships and bringing home her rich treasures. Although "in many ways the Church of England was in a more satisfactory condition at the end of the sixteenth century than at any previous time,"¹ the travellers were brought up in an atmosphere charged with fear and religious strife. Puritanism, which seemed likely to prevail in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, had received a set-back only during the nineties.² Moreover, in spite of the decline of Roman Catholicism "most Englishmen continued to believe that the restoration of Popery was an ever present threat."³ Thus in matters of religion the early merchant adventurers were, at times, naturally intolerant, especially the preachers who, more than the laity, regarded every religion other than their own as heathenish and superstitious. In these early years they took an interest in missionary activities, regarding the conversion of the natives as an important step toward the realisation of the Christian ideal. Nearly a century earlier a poet had expressed this sentiment as follows:

O what a great meritorious deed
 To have the people instructed
 To live more virtuously
 And to learn to know of men the manner,
 And also God their maker,
 Which as yet live all beastly!
 For they never know God nor the devil,
 Nor ever heard tell of heaven or hell,
 Writing, or other scripture. 4

-
1. Godfrey Davies, The Early Stuarts (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1937), p.66.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.
 4. John Rastell, "A New Interlude and a Mery of the Nature of the llll Elements," quoted in James E. Gillespie, The Influence of Oversea Expansion on England to 1700 (New York, Columbia University, 1920), p.187.

William Crashaw, in a sermon delivered on February 1, 1610, had exhorted his countrymen about to start for the settlement of America, saying:

And you right honourable and beloved, who engage your lives and are therefore deepliest interested in this business, who make the greatest ventures, and bear the greatest burdens, - who leave your ease and honour at home, and commend yourselves to the seas and winds for the good of the enterprise, — you who desire to advance the gospel of Jesus Christ, though it be with the hazard of your lives, go forward in the name of the God of heaven and earth, the God that keepeth counsel and mercy to thousands. 1

And John Donne, in one of his sermons before the Virginia Company had observed:

Those among you that are old now shall pass out of the world with this great comfort, that you contributed to the beginning of the Commonwealth and Church, although not to see the growth thereof to perfection ... You shall have made this island, which is but as the suburbs of the Old World a bridge, a gallery to the New, to join all to that world that shall never grow old, the kingdom of Heaven. 2

But the preachers who came to India found themselves faced with a much more difficult task than that which their countrymen in America were called upon to face. Though Indian religions were encrusted with many dogmas, rituals and superstitions, yet they had also produced a long line of thinkers and philosophers, and the country was upon the whole prosperous. It was inhabited by nations as civilized, in their own way, as the Europeans themselves - nations accustomed to luxuries of which Europe had but a faint conception, and of such wealth that the accounts which

1. James E. Gillespie, Loc.cit.

2. Ibid.

reached England seemed more like the stories of the Arabian Nights than the actual realities of daily life. Moreover, the country was protected by such large bodies of troops and trains of artillery as might have excited the admiration of even European states. Not many years before Terry's arrival in India, Akbar had "deprived Sunnism of its privileged position as the state religion and promulgated an edict of tolerance and protection on behalf of the Hindu cults."¹ Being interested in Brahman philosophy, he had caused the Artharva Veda and the great epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, to be translated into Persian,² and his avowed partiality for Hindu practices and modes of thought had undoubtedly contributed to the brilliant development of original Hindi poetry in his reign.³ In northern India, Hinduism had received fresh impetus from the writings of the eight disciples of Vallabhacharya and his son Bithal Nath. Amongst these the most notable was Surdas, "the blind bard of Agra", who described in his Sursagar the sports of Krishna's early life, and composed many verses on the charm of Krishna and his beloved Radha. Amongst Terry's Indian contemporaries was Tulsi Das, "the greatest man of his age in India",⁴ who wrote a huge epic poem in seven

1. Rene Grousset, The Civilizations of the East (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1932), Vol,II, p.352.

2. Vincent A. Smith, Akbar the great Moghul (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1917), p.423. Rene Grousset's statement that Akbar caused the Vedas and the Darshanas to be translated into Persian and Hindustani (op.cit., p.354), is a piece of sweeping generalisation based on materials which, obviously, he did not care to verify.

3. Vincent A. Smith, op.cit., p.421

4. Ibid., p.417.

books, commonly known as the Ramayan, but entitled by the author "the Pool of Rama's Life" (Ram-charit-manas). With all these poets and saints bringing home to the masses the true message of their religion, it was impossible for a foreign religion to supplant Hinduism to any considerable extent. It was at the same time true that Hinduism had encouraged all sorts of superstitious beliefs and had done little to ameliorate the condition of child-widows and to prevent the tyranny of the priests who bluffed everyone into a credulous acceptance of their integrity. Akbar had made a laudable effort to check sati and had always "insisted on the principle that no widow should be forced to burn against her will."¹ But the time was not yet ripe for the total prohibition of this monstrous practice. The Mughal princes themselves set a vicious example by their polygamous activities. Not satisfied with their queens, the high-born ladies taken in lawful wedlock, some of them kept hundreds of secondary wives and concubines, wretched women who were carefully screened from the sight of all men but their husbands and close relatives. When the wars were over and the princes returned to the capital, they had not much to do, except to set about the only other conquests left to them, conquests of women. Indeed, few of the Mughals cared to limit themselves to the four wives canonically sanctioned, and Jahangir's recorded marriages numbered twenty.

Not only Terry but other early European travellers as well

1. Ibid., p.226.

evinced only a superficial interest in the religions of India. They described truthfully what they saw, without the least concern about making sustained investigations into the origin and development of the practices they observed. A good number of years devoted to the study of Oriental languages and religions would have yielded some valuable results. But none of these early pioneers of British intercourse with India had opportunity, patience or even motive enough to begin what their countrymen began almost a century later. A comparative investigation of the religions of the world would have revealed a curious fact which was at length noted by Sir William Jones, "a Prodigy in Languages",¹ who observed that the six philosophical schools of the Hindus, whose principles are explained in the Darshan Shastra, "comprise all the metaphysics of the old Academy, the Stoa, the Lyceum; nor is it possible to read the Vedanta, or the many fine compositions in illustration of it, without believing, that Pythagoras and Plato derived their sublime theories from the same fountain with the sages of India."² Colebrooke, Inman, King, Jacolliot, and many other Orientalists, held the same opinion.

The picture of Hindu religion drawn by Terry is no doubt one-sided, presenting very little of those qualities that endeared it to later writers like Sir H. M. Eliot, yet it is not a distorted picture. Although the failings and imperfections of this religion

-
1. John Walsh to Francis Fowke. See Catalogue of European MSS. in the India Office Library, Vol.II, pt.II, p.132.
 2. Dissertations and Miscellaneous Pieces, (Dublin: P. Byrne, etc. 1793), p.79.

alone have been recounted, yet there is copious evidence to confirm all that has been said. Terry found the Hindus "distracted in fourscore and foure severall sects" which filled him with wonder, but he knew "Satan (the father of division) to be the seducer of them all." This is not an exaggeration. Even before the Muslim invasion of India, many of the present-day caste groups were already in existence.¹ Even the attempts to break down the organisation of the castes made by the religious reformers of the late Middle Ages, such as Basava, Ramanand, and Kabir ended in failure. In fact, these attempts themselves gave rise to some new castes. "The Sikhs, despite the outspoken sentiments of their gurus and the adoption of rites deliberately intended to break down caste prejudice, such as the ritual meal eaten in common, did not overcome caste feeling. Even the Muslims, for all their equalitarian faith, formed caste groups. The Syrian Christians of Malabar early divided into sections which took on a caste character, and when in the sixteenth century Roman Catholic missionaries began to make converts in South India, their flocks brought their caste prejudices with them, and high-caste converts held themselves aloof from those of the lower orders."²

Terry's opinion that the Brahmans were "illiterate" and "so sottish and inconstant in their grounds that they scarce know what they hold," is echoed by other contemporary and later travellers to India. According to Bernier, the Brahmans were responsible for

1. A. L. Basham, The Wonder that was India (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1954), p.150.

2. Ibid., p.151. For a description of Hindu castes in the Memoirs of Jahangir, see pp.244 et seq.

most of the degrading practices of the Hindus, for their "gross errors and superstitions". "So wicked and detestable", wrote he, "are their tricks and impostures that I required the full and clear evidence of them - which I obtained - ere I could believe that they had recourse to similar expedients."¹ Pietro Della Valle compared them with the Levites of the Jews,² while Francisco Pelsaert found many Brahmans frequenting the streets, book in hand, to tell men their fortune, for which "they always get excellent measure, and their questions are met with ambiguous replies."³ De Laet, the Flemish geographer, made some interesting comments on the character and customs of these people. "The Baman", he says, "whom the Portuguese and Dutch commonly called Bramenes, sacrifice to the idols in the temples and preside at marriages, etc.; some of them live on charity, but may not eat or drink in the houses of Baneanes".⁴ He further observes that the "heathens who inhabit the realm of Golconda receive their religion with implicit faith from their priests, whom they call Bramenes, although these can give no other account of that religion except that they have received it for many centuries from their fore-fathers."⁵ Indeed, the Brahmans whom our travellers met were the children and great-great-grandchildren of those dreamers who, since the beginning of time, had set themselves apart from common humanity, in that they had never given themselves up to intemperance nor mingled either in commerce or in war. They had never slain even

-
1. Travels in the Mogul Empire (Humphrey Milford, 1914), p.305.
 2. The Travels (London: Hak. Society, 1892), Vol.I, p.80.
 3. W. H. Moreland and P Geyl, Jahangir's India, (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., 1925), p.77.
 4. J. S. Hoyland and S. N. Banerjee, The Empire of the Great Mogol, Bombay: D.B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 1928), p.87.
 5. Ibid.

the humblest created being, nor had they eaten anything that had ever lived. It would seem that they were moulded from a different and a purer clay than that of the travellers, one that had almost shaken off the trammels of the flesh, even before death had done its work. Their senses, too, must be more acute than those of the travellers, more capable of appreciating the things that lie beyond this transitory life. But their hopes of attaining a little wisdom from them were futile. From generation to generation their Brahmanism had become obscured by the abuse of ritual observances, and they no longer knew the hidden meaning of the symbols.

Niccolao Manucci must have startled his contemporaries when he remarked that Bernier had put many things of his own into his Mughal history and had written many things which did not occur at all - nor could they have occurred - in the way in which he related them. The eight years he spent at the Mughal court were not enough to observe the infinity of things the large empire contained. Nor could he so observe them, for he had no entrance to the court. Naturally, therefore, he relied upon information given to him by Pere Buzeo and Manucci himself.¹ All this may be true, but Bernier's criticism of the Brahmans and his description of many other things to be found in his History and Letters are not isolated phenomena; many travellers, as we have seen, bear out the substantial accuracy of his observations. Manucci, however,

1. Margaret L. Irvine, A Pepys of Mogul India (London: John Murray, 1913), p.110.

drew attention to an important truth when he pointed to the impossibility of seeing everything in India in a short period of eight years. Terry's much shorter stay was responsible not only for his lop-sided opinion of the Hindu religion but also for some of his optimistic views. If he had stayed for a few years more he would have seen grosser crimes than those which Coryat reported to him and would also have perceived the essential goodness of the religion which lay hidden behind the facade of Brahmanical superstitions.

Terry mentions a stupid practice popular among the pilgrims coming to Nagarkot. They used to cut off part of their tongues before the idol out of devotion. References to this practice found in Finch's narrative and in the Ain,¹ confirm that what Coryat reported to Terry was a faithful account, and not a fictitious story. Nothing, however, seemed more stupid to the early European travellers than the Hindu belief in the transmigration of souls. That the Jains carried this doctrine to fantastic extremes is evident from the accounts of many travellers, such as Pietro Della Valle, Edward Terry and Henry Lord. Summing up his account of Hindu and Muhammadan religions, Terry observes that "both Mahometans and Gentiles ground their opinions upon Tradition, not Reason, and are content to perish with their Fore-fathers, out of a preposterous zeale and loving perverseness never ruminating on that they maintayne, like to

1. The Ain, Vol.II, p.313.

uncleane beasts which chew not the Cud."¹

R. W. Frantz observed that during "the span of years reaching from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries, related forces persisted which gave to the voyage literature of that day a distinctive pattern, both in thought and in form."² One of the qualities that distinguished the Restoration traveller from his Elizabethan predecessor was, according to Frantz, the former's scientific approach to phenomena, his enthusiasm for the New Science. "Not content with haphazard observation, he strove to adhere to certain ideals, voiced from time to time by the members of the Royal Society, which were intended to guide the serious promoters of the New Science. Of these, three were outstanding: objectivity, skepticism, and precision."³ A perusal of Elizabethan travel literature shows on the other hand that all these ideals were more or less present in the narratives of the early voyagers. A few examples from Ralph Fitch's account may here be given. He was, like most of his contemporaries, ever on the lookout for evidence that would dissipate vulgar errors. At Patna he saw "a dissembling prophet which sate upon a horse in the market place, and made as though he slept, and many of the people came and touched his feete with their hands and then kissed their hands." People took him for a great man, but to Fitch "he was a lasie lubber." Here the critical spirit is quite evident. Of the Gentiles in Kutch Bihar, Ralph Fitch says:

1. Purchas his Pilgrimes, bk.IX, chap.6, p.1480

2. The English Traveller and the Movement of Ideas (The University Studies of the University of Nebraska, 1934), Vols.32-33, p.15.

3. Ibid. p.30.

... The people have eares which be marveilous great of a span long, which they draw out in length by devises when they be yong. Here they be all Gentiles, and they will kill nothing. They have hospitals for sheepe, goates, dogs, cats, birds, and for all other living creatures ... They wil give meat to the ants.

The willingness here revealed to deal justly with a foreign people is important. Somewhat contrary to the whole-hearted condemnation of foreign sects and religions is Fitch's spirit of understanding and tolerance which on occasion rises to the surface. His description of Burmese priests, for example, is as sympathetic as any of the eighteenth-century descriptions which Frantz has commended. "In Pegu they have many Tallipoies or priests," wrote Fitch,

which preach against all abuses. Many men resort unto them ... When the Tallipoies or priests take their orders, first they go to schoole untill they be twenty yeres olde or more, and then they come before a Tallipoie appointed for that purpose, whom they call Rowli. He is the chiefest and most learned, and he opposeth (i.e. questions) them, and afterward examineth them many times.....

Though conventional prejudices of the day are to be found in abundance in the writings of Fitch, Withington, Hawkins and Finch, there are also innumerable instances in which their attempt to render a fair-minded and just report of all remote peoples is quite apparent. Even Terry, who was more convinced than any other traveller of the essential purity and superiority of the Protestant faith, does not fail to reveal both sides of the picture. Sometime he honestly attempts to set forth the whole truth as he saw it. He condemns the idolatry of the Hindus, but praises them for their industry. "The Gentiles for the most part are very industrious," he wrote,

They till the ground or else spend their time otherwaies diligently in their vocations. There are amongst them most curious Artificers, who are the best Apes for imitation in the world, for they will make any new thing by patterne. The Mahometans are generally idle, who are all for tomorrow (a word common in their mouthes) they live upon the labours of the Gentiles. 1

He declares, furthermore, that "I must needs commend the Mahumetans, and Gentiles, for their good and faithfull Service, amongst whom a stranger may travell alone with a great charge of money or goods, quite through the Countrey, and take them for his guard, yet never bee neglected or injured by them."² He noted their extreme hyprocrisy in the matter of religion, but he also pronounced them honest and kind to their parents,³ and happy.

Of their language, he wrote:

For the Language of this Empire, I mean the vulgar, it is called Indostan, a smoth tongue, and easie to be pronounced, which they write as wee to the right hand... There is little Learning among them, a reason whereof may be their penury of Bookes, which are but few... 4.

He tells us that "their illiterate Priests are called Bramins, who for ought I could ever gather, are so sottish and inconstant in their grounds, that they scarce know what they hold."⁵ Yet

-
1. Purchas his Pilgrimes, p.1479. 2. Ibid., p.1475.
 3. Ibid., pp.1475 et seq. 4. Ibid., p.1474
 5. Ibid., p.1478. Compare: "I once ask'd an old Priest, who was held more knowing than others, grey, and clad all in white, carrying a staff like a Shepherds crook in his Hand, What Books he had read, and what he had studied? adding that I myself delighted in reading, and that if he would speak to me about any thing I would answer him. He told me that all Books were made only that Men might by means thereof know God, and, God being known, to what purpose were Books? as if he knew God very well. I reply'd that all thought they knew God but yet few knew him aright; and therefore he should beware that himself were not one of those." The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1892), Vol.II, p.278. Needless to say, Della Valle is here referring to his conversation with a Hindu sannyasi, and not with an ordinary Brahman priest.

he points out that these natives are "doubtlesse ... men of strong capacities; and were there literature among them, would be the Authors of many excellent Workes."¹ He agrees with other voyagers that they stuck fast to their heathenish religion and cruel practices, but he finds them kind at heart, delighting in music and having many stringed and wind instruments.² He was of course subject to human fallibility as were the Restoration voyagers, and his vision, accordingly, was at times obscured by conventional religious prejudices. Nevertheless, the aim to state the truth and to present the facts of experience in their true perspective is quite evident in his Voyage to East-India.

In one respect, however, Terry differs radically from the Restoration travellers, and that is in his speculations and personal reflections which the travellers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries generally avoided. Nahum Tate voiced the Restoration ideal in his laudatory poem "To Mr. J. Ovington, on his Voyage to Suratt" (1696), in the following words:

As dreaming Wizzards Midnight Journeys take,
And weary with imagin'd Labour wake,
So vain is Speculation's fancy'd Flight:
But search of Nature gives sincere Delight.
Through her vast Book the World, a curious Eye
May Wonders in each pregnant Page descry,
Make new Remarks, which Reason may reduce
To Humane Benefit, and Publick Use. 3

Tate's ideal traveller did not indulge in idle speculation, but furnished new remarks which "Reason" could dominate and reduce to

1. Ibid., p.1474.

2. Ibid.

3. Quoted by R. W. Frantz, op.cit., pp.19 et seq.

the benefit of mankind. Similar views were expressed by writers like Martin Martin in A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland (1703), Pinkerton's Voyages, III, and Robert Beverly in his History of Virginia (1705).¹ They unanimously held the view that a writer of travels should refrain from the airing of private theories and from indulging in individual speculation. Terry, on the other hand, does not consider himself a mere collector, but also an interpreter, of data. He was, as Purchas rightly observed, a "Scholar-Christian-Preacher-Traveller",² all rolled into one, and accordingly his writings bear the stamp of all these aspects of his personality. The 1655 edition of his Voyage to East-India contains numerous passages that are nothing but religious reflections. After informing the reader that he undertook the revision of his Voyage on the advice of a certain printer, who had his original copy, he announces, in the preface, that "I have revised, and in some particulars by pertinent, though in some places very long digresions (which I would intreat the Reader to improve) so enlarged it; that it may, (if it reach my aim) contain matter for instruction and use, as well as for relation and novelty"; and he adds:

so that they, who fly from a Sermon, and will not touch sound, and wholesome, and excellent treatises in Divinity, may happily (if God so please) be taken before they are aware, and overcome by some Divine truths that lie scattered up and down in manie places

1. Ibid., pp.38 et seq.

2. Purchas, op.cit., p.1464.

of this Narrative. To which end I have endeavoured so to contrive it for every one (who shall please to read it through) that it may be like a well form'd picture, that seems to look steadfastly upon everie beholder, who so looks upon it. 1

The divine truths that lie scattered up and down in many places of the narrative are nothing better than tall words besprinkled with plenty of Greek and Latin. These are precisely what Thomas Sprat,² a spokesman of the Royal Society of London, described as most baneful, if not ruinous to science.³ The Restoration and eighteenth-century travellers, keenly aware of the scientific movement of the time, almost accepted that their aim was to "reject all the amplifications, digressions, and swellings of style."⁴ Unlike Terry, they were not carried away "by the easie vanity of fine speaking," nor had they his "volubility of Tongue"⁵ which made so great a noise in the world.⁶

But apart from Terry's learned quotations from remote authors, there is very little in his writing that may be called 'grand', scholastic or florid. For an assessment of his natural way of writing it is perhaps better to consider his narrative as printed by Purchas than in the edition of 1655. In the Pilgrimes,

-
1. A Voyage to East-India (London: J. Martin, etc., 1655), "To the Reader", sig. A4 recto.
 2. See D.N.B., Vol.53, p.419.
 3. See The History of the Royal Society of London, For the Improving of Natural Knowledge (London: J. Martin, etc., 1667), pp.112 et seq
 4. Ibid., p.113.
 5. Ibid., p.112.
 6. For some interesting passages in which Terry only parades his learning, see pp. 224, 245, 252, and 257 of the 1655 edition of his Voyage. The whole book, in fact, is strewn with Terry's references to ancient writers and with abundant quotations from their works.

Terry's narrative assumes a very simple character and shows some of the remarkable qualities of the preacher as a man of letters. Here one finds "a close, naked, natural way of speaking, positive expressions, a native easiness" which the Royal Society so much admired. To the better understanding of this, consider two characteristic passages from Terry's Voyage in Purchas his Pilgrimes:

... Some of which (the Gentiles) poore seduced infidels, will eate of nothing that hath life, and these live upon Herbs, and Milke, and Butter, and Cheese, and Sweet-meates, of which they make divers kindes, whereof the most wholsome is greene Ginger, as well preserved there as in any part of the World. Others will eate Fish, and no living thing else. The Rashbootes eate Swines-flesh, most hatefull to the Mahometans. Some will eate of one kinde of flesh, some of another; but all the Gentiles abstaine from Beefe, out of the excellent esteeme they have of Kine, and therefore give the King yeerly (beside his other exactions) great summes of money as a ransome for those Creatures. Whence among other good provision, we meete there but with little Beefe. 1

The Emperor stiles himselfe, The King of Justice, the light of the Law of Mahomet, the Conqueror of the World. Himselfe moderates in all matters of consequence which happen neere his Court, for the most part judging, secundum allegata et probata. Tryals are quicke and so are Executions, hangings beheading, impaling, killing with Dogges, by Elephants, Serpents, and other like according to the nature of the Fact. The execution is commonly done in the Market place. The Governors in Cities and Provinces proceed in like forme of Justice. I could never heare of Law written amongst them: the King and his Substitutes will is Law. His Vice-gerents continue not long in a place, but to prevent popularitie receive usually a remooove yearely. They receive his Letters with great respect. They looke for Presents from all which have occasion to use them; and if they be not often visited will aske for them; yea, send them backe for better exchange. The Cadee will imprison Debtors and Sureties, bound with hand and Seale: and men of power for payment will sell their persons, wives, and children, which the custome of the Land will warrant. ... 2

-
1. Purchas, op. cit., p.1479.
 2. Purchas, op. cit., p.1480.

The first thing which arrests our attention here is a trait which almost all the earlier travellers have in common, a certain stylistic simplicity, which is due to the nature of their undertaking. Like all his contemporary travellers, merchants or preachers, Terry employs a familiar, direct and vigorous style. Yet, if we further analyse his style, we shall notice a likeness to Bacon in the balanced brevity of sentence structure. There are no long, involute sentences full of relative constructions, though at times one meets with a marked tendency to be erudite. In the first passage the rhetorical use of and, and in the second the use of the Medieval Latin phrase secundum allegata et Probata, and sentences like "the King and his Substitutes will is Law," "His Vice-gerents ... receive usually a remove yearely," bear the stamp of a well-educated mind. As is to be expected from a writer whose aim was to impart information, Terry's paragraphs do not always contain a single general thought, although they are usually kept within proper limits of length. Many of them, as in the first passage cited above, contain more than one general idea and therefore the opening sentences, though brief and terse, seldom furnish a concise summary of the paragraphs.¹

"Infector vitia, non homines," said Terry, defending his criticism of certain "trickings and trimmings" of fashionable men.² This is nowhere better exemplified than in his numerous remarks about the Hindus. He praised their simplicity and temperance, but reproved their vices and vanities. In the

1. For many erudite references added to the above extracts see pp.252 et seq. and pp.367 et sqq. of the 1655 edition.

2. A Voyage to East India (1655), pp.218-224.

mid-seventeenth-century edition of his work there are many passages in which he has stigmatized the ultra-fashionableness of his own elegant countrymen, especially that of the instructors and clergymen, who sometimes mistook external show for spiritual beauty, caring rather for their bodies than for their souls. In these passages he is seen as the dispassionate critic that he was, depicting everything with remarkable objectivity and regard for truth. Nor was "a curious Eye" the monopoly of the travellers of the succeeding age, for Terry could, at times, turn a prying look and descry "Wonders in each pregnant Page". The traditional opinion of geographers that India and China were neighbours Terry ascribed to "a great error."¹ He found the Hindus ascribing "a certain divinitie to rivers, but above all to Ganges." This he regarded as a kind of hypocrisy and likened the Hindus to the Pharisees who would not eat with unwashed hands. The reader, in fact, comes across numerous instances in which Terry attempts to "sweep away common superstitions by rational means and 'to restore the Truths, that have lain neglected'".²

In one small passage Terry recounts the defects he found in the country of his visit. His aim here is to show that India is not an earthly paradise, but his enumeration of India's beauties and greatnesses far outweigh the description of her defects, and India emerges from his narrative a Utopian country, free from want and penury, and rich in all essential commodities. Only the people inhabiting this region are far from being ideal.

1. Purchas, op.cit., p.1468

2. R. W. Frantz, op.cit., p.40.

Jahangir is "the greatest knowne King of the East, if not of the World,"¹ but his "disposition seemes composed of extreames, very cruell, and otherwhiles very milde; often overcome with Wine."² People are temperate, but they are idolatrous. The country affords everything a man can desire, but "there are no Innes to entertaine Strangers."³ People are honest and simple, but they are also heathenish and hypocritical; they are pagans doomed to eternal ignorance.

Taking some of Terry's accounts piecemeal, one finds that he was on the whole very favourably impressed. About Jahangir he says that the "Mogol takes much delight in those stately creatures (i.e. elephants), and therefore oft when hee sits forth in his Majestie calls for them, especially the fairest, who are taught to bend to him as it were in reverence, when they first come into his presence. They often fight before him, beginning their combat like Rams, by running fiercely one at the other ..."⁴ The chronicles of the period abound in references to Jahangir's love of watching elephant-fights. He kept many private elephants for this purpose and spent a huge amount upon their maintenance. A Rajput chieftain, named Ratan, brought him three elephants, out of which one was approved, and "entered among my private elephants,"⁵ and named "Ratangaj" — the elephant of Ratan. One of his "private elephants," named Gajpati — lord of elephants — died from the bite of a mad dog, which event the Emperor did not fail

1. Purchas, loc-cit.

2. Ibid., p.1481.

3. Ibid., p.1475.

4. Ibid., p.1472.

5. Alexander Rogers and Henry Beveridge, The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1909), p.140.

to record in his Memoirs.¹ Another event mentioned by him in connection with elephants is the birth of a young one in his presence in the private elephant stud.² The author of Intikhab-i Jahangir-Shahi, who was, according to John Dowson, a contemporary and a companion of this monarch, wrote that on "Saturdays, His Majesty used to see the elephants fight, and the contests of the swordsmen."³ Amongst European travellers who have mentioned this popular, though cruel, amusement in their narratives, journals and letters are Thomas Coryat, Sir Thomas Roe, Peter Mundy, de Laet, Francisco Pelsaert, Bernier, and many others. As regards expenditure on the maintenance of elephants, de Laet points out that the Emperor had three hundred elephants of exceptional beauty, which were adorned with precious housings, and were looked after with the greatest care by the nobles, to whose keeping they were handed over. They were "fed on flour, sugar and butter, and the food of each costs Rs. 10 per diem."⁴

In a passage dealing with Indian coins Terry observes:

... Besides, for what quantitie of Monies comes out of Europe, by other meanes into India I cannot answeare, this I am sure of, that many Silver streames runne thither as all Rivers to the Sea, and there stay, it being lawfull for any Nation to bring in Silver and fetch commodities, but a Crime not lesse then Capitall, to carry any great summe thence. 5

-
1. Ibid., p.243.
 2. Ibid., P.265.
 3. H. M. Elliot and John Dowson, The History of India as told by its own Historians (London: Trubner and Co., 1875) Vol.VI., p.449.
 4. J. S. Hoyland and S. N. Banerjee, op.cit., p.114.
 5. Purchas, op.cit., pp.1470 et seq. Terry observes once again: "The earth yeelds good Minerals of Lead, Iron, Copper, and Brasse, and they say of Silver, which, if true, they neede not open, being so enriched by other Nations". Purchas, op.cit., p.1471.

Hawkins makes a similar statement in his narratives, and de Laet says that "although there are no gold or silver mines here, yet great quantities of both gold and silver (especially the latter) are imported: and re-exportation is prohibited."¹ The fact that India was thus the sink of precious metals — a pit "in which the Europeans, as well as the other Asiatic peoples, stood with both feet and still sank deeper and deeper"² — confirmed the popular idea of India's wealth, especially when the European governments of the period strongly believed that the value of foreign trade was measured by the amount of precious metals it brought into the country.³ One of the reasons why India possessed so much gold and silver was that she sold all her produce, but bought little merchandise in return.⁴ Her fine cotton and silk fabrics, Malabar spices, indigo, calicoes, sugar, and drugs were in demand almost everywhere on earth, and there was always a favourable balance of trade for her.⁵ England alone exported £21,742 to India in the year 1601. The total amount of bullion exported by the East India Company in the first two decades of the seventeenth century was £548,090 in Spanish reals, although they had legal permission to export £720,000. "In the same period they had exported to the value of £292,286 in broadcloths,

1. J. S. Hoyland and S. N. Banerjee, op.cit., p.111.

2. Bal Krishna, Commercial Relations between India and England (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1924), p.38.

3. W. H. Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar (London: Macmillan and Co., 1920), p.226.

4. Ibid., p.283.

5. Bal Krishna, op.cit., p.38.

kerseys, lead, and tin."¹

Terry's list of provinces under the Mughal rule is almost a reproduction of Roe's geographical account of the Mughal territories. The few additions and corrections that one finds in this list are based almost entirely upon the map of India published by William Baffin² in 1619. Naturally, therefore, one finds the same errors and discrepancies in Terry's list as those in Baffin's map and Roe's description. Moreover, none of these authorities gives a list of the Subahs of the Mughal empire, based on fiscal divisions, which one gets in the Ain-i-Akbari. They furnish, instead, "a rough enumeration of the various states which had fallen under the sway of Akbar and his successor."³ From this list one thing, however, is clear. Under Jahangir the Mughal empire retained almost the same boundaries as under his father. When Baffin compiled his map and Roe prepared his account of the Mughal territories, Kandahar

1. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, The East India Trade (Oxford University Press, 1923), pp. 16 et seq. "In 1621, a defence of the Company was published by Mr. Mun, an eminent member of that body, and celebrated, in his day, as a writer on subjects of commercial economy. This work states that, although the Company had lost twelve ships in hostilities against the Dutch, they had yet remaining twenty-one good ships in India, and property to the amount of £400,000. Mr. Mun farther asserts that, during the interval between the first establishment of the society and the year 1620, their exports had amounted, in silver bullion, to £540,090; in merchandizes, to £292,286. These together make up £832,367; and, of this sum, the annual average for nineteen years is £43,809". Robert Grant, A Sketch of the History of the East-India Company (London: Black, Parry, and Co., 1813), pp. 19 et seq.
2. See D.N.B., Vol. II, p.389. For a criticism of Terry's description of the Mughal territories, see Foster's Early Travels in India, p.291, and The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe (Hakluyt Society), Vol.II., pp.531 et seq.
3. Foster, Early Travels in India, p.291.

was still a part of the Mughal empire. It was in 1622 that it passed into the possession of the Persian Shah, and remained lost to the Mughals till 1637.¹

Terry's account of the commodities to be found in India, the richness and fertility of the Indian soil, and the conditions of life in the villages is wholly corroborated by such modern studies as W. H. Moreland's From Akbar to Aurangzeb and India at the Death of Akbar. There are some minor details that need to be corrected, but the narrative on the whole is a faithful picture of Jahangir's Indian empire. Indeed, in places the Narrative appears to be just a fabrication of marvels, but step by step its wonders can be proved to be fact. Moreover, there are many condensed remarks about things that none of the early English travellers had observed. These details show how painstakingly Terry studied Indian conditions and how accurately he described them. In a passage, for example, crowded with significant details, he writes:

There are no Hangings on the walls of his houses, by reason of the heate; the wals are either painted or else beautified with a purer white Lime, then what we call Spanish. The floores paved with stone, or else made with Lime and Sand like our Playster of Paris, are spred with rich Carpets. There lodge none in the Kings house but his women and Eunuches, and some little Boyes which hee keepes about him for a wicked use. He always eates in private among his women upon great varietie of excellent Dishes, which dressed and prooved by the Taster are served in private among his women ... He hath meate ready at all houres ... They feede not freely on full dishes of Beefe and Mutton (as we) but much on Rice boyled with pieces of flesh, or dressed many other

1. Stanley Lane-Poole, The History of the Moghul Emperors of Hindustan and their Coins (Westminster: Archibald Constable and Company, 1892), p.xxi.

ways. They have not many roast or baked meats, but stew most of their flesh. Among many Dishes of this kinde, Ile take notice but of one they call Deu Pario, made of Venison cut in slices, to which they put Onions and Herbs, some Rootes with a little Spice, and Butter, the most savorie meate I ever tasted, and doe almost thinke it that very Dish which Jacob made ready for his Father, when he got the blessing. 1

What he has done is patent at a glance. He has surveyed everything concerning the upper classes, their food, their houses, their king etc., and crammed his impressions into a small paragraph. What he calls "Deu Pario" was, in fact, dupiyazah, still a very popular dish in India and elsewhere. It was not, of course, the food of the common man. Terry tells us that the common people made their bread up in cakes and baked it on small iron hearths, which they carried with them on their journeys, making use of them in their tents. Though this kind of bread was made of the flour of "a coarse, well-tasted grain", called jowār, still it was much relished, and they added to it a good amount of butter (ghee) and cheese, besides the milk of their buffaloes, which gave them good milk. What Terry says about the Emperor's style of living is confirmed by many other authorities. The upper classes used carpets, bedspreads, mirrors, and utensils in profusion, and a very high standard was set by the Imperial camp.² "Abul Fazl," says Moreland, "speaks of decorations of velvet and brocade, and of silver fastenings for the canvas

1. Purchas, op.cit., pp.1474 et seq.

2. W. H. Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar (London: Macmillan and Co., 1920), p.260.

screens, and we may be sure that the camp of a prominent noble presented a much more imposing spectacle than that which the word suggests in modern India."¹ Terry was aware of the contrast between the rich houses of the nobles, where voluptuousness and wealth confusedly intermingled, and the miserable, "little and base" cottages of the poor, where furniture was exceedingly rare, consisting only of a few earthen vessels, bedsteads, and thin and scanty bedding. "Some of their houses in those villages," he observed, "are made with earthen walls, mingled with straw, set up immediately after the Raines, and having a long season after to dry them thoroughly, stand firm, and so continue; they are built low, and many of them flat: but for the generality of those Countrey Villages, the Cottages in them are miserably poor, little, and base ..." ²

What must have sounded most odd to Terry's contemporaries was his remark that there lived "none in the Kings house but his women and eunuches." In the 1655 edition of his narrative he pointed out that the King

always eats in private among his women, where none but his own Family see him while he is eating; which Family of his consists of his Wives and children, and Women, and Eunuchs, and his boyes, and none but these abide and Lodge in the Kings houses, or Tents, and therefore how his Table is spread, I could never know ... ³

Terry has referred here to an important custom which was universally adopted in the Muslim Orient in Mediaeval times —

1. Ibid.

2. Edward Terry, A Voyage to East-India (1655), pp.191 et seq.

3. Ibid., p.395.

the custom of secluding women within the veil, shut out from the eyes of the world. Mughal ladies lived their lives within the quarters assigned to them and were almost completely cut off from contact with the world outside. If they went out, which they did infrequently, they travelled in closed conveyances covered over with ornamental nets and screens. Their residence, which was called the mahal,¹ was surrounded by high enclosures which defied both the intruder and his prying eyes. It was guarded within by female slaves and without by eunuchs all fully armed: and beyond them were companies of faithful Rajputs and still further, contingents of other classes to afford additional security. None was admitted within the portals except eunuchs and women, and none at all without a thorough search. And when it was absolutely necessary to admit a man, for instance a doctor, he was led in blindfolded and completely covered from the waist up. None of the ladies unveiled herself in company, unless when it consisted of very near relatives who were also treated as intimate friends of the family. And when the Emperor Jahangir permitted his ladies to appear unveiled in the presence of his aged father-in-law, Itimad-ud-dowlah, it was on all sides regarded as the conferment of a signal honour upon him.²

-
1. See The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert, translated by W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl, pp.64 et seq.
 2. "Thus I wonder," wrote Manucci, when I find someone writing in Europe, that he managed one day to get near enough to see a woman servant whisking away the flies from Roshan Ārā Begam, which is an impossibility. For the princesses and nobles' wives are shut up in such a manner that they cannot be seen, although they can observe the passers-by." A Pepys of Mogul India (London: John Murray, 1913), p.107. See Niccolao Manucci's Storia do Mogor for a picture of life behind the veil in a Mughal palace. Andrea Butenschön's The Life of a Mogul Princess also throws some light on the subject, but it is primarily the story of a particular princess, Jahanārā, the elder daughter of Shah Jahan.

Some of Terry's descriptions are of lasting interest.

These do not only describe things that had importance in a particular period of Indian history and are now obsolete. His descriptions of toddy, of the Indian fig-tree, climate, Indian houses, diet of the people and some of their customs and habits are essentially the same as those in modern books dealing with these subjects. There is, for example, no detail that is out of date in the following description of toddy:

And here I cannot choose but take notice of a pleasant cleere liquor called Toddy, issuing from a spongie tree that growes straight and tall, without boughs to the top, and there spreads out in branches (somewhat like to an English Colewort) where they make incisions: under which they hang small earthen Pots to preserve the influence. That which distills forth in the night, is as pleasing to the taste as any white Wine, if drunke betimes in the morning. But in the heat of the day the Sunne alters it so, as that it becomes heady, ill relished, and unwholsome. It is a piercing medicinable drinke, if taken early, and moderately, as some have found by happie experience, thereby eased from their torture inflicted by that shame of Physicians, and Tyrant of all maladies, the Stone. 1

Terry's description of this drink is indeed a pleasant surprise. Both Ralph Fitch and William Finch had found it popular in India and had referred to the way it was obtained. But neither of them had pointed out the change the sap underwent in the heat of the day.

There are references to the Indian tar tree or palmyra in many early accounts of India. The first traveller to have

1. Purchas, op.cit., p.1469.

written about it was Megasthenes who calls this tree 'tāla', which is the original Sanskrit word for 'tār'.¹ Writing in the early 'thirties of the fourteenth century Friar Jordanus said that there was a tree in India called 'tari' which gave all the year round a white liquor, pleasant to drink.² Cosmas, Garcia, Acosta, Linschoten, Nicholas Downton, Pietro della Valle, Sir Thomas Herbert, Fryer, Dampier and many others refer to toddy and consider it sweet and intoxicating. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the word toddy frequently used by English poets. In 1615, in one of the verses to Thomas Coryat a poet wrote:

... And then more to glad yee

Weele have a health to al our friends in Tadee.

Verses to T. Coryat, in Crudities, iii.47.

By the late eighteenth century the word "received a new application in Scotland," and there are some interesting examples of it in Scottish literature, though, strangely enough, there is no mention in Jameson's Dictionary. In The Holy Fair, written in 1785, Robert Burns wrote:

The lads an' lasses, blythely bent

To mind baith saul an' body,

Sit round the table, weel content

An' steer about the toddy

More than a decade later we find the following in Root's Reports, i. 80. :

Action of the case, for giving her a dose in some toddy, to intoxicate and inflame her passions.

1. The passage is preserved in Arriam's Indica, VII, tr. by McCrindle. See Col. Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, Hobson-Jobson (London: John Murray, 1903), pp.927 et seq.

2. The tree, as we have seen, is called 'tar' and the liquor 'tari'.

And in 1804, Tannahill wrote in Epistle to James Barr:

... I've nae fear for't;
 For siller, faith, ye ne'er did care for't,
 Unless to help a needful body,
 An' get an antrin glass o' toddy.

Notwithstanding all these faithful descriptions in the narrative, Terry's few errors stand out very prominently. His remark that the natives "love not a man or woman that is very white or faire, because that (as they say) is the colour of lepers (common amongst them)," is hardly correct. It might be true of some of the individuals whom Terry accidentally met, but that even the blackest boor in India generally loves to marry a fair woman is an indubitable fact. In matters of marriage, of course, the parents consider money as a decisive factor, if not the complexion of the bride, but the fact remains that given free choice, an Indian in normal circumstances would marry a fair girl rather than a dark one. It is at the same time true that Indians represent their gods, Rām and Krishna, as brown-skinned and tawny, and their literature is full of admirable descriptions of heroes who were not very fair. But it is significant to note that their consorts are said to have been very fair,

... fed with moonbeams dropping silver dew,
 And cradled in a wild wave dancing light, ...

Sītā, the heroine of the Ramayana, is described as fair and beautiful throughout this poem, and Damayanti in the Mahābhārata is always referred to as "fair-faced Damayanti". The man she

chose for her husband was the King of Nisadha who

... had a shadow,
his garlands were withered,
his body bore dust and sweat,
and he blinked his eyelids.

The modest long-eyed girl
seized the hem of his garment,
And on his shoulder she placed
the loveliest of garlands.

She chose him for her lord,
She of the fair complexion,
and suddenly all the kings
together shouted and cheered. 1

Yaksa's wife as described by Kalidasa in Meghadūta (the "cloud-messenger") was probably an ideal Indian beauty. Giving the cloud a message to his wife, that his love is still constant and that the time of reunion is approaching, the banished lover of Alakā says:

I see your body in the sinuous creeper, your gaze in
the startled eyes of deer,
Your cheek in the moon, your hair in the plumage
of peacocks,
And in the tiny ripples of the river I see your
sidelong glances,
but alas, my dearest, nowhere do I find your
whole likeness! 2

Even from seventeenth-century accounts the Oriental preference for whiteness is clear. "Finally", remarked Jean-Baptiste Tavernier,

all the Orientals are very much of our taste in matters of whiteness, and I have always remarked that they prefer the whitest pearls, the whitest diamonds, the whitest bread, and the whitest women. 3

-
1. Mahābhārata, iii, 54. Quoted by Prof. A. L. Basham, op.cit., p.411.
 2. A. L. Basham, op. cit., p.420.
 3. Travels in India (Oxford University Press, 1925), Vol.II,p.91.

That people loved to marry white women is evident also from the following passage of Francois Bernier:

The people of Kachemire (Kashmir) are proverbial for their clear complexions and fine forms. They are as well made as Europeans, and their faces have neither the Tartar flat nose nor the small pig-eyes that distinguish the natives of Kacheguer, and which generally mark those of Great Tibet. The women especially are very handsome; and it is from this country that nearly every individual, when first admitted to the court of the Great Mogol, selects wives or concubines, that his children may be whiter than the Indians and pass for genuine Mogols 1

We are told that the Hindus observed Thursday, as their day of rest. Thursday was only Jahangir's lucky day, and Tuesday, the day of Mars, was considered a day of rest. Jagra, according to Terry was "a spicie rinde of a tree". It was, in fact, a coarse sugar made from the sap (not the rind) extracted from the stem of various palms. Similarly, what he regarded as "good words to expresse their wel-wishes" was really a phrase and a form of address, and, what was worse, he confused nawāz with namāz (prayers). Again, his explanation of the word "Nooros" is wrong, due, probably, to his having confused nau (new) with nuh (nine). "Nooros", therefore, did not signify nine days, but the Persian New Year. Nothing could be more unconvincing than his statement that the Pathans took "their denomination from a province in the Kindome of Bengala." But these errors, notable though they seem to be, do not invalidate the large number of authoritative descriptions he had given. Who, indeed, will challenge the correctness of his descriptions of the Mughal

1. Travels in the Mogul Empire (Humphrey Milford, 1914), p.404.

administration, of the two important religions of India, Hinduism and Islam, and of the climate, commodities, betel leaves and toddy? The only thing that one has reason to deplore is not that Terry was prone to errors, but that unlike Sir Thomas Roe, his master, he could not realise that all the magnificence of the Great Mughal, the flash and pageantry of the gentry, the polo and the champagne, etc., was the decorative outer surface, the appearance, of a crude reality, underneath which the darker shades of the picture — the poverty and misery of the peasant, the general unrest and insecurity, the corruption and inefficiency of the local governors, and the looseness of the imperial control — were symbolically or really crushed and ground in the dust.

For descriptions of Jahangir's character, his tents and religious policy there are better writers than Edward Terry. Sir Thomas Roe and William Hawkins described his character better than any other contemporary traveller, and for a description of royal tents, their decorations, and arrangements Bernier, perhaps, is a better authority.¹ It is Terry's description of the Mughal administrative system that adds to the value of his narrative. The journals, memoirs and narratives written by various travellers of the early seventeenth century enable us to estimate the credibility of Terry's account. On the whole it stands the test fairly well. His statement that Jahangir punished the darker social and political crimes with dreadful deaths by impaling,

1. See Travels in the Mogul Empire (Humphrey Milford, 1914), p.359 et seq.

strangling, tearing by wild beasts, or trampling by elephants, is corroborated by the Tuzuk itself,¹ and Roe's Journal confirms² the chaplain's statement that during Jahangir's reign, the provincial Viceroys passed and executed sentences of death. Terry makes an important statement concerning the Mughal imperial resources. "No subject in this empire," says he, "hath land of inheritance, nor have other title but the Kings will; which makes some of the grandes to live at the height of their meanes; merchants also to conceale their riches, lest they should be made sponges." There are certain variations in the accounts of European visitors, some asserting that the claim made by the Mughal emperors to inherit the estates of their subjects was universal, others limiting it to the estates of the official nobility, and others extending it to the wealthier merchants.³ Francisco Pelsaert noted to his great astonishment that

the avarice of the nobles has no solid basis, though they devote themselves entirely to gathering their treasures, without a thought of the cruelty or injustice involved. Immediately on the death of a lord who has enjoyed the King's jagir, be he great or small, without any exception — even before the breath is out of his body — the King's officers are ready on the spot, and make an inventory of the entire estate, recording everything down to the value of a single pice, even to the dresses and jewels of the ladies, provided they have not concealed them. 4

An attempt was made to extend this practice also to the estates

1. See Alexander Rogers and Henry Beveridge, op.cit., p.353.

2. See The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, p.120.

3. W. H. Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzeb (London: Macmillan and Co., 1923), p.277.

4. W. H. Moreland and P. Gayl, op.cit., pp.54 et seq.

of foreign merchants dying in India, for we know that Mildenhall's death was followed by the sequestration of the estate on behalf of the imperial exchequer; but, so far as the English merchants were concerned, this claim was finally given up in the year 1624.¹ On the authority of a transaction of the year 1647, Moreland cites the example of a Sind trader whose estate was seized by the King's officers.²

Terry observes that he could "never heare of law written amongst them; the King and his substitutes will is law." That there were no written codes of substantive law or of procedure is also the opinion of Sir Thomas Roe,³ while Hawkins and some important native historians like Matmad Khan, Khafi Khan and a couple of others lend support to Terry's allusion to the frequency of transfers of provincial governors.⁴

He was certainly not always an eye-witness to events which he claims to have seen. Thus he could not have seen people cutting off part of their tongues in the temple of Nagarkot. Sir William Foster has pointed out that Terry had Coryat for his authority for a description of this place, as also for his account of Jwālā Mukhi and Hardwār.⁵ Describing the

1. W. H. Moreland, op.cit., p.279.

2. Ibid.

3. "They have no written Law. The King by his owne word ruleth, and his Governours of Provinces by that authoritie." The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe (Hakluyt Society, 1899), p.110.

4. See Beni Prasad, op.cit., p.104.

5. Early Travels in India (Humphrey Milford, 1921), p.294n. When referring to the sacrifice of tongues at Nagarkot a second time (Purchas, p.1480), Terry, however, admits that Coryat was his informant.

fabulous wealth of the Great Mughal, Terry observed that he (that is, the Emperor)

hath a Throne in his Palace at Agra, ascended by degrees, on the top whereof are foure Lions made of massie Silver, gilded, set with Precious Stones, supporting a Canopie of massie Gold. 1

When full three decades had elapsed Terry made known to his countrymen that he had obtained this piece of information from "Tom Coriat, as from other English Merchants, who keep in a Factory at that place."² It may be added here that the story of a convert³ being threatened by Jahangir so that he might deter him from his new profession is also derived from Thomas Coryat.

As regards Terry's knowledge of Indian languages, it must be admitted that what he seems to have learnt was a stray word or two. He used some native words, like arrack,⁴ kahwa (coffee) dana (grain), dupiyazah, mast, pahar, ghari, etc., with remarkable correctness, but these do not suggest that he had acquired any of the Oriental tongues thoroughly. All that can be conceded to him is that he had acquired some smattering of Persian which more often than not misled him. No one versed in the Hindi or Persian of northern India would have written of Mahābat Khan, "the Beloved Lord," and of Khān Jahān, "the Lord of my Heart."⁵

1. Purchas, op.cit., p.1480.

2. A Voyage to East-India, p.391.

3. See Purchas, op.cit., p.1481.

4. It is the same word as 'arec', meaning 'essence'. "It is the sherbet of Khas with the arec of Keora in it." Mulk Raj Anand, Private Life of an Indian Prince (London: Hutchison, 1953), p.116.

5. Mahabat Khan signifies 'the lord who inspires awe', while Khan Jahan means 'the lord of the World'.

Terry's account is admittedly an admirable supplement to Sit Thomas Roe's Journal. There is no doubt that he had seen only parts of Mālwā and Gujarāt and had stayed in India only for a couple of years, yet his narrative is on the whole an authoritative account of northern India, and is one of those principal source-books upon which all the modern reconstructions of the Mughal period are based. The editors of the Advanced History of India refer to him more than half a dozen times and almost always with acquiescence, and Dr. Beni Prasad drew upon him for many valuable descriptions, especially those of Ajmer, Mandu and the administrative system of Jahangir, besides appending to his History of Jahangir a not unfavourable review of Terry's narrative. De Laet seems to have drawn a point or two from it, while in one of his footnotes John Locke refers the reader not only to Jean de Lery, to Sir Thomas Roe's account of the East, included in Thevenot's collection, to Martiniere's Voyage des Pais Septentrionaux, to Ovington's Voyage to Suratt, but also to Terry's Voyage to the Mogul.



The Bramare of the Damians

The Daroo of the Perſees



DISPL

of two ſortitions ſects
in the Eaſt, Indies

The ſect of the Damians the
Ancient Nations of India
And the ſect of the Perſees the
Ancient Inhabitants of Perſia
together
with the Religion and Manners of each ſect
Collected
Into two Books by Henry Lord
Sometimes reſident in Eaſt India
and Preacher to the 17th Company
of Merchants trading therein
3 Cor. 13. 10
For there muſt be alſo Heretics
amongſt you that they that
are approved may be made
ministers



Imprinted
and on
for Francis
Conſtable
and are to
Sold at
Shoppers
Church
at the ſign
the
With Mar. the



CHAPTER X

HENRY LORD
(fl. 1630)

... We had a long talk about religion... Indians are so easy and communicative on this subject, whereas English people are mostly offended when it is introduced, or else shocked if there is a difference of opinion. His attitude was very difficult for a Westerner...

- E.M. Forster, The Hill of Devi.

1.

Except for a brief note in the Dictionary of National Biography, some passing remarks in the Court Minutes of the East India Company and a few interesting observations in certain histories of the English in Western India, there is not much detailed critical information regarding Henry Lord. That he was well-known to his contemporaries and very popular is certain, for his book on the religions of the Indian Banians and Parsees was not only the basis of much that was written later on these two religions by travellers like Sir Thomas Herbert and Edward Terry,¹ but it also found its way into France and the continent through translations. A French translation, entitled Histoire de la Religion Des Banians and Histoire de la Religion des Anciens Persans, of his Display of two forraigne Sects in the East

1. To him, says Philip Anderson, "Sir Thomas Herbert was indebted for the information which his work contains regarding the Parsees; and half a century later, Bernier acknowledged with gratitude his obligations to 'Monsieur Henri Lor'." See The English in Western India (London, 1856), pp.52 et seq. - The account of the Parsees in the 1655 edition of Terry's narrative is mainly borrowed from Henry Lord's Display. See W. Foster, Early Travels in India, p.323.

Indies appeared at Paris in 1667, while at Amsterdam it was reissued in 1739 in Bernard Picart's Ceremonies et Coutumes Religieuses de tous les Peuples du Monde, in London in Pinkerton's Voyages (vol. viii), and in the various editions of Churchill's Collection of Voyages and Travels. One of the reasons why in the 19th and 20th centuries he received little attention was probably the establishment in both India and Great Britain of the Asiatic Societies which initiated a thorough investigation into the annals and antiquities of India and eventually obscured the value of Lord's incomplete and crude observations.¹ On the continent, too, a similar interest in Indian antiquities was evinced and academies similar to the Indian and English Asiatic Societies came into existence both in France and Germany.²

Henry Lord was recommended for employment as a chaplain in the service of the East India Company by Dean White, under whom he served as curate, and by Shute and others. He was asked to give a bond not to exercise any private trade and was also appointed to preach on a particular Sunday at St. Helen's, and to take for his text, "Have no fellowship with the workes of darknes, but rather reprove them."³ Having had sufficient testimony of his ability as a preacher the Company appointed him at £60 per annum for five years and sanctioned

-
1. The Asiatic Society of Bengal, f.1784, and the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, f.1823. The Asiatic Society of Bombay, founded about nineteen years before the Royal Society, had an equally brilliant record of service to Oriental studies.
 2. Ecole Nationale de Langues Orientales Vivantes, f.1795, and Société Asiatique, f.1822; Deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft, f.1845.
 3. Court Book VI (2 July 1623 to 30 June 1624), folio 344.MS. in the India Office Library.

a sum of £20 to buy him books.¹ Before leaving England, Lord requested the Court of Directors to allow him a boy "to attend him the voyage" and in reply was told that he might select one out of the several boys already shipped. It was also suggested that on reaching India he should appoint some Indian boy, as others of his profession had done before him.²

During his residence at Surat, then under the presidentship of Thomas Kerridge, he resolved to write on the religions of the Banians³ and Parsees. He explains his object in the two 'epistles dedicatorie' published in the 1630 edition of his book.⁴ In the first, addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he suggests that it was his ardent wish to reform "the criminous" that had led him to bring before the Archbishop the two Indian sects engaged in "violating the divine law of the dread Majesty of Heaven, and with notable forgery coyning Religion according to the Minte of their owne Tradition."⁵ In the second epistle to "the Honourable and Worthy Knight, Sr. Maurice Abbot, Governor of the Companie of Merchants trading to the East Indies, Christopher Cletherow Alderman of the City of London, and

1. Ibid., ff.361-362.

2. Ibid., f.387.

3. Great numbers of the Baniyās or traders of the west of India who claimed to be Vaisyās, must have been Jains as they are to-day. Neither Henry Lord nor any of the early adventurers distinguished between the Vaisyās who were Jains and those who were not. Generally speaking, even the Jain Vaisyās call themselves Hindus.

4. Henry Lord, A Discoverie of the Sect of the Banians, London, 1630. British Museum copy collates: Engraved title-page + A - Y4 (last page blank). This copy has the dedication to the Archbishop of Canterbury on leaves A2 recto - A4 recto, but no other dedication. The India Office Library copy has two epistles dedicatory. (Only one edition is given in S.T.C.)

5. Ibid., sig. A2 verso - A3 recto.

Deputie of the said Company, and to all the worthy Adventurers, Members of the same Society," he declares his purpose to be historical: it was, as he says, to "informe the home-residers with the manners and Customes of the People in transmarine Kingdoms of the world".¹

The desire to write on these two sects originated just after Henry Lord arrived at Surat. Here he found a kind of people clothed in linen garments, maidenly and effeminate, a kind of people "strangely notable and notably strange".² This led him to think that "the novelty would make the discovery thereof, gratefull and acceptable to some of our Countrey men."³ He was, however, well aware of the difficulties that such an investigation was likely to occasion. It was, in the first place, not easy to sift fact from fiction with which, he believed, the writings of the Indian sects, especially those of the Banians, abounded. Secondly, the Banians were so shy that they scarcely admitted a stranger into conversation. Those of his predecessors and contemporaries who had undertaken to bring to light the beliefs of these people had obviously failed as they could not overcome these difficulties. Thomas Kerridge, however, "was urgent with me, to redeeme their omissions, and to see if I could worke somewhat out of this forsaken Subject".⁴ He also agreed to mediate Lord's acquaintance with the Brahmans. Thus encouraged, Henry Lord began to make diligent enquiries regarding the Banians and Parsees, had

1. Ibid. See the unnumbered second dedication.

2. Ibid., sig. B 1 verso.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., sig. B 2 recto.

had highly secret confidential talks with the Banian and Parsee priests,¹ learnt their language and wrote, "with great Strength, Politeness, and Beauty", his Discoverie of the Sect of the Banians and The Religion of the Parsees.

The earlier attempts of Ralph Fitch, Edward Terry and William Methold to write on Hindu religion were not made with such elaborate preparations. None of the early merchant travellers seems to have deemed a knowledge of the native languages essential to the writing of an account of the native religions. They did occasionally devote themselves to severe investigation before writing their accounts but this could hardly compensate for their ignorance of the Indian languages. Ralph Fitch, as has been pointed out earlier, could only observe things superficially; he was interested primarily in the wealth of the country and the prospect it held out of a lucrative trade in vendible commodities. Terry, like Henry Lord, was a chaplain, well-versed in theological subjects, but his stay in India was so short that he could not, despite his learning and catholicity of outlook, undertake to investigate the religious aspects of certain practices he observed. Methold knew the Dutch and French languages,² but that he ever tried to

-
1. "Il eut par son moyen des conferences tres-particulieres avec les Bramanes des Banjans, & avec les Daros de ces Persans adorateurs du Feu." Preface (unnumbered) to Histoire de la Religion Des Banians (Paris, 1667).
 2. William Methold, nephew of the once-well-known Sir William Methold, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, was one of those early adventurers who first "made noble attempt to goe meete the sunne". In 1606 he was apprenticed to a merchant at Middelburg in Holland, where he learnt the Dutch and French languages. His name appears in the records of the East India Company for the first time in a Court Minute dated 19 August 1615. See Court Book, Dec.1613 to 10 Nov.1615, ff.464,490; Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1513-1616, pp.476,477, (1617-21) pp.18, 183; Court Book, 19 Sept. 1617 to 4 April 1620, folio 236; W.H. Moreland, Relations of Golconda (London: Hakluyt Society, 1931); and A.R. Ingram, The Gateway of India (Oxford University Press, 1938)

learn the native languages - Gujarati, Tamil or Hindustani - is doubtful.

Though Henry Lord's claim that in his Discoverie of the Sect of the Banians the readers "shall meete with the best essence and ground of this sect, digested into such a forme as shall best cleare the knowledge thereof" is rather pretentious, it is nevertheless true that a slight first attempt is made to understand closely the religion of the Banians in all its aspects.¹ It is only a beginning, and like all beginnings in work of this nature, it is decidedly crude and partial, full of imperfect theories, mixtures of half-investigated truth and entirely erroneous guess-work. Henry Lord may, indeed, have been one of those writers whom W.C. Taylor had in mind when he observed that "those who first investigated Indian antiquities ... substituted hypothesis for research, and deemed repeated assertion equivalent to continued argument. They pounced upon the errors - the refutations they had either not seen, or could not appreciate; they built edifices of absurdity on foundations of sand that tumbled to pieces in storms of universal ridicule."² All this is true, but Henry Lord's book still claims indulgent consideration. His attempt to systematize the Hindu

1. In the Preface to Histoire de la Religion des Banians, the translator has observed that Lord was the only man to have devoted eighteen years residence in Surat to careful and thorough investigations of the beliefs of this tribe and of certain other heathens and fire-worshippers who have no point in common with them nor with the Moors and Muhammadans. He was perfectly equipped to accomplish the task worthily, for he was learned and eager for knowledge. (Monsieur Lord est le seul qui se soit applique avec soin pendant dix-huit années de sejour qu'il a fait à Surrate, à connaître a fond la croyance de ces gens-là, & de certains autres Idolâtres, qui adorent le Feu, & qui n'ont rien de commun ni avec ceux-cy, ni avec les Mores & les Mahometans. Il avait toutes les qualitez necessaires pour s'en acquiter dignement...)

2. J.R.A.S., vol.II,1835,p.4.

mythological accounts of creation and of the origin of the four castes certainly merits praise. Most of Lord's confusion probably resulted from the chaotic jumble of materials with which he must have been confronted when attempting to trace the origin of things as depicted by what he calls 'shastras'. Hindu pundits themselves are not unanimous in their account of the creation of man and the four castes. Naturally, therefore, while compiling his account and reducing to order a boundless chaos, Lord resorted to his own individual judgment, intelligently wove a fabric, partly authentic, partly fanciful, to explain the Hindu views of creation, collected stories from every man, from every merchant, and from every relevant book, and ascertained significations from the very mouths of the people. It is, therefore, sometimes extremely difficult to locate exact Indian sources for the numerous passages in which he has described the religious beliefs and practices of the natives. His authorities, moreover, appear generally to have been local and regional rather than such as were acceptable throughout the country.

2.

The first part of his book claims to be "a Discoverie of the Sect of the Banians, Containing their History, Law, Liturgie, Casts, Customes, and Ceremonies, Gathered from their Bramanes, Teachers of that Sect: As the particulars were comprized in the Booke of their Law, called the Shaster: Together with a display of their Manners, both in times past, and at this present." It is a large claim, in view of the size of the book, which is a small quarto of ninety-five pages, not even sufficient to depict the bare history of the sect.

The qualities of picturesque elegance and exactness for which Sir William Jones praised Henry Lord¹ are, however, noticeable throughout the book. The epigraph on the title-page, taken from 'Esay' (Isaiah), 9,16, is significant as it reveals Henry Lord's attitude to the Brahmans: "The leaders of this people cause them to err; and they that are led of them are destroyed." Henry Lord was convinced that the Brahmans were responsible for the all-round degradation of men in India. As a pious Christian he believed that such men would perish through the wrath of Jehova unless brought to trial and reformed. In the two verses that follow Henry Lord's epigraph it is said that "the Lord shall have no joy in their young men, neither shall have mercy on their fatherless and widows: for every one is an hypocrite and an evil-doer, and every mouth speaketh folly ... For wickedness burneth as the fire: it shall devour the briars and thorns ..." The eighteenth verse of Isaiah has been commented on by Dr. T.J. Hussey as meaning "For the wickedness of idolatry the wzath of God shall consume all ranks."² There was little doubt in Henry Lord's mind that the idolatrous Banians, led by their greedy priests, were on the brink of eternal doom. They were arch-forgers and criminals in the religious sphere: they violated "the divine law of the dread Majesty of Heaven" and "with notable forgery" coined "Religion according to the Minte of their owne Tradition". The Archbishop alone could be the judge of their causes and crimes. Henry Lord therefore considered it his duty to bring these people "to a second examination accused upon better evidence".

-
1. "The inhabitants of this extensive tract are described by Mr. Lord with great exactness, and with a picturesque elegance peculiar to our ancient language." Works (London, 1807), III, p.30.
 2. The Holy Bible (London: John Smith, 1845), p.1474.

In the first chapter of the Discoverie of the Banian Religion Henry Lord describes the creation of the world. His authorities for this chapter, as for others, are the Banians. He is told that God, feeling lonely, decided to "make his excellency and power manifest to others; for his great vertue had beene obscured and hid, if it had not beene communicated to his creatures".¹ He, therefore, made four elements - earth, air, fire, and water - as the groundwork of this mighty frame. The firmament was created by God when taking a "great Cane or like instrument, hee blew upon the Waters, which arose into a bubble, of a round forme like an egge, which spreading itselife further and further, made the Firmament so cleare and transparent, which now compasseth the world about".² The sediment of the waters became the world; its liquid portion was called the seas. God placed the globe in the midst of the firmament and created a sun and a moon to distinguish the times and seasons. After all this was done the four elements were assigned to four different places; the air filled up all that was empty, the fire began to nourish mankind with its heat, the earth brought forth its living creatures and the sea its own. As the world "had its beginning from the four Elements, so it was measured by foure maine points of the Compasse; East, West, North, and South; and was to be continued for foure Ages; and to be peopled by foure Casts or sorts of men, which were maried to foure Women appointed for them".³ and placed them at the

Man was created last. He was to be the best of all living creatures and one that might be the most capable of doing the works of

-
1. A Discoverie of the Sect of the Banians (London, 1630), p.1.
 2. Ibid., p.2.
 3. Ibid., p.3.

God. So that he might not be alone, God gave him a companion, woman. The name of the first man was 'Pourous' (Purush) and that of the first woman 'Parcoutee' (Prakriti). They subsequently came to have four sons - 'Brammon', 'Cuttery', 'Shuddery', and 'Wyse' (Brahman, Kshatriya, Sudra and Vaisya). Being dominated by their four different humours, they were naturally distinct from one another. The Brahman in whom the earthly element was predominant was of a melancholy temperament and ingenious and was appointed to impart his precepts and laws to his fellow-men. The Kshatriya was of a fiery constitution and therefore of a martial temper. God gave him power to bring men to order, and put into his hand a sword - the instrument of victory and domination. The Sudra, of a phlegmatic constitution, was mild and conquerable. God appointed him to be a merchant, "to enrich the Common-wealth by Trafficke, that so everye place might abound with all things, by the use of shipping and Navigation".¹ God gave him a pair of balances and a bag of weights. Lastly, the Vaisya who was of an airy temperament, subtle and intelligent, was appointed to be a mechanic and given a bag of tools or instruments.

God did not give Purush and Prakriti any daughters, lest some of their four sons, preferring the needs of propagation to piety and religion, should have deflowered their sisters and have blemished the world with impurity. He made instead four women and placed them at the four corners of the world.

Although this account of creation is not consistent with that given by the Hindu scriptures, it may nevertheless be considered to

1. Ibid., p.5.

possess the same degree of plausibility as the accounts of native writers "whose imaginations seem to have run wild on this subject".¹ They have not obviously followed any single authority, but have written what seemed good to themselves.² If the Banians, therefore, lost themselves in a maze of grotesque mythology while professing to give an account of creation according to their scriptures, they only added one more guess to the great variety of speculations already existing. But this undoubtedly does not support Lord's claim that this book provides an account of creation according to Hindu shastras. Had he confined himself strictly to the accounts given in the Hindu scriptures he would have followed the Vedas, Brahmanas and Purānas which furnish mythical accounts of the creation of man, and of the origin of the four castes. The Banians whom he consulted do not seem to have possessed an adequate knowledge of these sources except for a few terms and minor details that lend a touch of authenticity to what they imparted to Henry Lord. It is indeed unfortunate that Lord in most cases relied upon oral authority, and on the conversational information of ignorant and ill-instructed individuals. This sort of reliance upon dubious authority is, as Professor Wilson once pointed out, "a very unsafe guide, and has led writers of undoubted talent and learning into the most absurd mistakes and misrepresentations."³

One of the most glaring errors found throughout the book, but especially in the twelfth and thirteenth chapters, is Lord's description

-
1. W.J. Wilkins, A Handbook of Hindu Mythology (Calcutta, Bombay, London: Thacker & Co., 1882), p.282.
 2. Ibid.
 3. J.R.A.S., 1839, vol.V, p.63.

of Baisyas as Hindu mechanics and of Sudras as merchants. No Banian in India could have given him this absurd information. Every man in India and those of other countries who are interested in Indian conditions know that Sudras were not merchants, but people of the fourth caste or servile classes. Were this error to be found in one or two places it would not matter much - mistakes are found even in the greatest of authors - but its occurrence everywhere in the book shows how ignorant Lord remained of some of the fundamentals of Hinduism. It is in places such as this that one begins to doubt the knowledge of Hindustani and Persian which he is said to have acquired during his residence in India.

The reason given to Lord by the Banians for God's refusal to give Purush and Prakriti any daughters is ridiculous, if not sacrilegious. God is said to have thought that if he gave Purush and his consort any daughters, their brothers might deflower them. This suspicion attributed to God by the Hindus may show how little faith they had in their God, in divine omniscience, but the argument is nowhere traceable in their scriptures. It might be one of those pieces of religious information with which the Banians tried to explain away things when Lord demanded why God did not give the first children any daughters.

In one of the most mystical of hymns of the Rig-veda called Purush-Sukta, Purush is said to have "a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet".¹ He is "the original eternal man, the Supreme Being,

1. J. Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts (London, 1890), Trubner's Oriental Series, vol.I, p.9.

and soul of the universe".¹ He is identified with Brahm, the one unknown, true being, the creator, the preserver, and destroyer of the universe. Henry Lord, however, subordinates Purush to Brahm, and accepts the popular view that Purush was a finite being, a man, and Prakriti just a woman. The origin of the four castes from Purush is thus described in the Rig-veda:

When they divided Purusha how many portions did they make?
 What do they call his mouth, his arms? What do they call his
 thighs and feet?
 The Brahman was his mouth, of both his arms was the Rajanya
 made.
 His thighs became the Vaisya, from his feet the Sudra was
 produced. 2

H. Guntert, by the way, has traced several parallels to this sacrifice of Purush in other mythologies.³ The legend of Odin, the chief god of the northern pantheon, records, for example, how for nine nights he hung on the world-tree Yggdrasil like the Helenê Dendritis of the Cretan legend:

I know that I hung	On a wind-rocked tree
Nine whole nights,	With a spear wounded,
And to Odin offered,	Myself to myself,
On that tree,	Of which no one knows
From what root it springs. ⁴	

The action of Odin in permitting himself to be sacrificed is one of free will, motivated by the desire to create the world and to establish the race of men. Purush likewise divided himself for the sake of mankind.

-
1. John Dowson, Hindu Classical Dictionary (London, 1914), p.249.
 2. The Rig-veda, X,90,11-12. See Ralph T.H. Griffith's translation of the Rig-veda (Banaras,1892), IV,p.291.
 3. See A.B. Keith, The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads (Cambridge,Mass.: Harvard University Press,1925),p.619.
 4. "Odin's Rune Song". See Thorpe's Translation of Saemund's Edda, p.340. Quoted by George W. Cox, The Mythology of the Aryan Nations (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1870),vol.I,p.371.

There are many other passages in various Hindu scriptures that describe the origin of castes but they describe their creation differently from the Purush-Sukta. In the Satapatha Brahmana, for example, it is said:

...(Uttering) 'bhūh', Prajapati generated this earth. (Uttering) 'bhuvah', he generated the air, and (uttering) 'svah', he generated the sky. This universe is co-extensive with these worlds. (The fire) is placed with the whole. Saying 'bhūh', Prajapati generated the Brahman; (saying) 'bhuvah', he generated the Kshattra; (and saying) 'svah', he generated the Vis. All this world is so much as the Brahman, Kshattra, and Vis. The fire is placed with the whole. (Saying) 'bhuh', Prajapati generated himself; (saying) 'bhuvah', he generated offspring; (saying) 'svah', he generated animals. This world is so much as self, offspring, and animals. (The fire) is placed with the whole. 1

One is really bewildered to find so many mythical versions of creation and of the origin of castes. In fact, in one of the hymns of the Rig-veda it is explicitly admitted that God alone knows how the world came into being.² Nonetheless as time went on this confession of ignorance did not satisfy the cravings of the human mind. The Hindu sages continued to speculate on the way God created the universe. Thus Manu wrote:

He, having willed to produce various beings from his own divine substance, first with a thought created the waters, and placed in them a productive seed;

That seed became an egg bright as gold, blazing like the luminary with a thousand beams; and in that egg he was born himself, in the form of Bramá, the great forefather of all spirits ...

In that egg the great power sat inactive a whole year of the Creator, at the close of which by his thought alone he caused the egg to divide itself;

And from its two divisions he framed the heaven above and the earth beneath: in the midst he placed the subtil ether, the eight regions, and the permanent receptacle of waters. 3

-
1. Original Sanskrit Texts, I, p.17.
 2. Ibid., V, p.356.
 3. Sir William Jones, Works, VII, pp.92 et seq.

The origin of the four castes is thus described by Manu:

That the human race might be multiplied, He caused the Bráhmaṇ, the Kahatriya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra (so named from the scripture, protection, wealth, and labour) to proceed from his mouth, his arm, his thigh, and his foot.¹

All these extracts show only too well how wide of the mark were the speculations of the Banians from whom Lord drew all his information. Though they had evidently accepted the traditional account of the origin of the four castes from Purush, they had done away with the solemn grandeur of the Vedic and Brahmanic accounts. Moreover, they had tried to reduce everything to a mathematical precision and simplicity: four elements, therefore four castes, four directions, four sons of Purush; eight commandments, two for each caste. This kind of simplification renders most of their account ridiculous and does not give us a correct picture of Hindu or Jain religion. A deceptive semblance of reality has, however, been produced by Henry Lord's introducing real scriptural names like Savitri and Vishwakarmah. Savitri has been said to be the wife of the first Brahman - a fact that hardly harmonizes with the sacred writings of the Hindus. John Dowson has pointed out the three persons or objects the name Savitri commonly designated: first, the holy verse of the Veda, commonly called Gayatri; secondly, name of Satarūpā, the daughter and wife of Brahmā, who is sometimes regarded as a personification of the holy verse; and lastly, daughter of King Aswapati, and lover of Satyavān.² John Garrett considers the name Savitri as signifying, first, one of the twelve Adityās, the sun, and, secondly, the Vyāsa of the fifth Dvāpara

1. Ibid., p.96.

2. John Dowson, Hindu Classical Dictionary (London: Kegan Paul, 1914), p.291.

age.¹ He does not, however, mention the first two meanings of the word given by Dowson. Rādhākānta Deva in his Sabda Kalpadruma, a Sanskrit Encyclopaedical lexicon, gives a long mythological explanation of the word under the head 'Gāyatri' and confirms the above statements of both Dowson and Garrett that Savitri was the wife of Brahmā.² Similarly, Lord's statement that Vaisya came to be known as Vishwakarmah because of his great skill in handicrafts is erroneous. Though Vishwakarmah was the celestial architect, the Indian Hephaestus, he is nowhere in India known as the fourth son of Purush or the first Vaisya.

If Lord reproduces exact Brahmanical beliefs anywhere in his book, he does it most remarkably in his description of the second age of the world, begun by Brahmā, Vishnu and Rudra. The duties assigned to the three supreme gods in his book are exactly the same as every Hindu believes them to be. He says:

That Bremaw therefore might have power to make the Creatures, hee indued him with the Abilities of Creation and production. Secondly, that Vistney might preserve the Creatures, the Lord gave all things into his power, that might tend to the preservation of those that Bremaw should make ... Lastly, that Ruddery might bee a fit Executioner of Gods Justice, God gave into his possession whatsoever might tend to the destruction of living Creatures ... 3

The description is in complete accord with the traditional Hindu belief that Brahmā is the creator of the world, "the Prajapati, Pitāmaha, Hiranyagarbha of the Vedas and Brāhmanas,"⁴ Vishnu is the Pervader, Maintainer, and Preserver of the universe when created,⁵ and

-
1. A Classical Dictionary of India (Madras, 1871), p.580.
 2. J.R.A.S., 1835, vol.II, p.190.
 3. A Discoverie of the Banian Religion (1630), p.36.
 4. E.R.E., vol.II, p.810.
 5. See Monier Williams, Hinduism (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1877), p.88.

Rudra or Siva is the destroying or dissolving power of nature.¹ This agrees also with Francois Bernier, who observes that

the Beths teach that God having determined to create the world would not execute his purpose immediately, but first created three perfect beings; one was Brahma, a name which signifies penetrating into all things; the second, Beschen, that is, existing in all things; and the third Mehahdeu, or the mighty lord. By means of Brahma he created the world; by means of Beschen he upholds it; and by means of Mehahdeu he will destroy it ... 2

Archibald Constable, commenting on these observations of Bernier, has pointed out that Brahma was from the very beginning regarded as the Eternal Creative Power, the Holiest of the Holy, and he continued to be considered as fulfilling the same function even by the votaries of Vishnu and Mahadeva who represented him as the mere creature and agent of one or other of these two gods.³

In the following description of the birth of Manu and Satarupa Lord once again follows an accepted Hindu tradition:

So Brahma consulting with himself, how he might fulfill the charge imposed upon him, grew extraordinarily afflicted in his body, the strangeness of which anguish vexing him in every part, boaded some alteration or unexpected event; when loe such travaile as happeneth to women in labour seized him, and a certain tumour and swelling of his body withall, according to the suddaine ripenesse of the burthen within, distended his bowels more and more, and gave newer and greater extremities to him in this Agony, till the burthen (though Brahma farre exceeded the stature of common men) made two ruptures, the one on the right side, the other on the left; when behold two Twinnes, the one male the other female, to wit, Man and Woman did betray themselves to the world in full growth and perfect stature ... 4

-
1. Ibid., p.92.
 2. Travels in the Mogul Empire (London: Humphrey Milford, 1914) p.328.
 3. Ibid.
 4. A Discoverie of the Banian Religion (1630), pp.37 et seq.

There is a popular belief among learned Brahmans that Satarupā was the female portion of Brahmā, who, after detaching from himself the property of anger, in the form of Rūdra, converted himself into two persons, the first male, or the Manu Swayambhūva, and the first woman, or Satarupā.¹

In the eighth chapter, which is the longest in the whole book, Lord describes how God, being aware of the sinfulness of man which had caused him to destroy the world peopled by the sons and daughters of Purush and Prakriti, descends from heaven with a Book of Religion and gives it to Brahmā. This account seems at first glance to be based on the current belief that the Vedas contain instructions which have been breathed forth by God himself. Henry Lord, however, calls this Book of Religion 'shastra' which only means, according to Dowson, "any book of divine or recognised authority, but more especially the law books".² Sir William Jones observes that "the word Sastra, derived from a root signifying to ordain, means generally an Ordinance, and particularly a Sacred Ordinance delivered by inspiration; properly, therefore, this word is applied only to sacred literature, of which the text exhibits an accurate sketch."³ It is obvious, therefore, that this divine book was one of the Smritis which were delivered for the instruction of the human species by Manu, and other sacred personages. It was, and it still is, a common belief that Manu composed his system of law by the

-
1. A Classical Dictionary of India, p.564.
 2. Op.cit., p.285.
 3. The Works (1807), IV, pp.110 et seq.

command of his father Brahmā.¹ Though precise information is wanting in Lord's account, it can nevertheless be presumed that the book which was delivered to Brahmā by God was given later to Manu, Brahmā's son or grandson. It is also likely that the Banians consulted by Henry Lord believed, as many people still believe today, that Manu was the progenitor of mankind and was therefore the first recipient of God's law.

Lord's declaration in the Introduction that whatever he wrote was conveyed to him by the Brahmans and Banians provides him with a protective armour against all adverse criticism. But he comes out, bare and bold, in the eighth chapter of the book which contains the so-called eight commandments. That he has tried to interpret the Hindu religion in Christian terms is quite obvious here. The notion of eight commandments comes straight from the Biblical commandments. Similarly, the Elizabethan conception of humours forms the groundwork of his description of the origin of the universe and the four castes.² Expressions like "the bosom of the Almighty" and "the great Day of Judgement" suggest parallels that are, in fact, quite misleading,³ and there are pages, in which Moses appears through an arabesque tracery, that have all the

1. Writing on the gods of Greece, Italy and India, Sir William Jones observed that "the excellent law-book ascribed to Swayambhuva Menu, though not even pretended to have been written by him, is more ancient than the Bhagavat; but that it was composed in the first age of the world, the Brahmans would find it hard to persuade me; and the date, which has been assigned to it, does not appear in either of the two copies, which I possess, or in any other, that has been collated for me: in fact the supposed date is comprized in a verse, which flatly contradicts the work itself; for it was not Menu who composed the system of law, by the command of his father Brahmā, but a holy personage or demigod, named Bhrigu, who revealed to men what Menu had delivered at the request of him and other saints or patriarchs". See Works, III, p.344.

2. There are five tatvas and three gunas according to the Hindus.

3. See Raymond Schwab, La Renaissance Orientale (Paris, 1950), p.148.

flavour of a literary partnership between a countryman of Charles Perrault and an Anglican chaplain home from Surat. Such is the story of the four divine brothers who share between them the primal creation.¹

Henry Lord's criticism of the first two commandments is erudite and not without substantial accuracy, but it leaves the impression that it has been written in a cold, fault-finding spirit. Moreover, Lord makes confusion worse when, instead of helping his readers to fix upon a chronological order of the different ages, he makes the origin of castes precede the creation of Manu and Satarupā. It must, however, be admitted that it is no easy task to determine whether the four castes or Manu came first, and one who undertakes to do it is lost in the inextricable labyrinth of imaginary astronomical cycles - yugas, mahayugas, kalpas, and manvantaras. The time was yet to come for making sustained inquiry into such complicated ideas. It was too early for Henry Lord and his contemporaries to undertake such involved, though by no means impossible, tasks. Warren Hastings was the first Englishman to realise the great value of Oriental studies and his encouragement to zealous and devoted scholars "was the principal cause of the literary treasures of Hindústán being opened to the wonder and admiration of the world!"²

Henry Lord has accumulated a number of appropriate examples to show that many nations in the world have at various times abstained from wine "but not precisely observing the points of this Banian injunction". He has also shown the utter unreasonableness of the first commandment that no living creature should be killed. His commentaries on the mode

-
1. Ibid., p.147. For Schwab's invaluable appraisal of Lord's work see Appendix.
 2. J.R.A.S., 1835, vol.II, p.4.

of worship of the Hindus and on their rites and rituals are most learned and reveal a keen analytical mind. He does not rest content with what the Banians conveyed to him about their religious and social practices, but traces their antiquity, alluding wherever possible to classical historians. In this he is unique among the early English travellers who hardly study the social history of India in such a scholarly and analytical manner. Referring to Indian tree-worship he mentions Pliny, who calls this tree 'ficus Indica', to Gorgias Becanus and to Sir Walter Raleigh.¹ Then he quotes Propertius and Strabo to show the origin of the practice of widow-immolation in India - the first English traveller to have alluded to these writers in connection with this practice. Methold was obviously aware of the reason which Diodorus Siculus gave for the origin of sati, but he does not refer to him nor to any other Greek writer. Lord's description of certain practices, such as the worship of trees, invocation of saints gifted with "the powers of giving success to several affairs", the sick men uttering 'Narayan', gives a perfect idea of Hinduism in practice. The only description the picture lacks is that of the worship offered to the Serpent God and to the clay and stone idols of the Hindus. Had the Banians told him about the existence of serpent worship in India, Lord would certainly have found better authorities in classical writers like Onesicritus² and Maximinius of Tyre.³ In Claudius Aelianus, who wrote about the middle

-
1. There is no doubt whatever with regard to what Lord says about the worship of trees in India in the seventeenth century. Even today the Bo Tree at Bodh Gaya is worshipped as it was in the days of Asoka. For modern worship of trees and serpents in India see James Fergusson, Tree and Serpent Worship (London, 1873), pp.78 et seq.
 2. See Strabo, XV, 1.28. (The Geography of Strabo, Loeb Classical Library, VII, pp.47 et seq.)
 3. Maxim. Tyr. Diss. XIII. ed. Lip. 140.

of the second century, he would have found references to parrots being believed to be sacred, the Brahmans honouring them highly above all other birds.¹

The Hindu doctrine of metempsychosis has been made the subject of many curious studies in Europe from the days of Pietro della Valle, down through Schlegel to our own. Henry Lord is the first Englishman to discuss it elaborately. His arguments against the doctrine of the transmigration of souls are admirable and learned, but those who believe in many successive lives and deaths, the soul going through the necessary number of transmigrations and changes of form, advance equally, if not more, convincing arguments. That among the Hindus, the Jain Vaisyas carry their respect for animal life - even for the life of the most minute infusoria - to a preposterous extreme goes without saying. "In the Rains," says John Fryer, "they will not ride in a Coach, for fear they should kill the Insects generated in the Cart-Ruts, or stinking Puddles: so foolishly superstitious are they and precise in Matters of Religion".² The same view is repeatedly met with in other travellers' accounts. Edward Terry had observed that the Banians "will not be perswaded out of these grosse opinions, so incorrigible are their sottish errors; and therefore will not deprive the most offensive creatures of their life (not even snakes, that will kill them), saying it is their nature to do

-
1. Aelian, XIII, 18. (See McCrindle's Ancient India, p.142.)
 2. William Crooke (ed.), A New Account of East India and Persia (London: Hakluyt Society, 1912), vol.II, pp.107 et seq. From the same authority we learn that the Banians of Bombay were themselves like the fleas they dared not kill "for fear of unhousing a Soul, according to their Notion of Transmigration". (Ibid., vol.I, p.211).

harms ..."¹ Pietro della Valle found that the Indian Gentiles regarded the killing of animals as the greatest sin in the world. The Brahmans not only refrained from killing them but also abstained from those herbs that were tintured with reddish colour representing blood. From these travellers Henry Fielding derived his idea of the Indian Banians to whom he refers when speaking about the "heathenish superstition of those gentlemen who are called preservers of the game".²

Although Buddhism refused to acknowledge the existence of a Supreme Being, and repudiated the authority of the Veda, caste-distinctions, sacrifices, and sacrificing priests, it could not dismiss the Brahmanic belief in births and rebirths. In fact, the teachings of Buddhism and Jainism are primarily concerned with the liberation of soul from transmigration. Buddhists believe that wicked Bhikkus (saints), having gone to calamity from womb to womb, from darkness to darkness, after passing away, go to pain.³ Pingiya once asked Bhagavat how he might know how to leave birth and decay in this world. "Seeing men seized with desire, - O Pingiya," so said Bhagavat, - "tormented and overcome by decay, - therefore thou, O Pingiya, shalt be heedful, and leave desire behind, that thou mayest never come to exist again."⁴

The Jain doctrine of incarnation or transmigration of souls is related to their opinion of the problem of Being or to their theory of indefiniteness. They believe, like the Sankhyas, that matter does not perish; it only assumes different shapes and qualities. Thus clay as

-
1. William Foster (ed.), Early Travels in India (London, 1921), pp.324 et seq.
 2. Tom Jones, Bk. III, Chap. II.
 3. V. Fausboll, The Sutta-Nipata (Oxford, 1881), p.47.
 4. Ibid., p.209.

substance may be regarded as permanent, but the form of a jar of clay, or its colour, may come into existence and perish. This matter, they assert, is atomic and what we call material changes are really the changes that continuously go on in the atoms and their combinations. Even action or karma, according to them, is made up of atomic matter, paudgalikam karma. Soul, or jiva, by its very nature is light and has a tendency to go upwards, towards the abode of the released souls, but because of karma matter with which it is filled, it is held back. This karma matter is not extinguished simply because we give up our bodies: it accompanies the soul on all its transmigrations.¹ It is the karmas that drag us into different states of being, which "may be the ethereal structure of a god's luminous and plastic embodiment, or the grosser and limited frame of a human or a sub-human being. The last day of Jainism is the day when the last karma falls off, matter bids good-bye to the soul, and the jiva enters nirvana."²

Henry Lord was perfectly aware of the fact that the ancient Indians were not troubled by any sense of guilt when they slaughtered animals and wore their hide. The Kshatriyas had always delighted in hunting wild animals and the scriptures of the Hindus had, in certain cases, permitted violence.³ He was absolutely correct when he pointed out that antipathy

-
1. Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions (Oxford, 1908), vol.II, pp.62 et sqq.
 2. Jagmunderlal Jaini, Outlines of Jainism, ed. by F.W. Thomas (Cambridge, 1940), p.29.
 3. Though the Vedas elucidate all matters, they are primarily concerned with sacrifices. (See Bhagavadgita, Oxford, 1882, III, p.54). In the Satapatha-Brahmana it is said that the gods subsist on what is offered up from this world (Part I, p.66). For numerous passages dealing with this subject see General Index to the Sacred Books of the East (Oxford, 1910), vol.L, pp.478 et sqq.

to destruction of life and eating of flesh was an aftergrowth of the Hindu religion, "a tradition of their own devising". Even according to the Jain scripture known as Padma Puran, Ram Chandra, the hero of the Ramayan, attained moksha or nirvan although he killed many men in his encounter with Ravan, the king of Ceylon, and in other skirmishes. Such killing was violence, but the soul's contamination was not deep because of absence of malice, and such as there was, was neutralised by austerities, control of speech and action, meditation and concentration of mind. The Jain religion, which is synonymous with non-violence, also permits certain kinds of injury. It permits what is called graharambhi himsa - violence committed in the performance of necessary domestic duties, such as preparation of food, general bodily and household cleanliness, construction of buildings, wells, and gardens, and keeping cattle. It also permits violence unavoidably committed in defence of person and property against thieves, robbers, assassins, assailants and enemies in meeting their aggression.

But ignorance and illiteracy carried the principle of non-violence to fantastic extremes. The Terapanthi sect of the Svetamber Jains, for example, did not use fans even in scorching heat, as that caused injury to air lives; even in shivering cold they did not warm themselves at a fire-side, as that injured fire lives. What could be more utterly ridiculous than the principle of non-injury followed by this sect of the Jains? They in fact stripped their religion of all that made it meaningful and, clinging to its bare carcasses, ended their lives in pursuit of a false religion.

3.

The second book, entitled The Religion of the Parsees, was also dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The purpose of writing the book was explained in the Epistle: "I have in this second Booke, brought the Persee also to the same Barre, to be arraigned upon like Guilt ... To your Grace then I referre the said Persee, with his soyled and tainted worshippe; hopefull your Grace will be pleased to sentence him to a publique Procession ..." ¹ Like the first book, it aims primarily at presenting the realities of Indian life - the superstitions of the Parsees, more especially their 'idolatrous' worship of fire. ² Here again, most of the information is drawn from one of the Parsees rather than directly from their book 'Zundavastaw' (Zend-Avesta). Lord, in the proem showing the cause that moved him to produce the tract, claims to himself some praise, for the novelty of his attempt. Of the English travellers who had preceded him, none had shown even the slightest interest in the ancient religion of the Parsees. The lengthy journals of Roe and Jourdain, the narratives of Hawkins, Finch and Withington, and the letters of Coryat contain only a few unimportant references to the Zoroastrians of India. Martin Haug, however, asserts that Thomas Hyde ² was the first English scholar to have attempted "to give a complete description of the doctrines of the Magi". ³ Henry Lord's description may not be complete - it does not indeed claim to be - but it was surely the first to have given the West any useful information about this sect. The researches of Thomas

-
1. The Religion of the Persees (London: Printed for Fra. Constable, 1613), sig. 04 recto - Pl recto.
 2. See D.N.B. (1891), vol. XXVIII, pp. 401 et seq.
 3. Martin Haug, Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis (London: Trubner and Co., 1878), p. 16.

Hyde and Anquetil Duperron¹ followed Lord's and indeed were more scholarly. But Lord had taken the initiative and done the spadework. He was not, like Hyde, Duperron or Rask, in a position to tap more than one source of information, nor in a position to read the original texts of the Avesta in Zend and Pahlavi and verify the information communicated, but still he has given a great deal of useful information on the Parsee religion and on the holy traditions of the Zend people.

In the first chapter, dealing with the early history of the Parsees, the information collected is both useful and authentic. Lord's account of the defeat and subsequent death of Yesdegerd (Yezdegird)² is substantiated by Anquetil Duperron, who identifies not only the dynasty of this last Persian king but also the ruler who dethroned him.³ Neither Lord nor Duperron, however, mentions the Kissah-i-Sanjan, the principal document in the hands of the Parsees, which contains the particulars of the arrival of their ancestors in India, and was composed by a priest of Nausari in the year 1590.

-
1. Anquetil Duperron, a scholar of the Ecole des Langues Orientales in Paris, came to India in 1755 as a private soldier in the service of the French East India Company. When in Surat he succeeded in winning from the Parsees both their books and their knowledge. Coming home in 1764 he spent ten years in studying the material he had collected, and published in 1771 the first European translation of the Zend-Avesta. Thomas Hyde, it must be admitted, had never travelled to India and had never seen a Zoroastrian in all his life. Professor of Latin and Arabic at Oxford, he had no opportunity of living among the Parsee dasturs at Surat, an opportunity which Henry Lord had.
 2. Yazdejard according to John Wilson. See his Parsi Religion (Bombay: American Mission Press, 1843), p.588.
 3. According to Duperron, Yezdegird, the last Persian king of the Sassanian dynasty, was dethroned by Khalif Hazret Omar Ketab and died in 651 A.D. It is from the first year of the reign of this king (that is, from 632 A.D.) that the era of the Parsees begins. See K.E. Kanga, Extracts from the Narrative of Mons. Anquetil du Perron's Travels in India (Bombay: Commercial Press, 1876)), pp.18 et seq.

The second chapter, dealing with the creation of the world according to the Parsees, gives, besides much valuable information, an abridgement of the historical legends of Persia from Guiomaras (Kayomars) to the Muhammadan conquest. The dastur¹ who gave Henry Lord all this information regarding the Parsees does not on the whole appear to have been an ignorant person like the Banian priests. He was told that Kayomars was the first of the five and forty kings who ruled Persia before the family of Sassan became extinct and that the last of them all was Yezdegird. John Wilson, who largely followed Sir William Jones, also mentions Kayomars as the first of the Peshdanian family and the founder of the Persian empire and Yezdegird the last of the Sassanian kings. Other details in the account are also remarkable for their historical authenticity. Lorasph (Lohorasp), according to Lord's account, was the fifteenth king and his son, Gustasp (Gushtasp) in whose reign the Parsees received their religion, the sixteenth. It is also stated by Lord that Gushtasp was a zealous defender of this religion and that "hee made warre against Ariaseph, King of Turrone (Turan), for that he reprehended him in a letter about this worshippe."² Wilson's chronological table confirms all the important details of this description.³ That Gushtasp was one of Zoroaster's greatest friends is also evident from the following lines in the Gathas:

-
1. The chief priests of the Parsees are called dasturs; those below them mobeds; and the lowest of all herbuds. (See Wilson, op.cit., p.28; and Henry Lord, The Religion of the Parsees, p.29). Lord says that he drew all his information from "their churchmen called their Daroo".
 2. The Religion of the Parsees, p.10.
 3. Op.cit., pp.578 et sqq.

Whom hast thou Zarathustra! thus a holy friend for the
 great (effort of the) cause?
 Who is it who thus desires to speak it forth?
 (Zarathustra answers. Aye, such an one I have.)
 It is our Kavi Vistaspa, the heroic ... 1

In the Dina-i-Mainog-i Khirad it is mentioned that to Gushtasp goes the credit of "the acceptance and solemnization of the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, through the divine voice (bakan aevaz) of the Ahunavar, the word of the creator Auharmazd; the annihilation and destruction of the bodies of the demons and fiends; and the pleasure and comfort of water and fire and all the angels and spirits of the worldly existences".² The memory of Gushtasp is revered even to-day by the Parsees as the saviour of their religion.

Without going into the conflicting testimonies regarding the birth-place of Zarathustra the dastur who instructed Lord simplified the whole problem and told him that "Zertoost", son of "Espintaman" and "Dodoo", was born in "Chyna",³ and that he came to Persia on account of the wickedness of the king who wanted to kill him. The location of Zarathustra's birth in China finds absolutely no support in the Gathas. Here it is said that Zarathustra was the son of Pourushaspa of the Spitama (= white) family and that Airyanem Vaejo on the river Daitya, the old sacred country of the gods, and not China, was the home of the prophet. His mother was Dughdhowa (or Dughdo), the daughter of Frahimurva, and belonged to the city of Ragma or Rae, at present a vast undistinguishable ruin near the south-east of Teheran in Iran.⁴

-
1. Yasna, XLVI, 14. (King Vistaspa is the Persian Gushtasp).
 2. E.W. West (tr.), Pahlavi Texts (Oxford, 1885), chap. XXVII, 68-72, p.65.
 3. The Religion of the Persees, p.11.
 4. Framroz Rustomjee, The Life of Holy Zarathustra (Bombay, 1944) p.2.

Haoma in the Avesta says:

Pourushaspa was the fourth man who prepared me for the corporeal world.

This blessedness was given him, this gain did he acquire, that thou, O Zarathustra! wast born to him, the just, in Pourushaspa's house, the D(a)eva's foe, the friend of Mazda's lore, famed in Airyene Vaegah; and thou, O Zarathustra! didst recite the first the Ahunavairya... 1
(Yasna, IX, 13-14).

According to tradition, Zarathustra had come from western Iran and is represented as a native of Raghae in Media.² Professor Herzfeld's investigations led him to believe that "Zoroaster was a man who lived his life in the full light of history, in the time of Cyrus and Darius. By birth and by marriage, he was himself a member of the two royal houses that dominated the history of Ancient Iran, of the Median dynasty and of its successor, the Persian house of the Achaemenides."³

As regards the omens that appeared before his nativity and the legend that "this Child ... was no sooner brought from the darke wombe to open light, but bewrayed the joyes he was to bring to the world in open laughter,"⁴ there is no doubt that these formed a part of the many accounts of his early youth which are among the least reliable documents. The Parsees believe even to-day that the little child's entrance into this world was marked by a laugh instead of the usual wailing of the new-born.⁵ Anquetil Duperron also furnishes, evidently on the authority of Zertosht Namah, an account of the strange dream by Zarathustra's

-
1. L.H. Mills (tr.), The Zend-Avesta (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1887), Part III, p.235.
 2. See E.R.E., XII, p.862.
 3. W.B. Henning, Zoroaster: Politician or Witch-doctor (Oxford, 1951), p.4. India Office Library Pamphlet No.P/V.1395.
 4. The Religion of the Persees, p.13.
 5. A.R. Wadia, Zoroaster (Madras, 1938), p.15. India Office Library Pamphlet No. P/T 2829.

mother and the interpretation thereof by a well-known astrologer of the time.¹

Tales such as these, when published by Anquetil Duperron in 1771 in his translation of the Avesta, had shocked Sir William Jones who, in a pamphlet written in French, pointed out the oddities and absurdities with which the so-called sacred books of Zoroaster teemed. His main argument was that books, full of such silly tales, of laws and rules so absurd, could not be the work of a sage like Zoroaster. His conclusion was that the Avesta was a rhapsody of some modern Guebre. Henry Lord's book makes the same impression on us as Anquetil Duperron's made on William Jones. Lord himself was aware of some of the absurdities of his instructor's information, but ignorant as he was of the Parsee original scriptures, he could not furnish a better biography of the prophet based on a study of the Gathas. He thought, moreover, that whatever was communicated to him was a part of the Avesta.

Other details regarding Zoroaster's life are, in the main, based on legendary materials which add much to the picturesqueness of the scenes. In the fifth chapter, for example, Lord describes the imprisonment of Zoroaster by Gushtasp, who was for some time under the influence of his orthodox churchmen, the enemies of the prophet, and of the sick horse which he miraculously healed, thereby obtaining his liberty once again. The Parsees also call Zoroaster's enemies at Gushtasp's court 'churchmen': they were karpans, people devoted to rites and ceremonies, and kavis, that is priests. They also believe that these enemies of the prophet whispered poisonous thoughts into the ears of the King as a result of which he was thrown into prison. Luckily at this juncture

1. See K.E. Kanga, op.cit., p.55n.

the King's favourite black horse became ill and its four legs were drawn up into its belly. The King, as was expected, was extremely perturbed. Zoroaster came to know of this and sent the King a message that he would cure the horse. The legend goes that the King asked Zoroaster to be brought to cure the sick horse. This he did, and obtained his liberty.¹

Henry Lord's account of the meeting of Zoroaster and the Angel and his subsequent communion with Ahura Mazda is likewise an accepted belief based on the authority of the Avesta. The Parsees, even today, believe in this phenomenon and explain it by saying that Zoroaster had trained the powers of his mind to such a degree of perfection, and had lived a life of such righteousness (Ashoi), that he gradually came to be able to interpret the Indwelling Divinity.² In the Vendidad it is mentioned that Zarathustra once asked Ahura Mazda to tell him how he could make the world free from that Drug, from the evil-doer Angra Mainyu? Ahura Mazda thereupon revealed the law to Zarathustra,³ and Angra Mainyu fled down to hell.

The seventh and eighth chapters of the Religion of the Parsees are evidently intended to furnish an outline of the tenets, superstitions and morality of the religion with which they deal; but they form by no means a complete, or even systematic, treatise on these subjects.⁴ The tendency to simplify abstruse details and interpret a foreign religion in Christian terms is once again apparent. All that is complicated and complex in the

1. A.R. Wadia, op.cit., p.23.

2. Framroz Rustomjee, op.cit., pp.27 et seq.

3. See Vendidad, Fargard XIX, II, 11-42.

4. Henry Lord is remarkably precise and brief with regard to all details of religious rites and ceremonies, which are mentioned in the eleventh chapter.

Avesta has been reduced to its utmost simplicity and a digest has been prepared which is meant more for the layman than for the scholar intent upon having a complete picture of the Parsee religion. The division of the Avesta into "three several Tracts", each divided into seven chapters, handed down to the Magi, Physicians and Churchmen, is erroneous and arbitrary. This probably results from the belief that only Vendidad, Visparad and Yasna are the principal books of the Avesta, Khorda Avesta or Small Avesta consisting of Gah, Sirozah, Afrigan, Hyayis and Yasts occupying a secondary position. Lord does not say anything about the Gathas, the earliest portion of the Parsee original scriptures.¹ It is in the Gathic hymns that he could have found the real greatness of the Zoroastrian religion.

The twenty-nine precepts or commandments quoted by Henry Lord are culled from the various books of the Avesta and give us some idea of the religion of the Parsees. He has rightly drawn attention to the Parsee 'fire-worship'. Other European travellers had also found it strange and a mark of unforgivable heresy. John Fryer, for example, recorded that the Parsees

keep at Nunsarry (Navsari), a Delubrium, where is always a Fire (first kindled by the Sun) kept alive as the Holy Vestal Nuns were wont; they adore all the Elements, and if at any time they go a Voyage, will not exonerate in the Sea, or on the Water, but have Jarrs on purpose; if their Houses be on fire, they quench them not with Water, rather chusing to load them with Dust or Sand. 2

1. See James
2. Fryer does not equate Zoroastrianism with fire-worship. No undue
3. See
emphasis has been placed on this aspect of the Parsee religion, but all

1. The Parsi, Oct.1905, p.416.

2. A New Account of East India and Persia (London, 1909), I, p.294.

the elements have been referred to as being sacred to the Parsees. In the Epistles Dedicatory, however, Henry Lord speaks of Zoroastrianism as if it were more or less synonymous with fire-worship. As with other European travellers, two strange and weird customs drew his attention - the deep respect and veneration of the Parsees for fire and their method of disposal of the dead. The error of calling the Parsees a race of fire-worshippers was, to a considerable extent, natural. In the first place, the Parsees undoubtedly considered fire to be the symbol and residence of the divine nature, though not the divine nature itself. In the Avesta the followers of Zarathustra are forbidden to defile fire. It is also said in the Vendidad that water and fire do not kill.¹ Fire is sometimes described as the son of Ahura Mazda: "And we worship the Fire here, Ahura Mazda's son, and the Yazads having the seed of fire in them, and the Rashnus having the seed of fire in them; and we worship the Fravashis of the saints".² In the Gathas³ it is said: "And we pray likewise for Thy Fire, O Ahura! strong through Righteousness (as it is), most swift, (most) powerful, to the house with joy receiving it, in many wonderful ways our help, but to the hater, O Mazda! it is a steadfast harm as if with weapons hurled from the hands".⁴

Yet another point of interest is that on their arrival in India, the Zoroastrians did not adopt the customs and manners of the native

-
1. See James Darmesteter, The Zend-Avesta (Oxford, 1860), I, p.294.
 2. L.H. Mills, The Zend-Avesta (Oxford, 1887), III, p.358.
 3. See Yasna XXXIV, 4.
 4. L.H. Mills, op.cit., p.84.

Hindu population. The latter, we know, burned its dead but the followers of Zoroaster continued to keep their dead in the open, on what is called Dokhmas or Towers of Silence,¹ to be devoured by Heaven-sent birds as they believed that fire ought never, under any circumstances, to be defiled by contact with putrefying flesh.² This practice, described also by Henry Lord at the end of his discourse, proves that to the Parsees fire was a more than ordinarily pure object. It is also significant that the proper word for a priest in the Avesta is Athravan, literally, 'fire-man'. The temples of the Parsees are known as Fire-temples, the one peculiarity of which is that the fire there is kept burning, day in and day out. Much of the ceremonial is centred on this fire, which is invested with a kind of holiness, and in some temples, it has been kept burning for centuries. The Parsees do not even blow it with the breath of their mouth, for breath is unclean, while fire is holy. Their priests therefore wear a mouth-veil, called Paitidana,³ when they are near fire or on duty. The ancient Zoroastrians of Cappadocia wore tall felt caps with cheek-pieces to cover their lips.⁴

Yet to describe the religion of the Parsees as nothing more than an 'idolatrour worshippe of Fire' is certainly absurd. The prominence given to this aspect of the Parsee religion on the title page and in the Epistles Dedicatory shows that Henry Lord regarded it as little better than fire-worship. The epigraph on the title-page makes his attitude clear: "And Nadab and Abihu ... offered strange fire before the Lord, which he commanded them not, and there went out a fire from the Lord, and

-
1. For a description of these see Monier Williams, Modern India and the Indians (London: Trudner and Co., 1878), pp.56-63. The essay entitled "Parsi Funerall Rites and the Parsi Religion" (pp.169-180) may also be consulted.
 2. See James Darmesteter, op.cit., p.80 (Vendidad, Fargard VII, 5. 25).
 3. James Darmesteter, op.cit., p.168 (Vendidad, Fargard XIV, 8:26).
 4. J.G. Frazer, The Golden Bough (London, 1936), IV, vol.I, p.191.

devoured them" (Levit., 10.1.2). But the precepts from the Avesta which Henry Lord himself has catalogued, point to a religion marked with many observations of supreme wisdom. Although they are prosaic, matter-of-fact do's and don'ts, representing very little of the moral majesty and the exquisiteness of Zoroaster's character, they do nevertheless show something of the real greatness of the Parsee religion. The following commandments, for instance, would do credit to any religion in the world:

Commandments to Behdins:

- to have shame ever with them, as a remedy against all sinne ...
- that whensoever they are to doe any thing, to think whether the thing be good or badd that they goe about, whether commaunded or forbidden in the Zundavastaw, if prohibited they must not doe it ...

Commandments to Herbuds:

- to know in what manner to pray to God ...
- to keep his eyes from coveting or desiring anything that is anothers ...
- to have a care ever to speake the truth ...
- to keep himselfe pure and undefiled from things polluting ...
- to forgive all Injuries ...

Commandments to Dasturs:

- that as he must use no Pompe or superfluity, so that great Revenue that commeth yearely to him, hee must leave nothing over-plus at the yeares end, that must not bee bestowed in good uses, either in Charitable Contributions to the poore; or in building of the Temples of God,
- that his house bee neere adjoining to the Church, where hee must keepe and make his abiding ...
- that hee must binde himselfe to greater purity than others ...
- that he stand in feare of no body but God.

These precepts do not give a fair idea of the religion, language and literature of the Parsees, and of the innumerable high moral precepts with which the Avesta abounds. But they show something of the moral duty which the religion of Zoroaster brought to its followers. The

Brahmanical creed, indifferent to the cry of conscience searching for guidance, did not notice the true aims of life, and Islam made man weak against an omnipotent fate, and therefore taught him to place implicit faith in it.¹ But, "to go on struggling against odds," says James Darmesteter, "when everything seems desperate, it is necessary to have a faith that orders us to act and to hope," and Parseeism not only gives its followers a moral rule through life, but also tells them that the good will prevail at last, if they do their duty. Thus it was that despite all storms and catastrophes, Parseeism came to live and inspire its followers to go "ahead in the race of progress, with the face, as of yore, turned still to the light."²

Anquetil Duperron, Sir John Malcolm, Dean Prideaux and hosts of other scholars have refuted the charge of fire-worship levelled against the Parsees "by those, not sufficiently acquainted with the Zoroastrian faith to form a just opinion."³ When they are described as fire-worshippers it is probably forgotten that all the elements are to them emblems of Ahura Mazda. They regard light as the most perfect symbol of God and therefore He is worshipped before fire, as being the cause of light and especially before the Sun, which is regarded as being "the perfectest Fire and causing the perfectest light."⁴ Zoroaster's belief in Ahura Mazda was so thorough-going that he could not worship any other god. With him God was the emblem of glory, refulgence, and light, and the Sun

-
1. James Darmesteter, Parsi-ism: Its Place in History, a lecture delivered at the Parsee Girls' School, Bombay, 1887,
 2. Ibid.
 3. For numerous quotations showing that the Zoroastrians are monotheists and that they do not worship fire, see Dosabhoj Framjee, The Parsees (London, 1858), pp.257 et sqq.; D.F. Karaka, The History of the Parsis (London: Macmillan & Co., 1884), vol.II, pp.209 et sqq.
 4. J.C. Coyajee, The Future of Zoroastrianism (Bombay, N.D.), p.13.

the greatest symbol of God as Light.¹ But the Sun is not visible all the time, and evidently the Aryans, including Zoroaster, needed something to keep the idea of God constantly before them. To Zoroaster fire became, therefore, the purest symbol of the Divinity at all times, and he gave it a unique place as such. He directed his followers to turn towards the Sun or the fire when they prayed, but they were commanded to address their prayers to the Supreme Being, and not to the symbols of Him.

4.

Of the five principal religions practiced in India in the seventeenth century, two have been dealt with by Henry Lord. His account of the Syro-Malabar rites of the Indian Christians and of the Sikhs and Muslims of the north would have been equally interesting.

The one great quality of his descriptive art is its brevity and precision. That he loves to express himself in metaphors is evident from his epistles where alone he finds scope for a display of his natural style. In the rest of his book, his manner is on the whole plain and strictly matter-of-fact in accordance with his prosaic subject-matter.

It is obvious from the foregoing analyses of his work that Henry Lord's investigations have become outdated today because of the more scientific and painstaking researches of scholars like Sir William Jones and Sir Charles Eliot. However, they need to be accorded sympathy for the very effort Henry Lord made in that age. It must not be forgotten that where these scholars had the advantages of political stability and

1. Cf. The sacred fire of the Parsees is nothing but "the symbol both of the indestructibility of the lamp of Truth, and of the eternal authority and rule of its Author". It "stands for a lofty conception of the Divine Being and of man's relation to Him". See the Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions (Oxford, 1908), vol.II, p.101.

greater facilities, in addition to the necessity and compulsion they felt to understand the laws and culture of the natives for the purposes of efficient administration, Henry Lord had neither adequate facilities nor any real necessity to explore the eastern religions. Sir William Jones and others could employ, at will, the most learned of the natives to instruct them, whereas all that Henry Lord could do was to obtain the services of ordinary Banians who hardly knew what their religion taught them. Moreover, in that age of unresolved religious disputes and controversies, he could not always suppress his bias against a religion that was, he believed, diametrically opposed to his own. Thus his own religion tended at times to prejudice his study, but considering the condition of the Hindus and Parsees of India in the seventeenth century, we find no difficulty in indorsing his views. That the Banians were idolators and the Parsees had degenerated into a sect of fire-worshippers is irrepudiable and Henry Lord's verdict anything but untrue.

One cannot forbear taking notice here, though it be a digression, that the great author of Paradise Lost seems to have perused Henry Lord's Discoverie of the Banian Religion. Lord observes that Brahman, "travelling towards the East (in search of a wife) came to a Valley, through which a Brook flowed, in the Descent of which there appeared a Woman, quenching her Thirst at the Stream. They were both naked Innocence not being then ashamed to reveal her Retirements and Privacies; nor having sinned so much with these immodest Parts, as to need a Veil to shroud them from Sight". Thus Milton in Paradise Lost wrote:

Nor those mysterious Parts were then conceal'd,
 Then was not guilty Shame, -
 So pass'd they naked on, nor shunn'd the Sight
 Of God or Angel, for they thought no Ill.
 (Book IV, 312-5)

Brahman afterwards addressing this woman, prevailed upon her to become his wife, "for Joy, whereof, the Sun put on his nuptial Lustre, and looked brighter than ordinary, causing the Season to shine upon them with golden Joy; and the Silver Moon welcomed the Evening of their Repose, whilst Music from Heaven sent forth a pleasing Sound, like the Accents of the sonorous Trumpet, joined in Concert with the triumphant Drum." So at the nuptials of Adam and Eve, Milton wrote:

All Heaven
 And happy Constellations on that Hour
 Shed their selectest Influence; the Earth
 Gave Sign of Gratulation, and each hill.
 Joyous the Birds; fresh Gales and gentle Airs
 Whisper'd it to the Woods, and from their Wings
 Flung Rose, flung Odours from the spicy Shrub.
 (Book VIII, 511-7)

The woman whom Kshatriya, the second son, married, is thus described by Henry Lord: "She advanced with a martial Gait, no less slow than majestic. Adown her Shoulders her Tresses fell gracefully; and these by the Motion of the Air, were turned into an agreeable Disorder. Every Blast that made a Change in their Disposition, gave a new Grace to her excellent Person." This is partly the description which Milton gives of Eve (Bk.IV, 304ff). He also has the following passage:

She as a Veil down to the slender Waist,
 Her unadorned golden Tresses wore
 Dishevel'd, but in wanton Ringlets wav'd,
 As the Vine curls her Tendrils.-
 Grace was in all her Steps, Heaven in her Eye,
 In every Gesture, Dignity and Love.
 (Book VII, 488-493)

Some other passages might be compared, to confirm Milton's indebtedness to Henry Lord, but if the former did borrow any hints from our traveller, how wonderfully he has embellished them!

SUMMING - UP

From what we have seen in the foregoing pages, it is clear that although there were notions current about Indian people, Indian traits, Indian climate, long before there was any regular contact between England and India, precise information about the latter began to find its way into Europe after the discovery of the Cape route, and into England after the return of the British pioneers, such as Ralph Fitch, Newberry, etc. The modern European knows much about India, and in this sense at least these early travel-accounts may appear to be outdated; but their importance lies in the fact that they throw considerable light on the India of the great Mughals and that their writers had a certain advantage over the chroniclers of the court. Having nothing to fear or to expect from the powers that were, they could fearlessly tell the unvarnished truth regardless of official frowns or favours. Having come from other lands, they recorded with meticulous care matters seemingly unimportant which a native of India would ordinarily have dismissed as commonplace. Moreover, their narratives and journals have been drawn upon by English poets and prose-writers, some of whom read them extensively and thus broadened and enriched both their knowledge of the world and their general outlook on life. Through these accounts accessions were made to the English language of many Hindi, Arabic and Persian words.

The importance of these travel-accounts increases also for

those who have been accustomed to see India through the picturesque accounts of Anglo-Indian writers who would make India a land of romance and mystery. Even as famous a writer as Sarojini Naidu succumbed to the temptation of making her poetry picturesque. The song of the palanquin-bearers, the flute music of the snake-charmer, an old beggar sitting in the street — all these she surrounds with a halo of romance. Thus she makes her beggar minstrels sing:

What hope shall we gather, what dreams shall we sow?
Where the wind calls our wandering footsteps we go.
No love bids us tarry, no joy bids us wait:
The voice of the wind is the voice of our fate. 1

The travellers generally saw India in all its stark reality and though sometimes they did not understand the theological or religious aspects of the customs they saw, they nevertheless represented the first impact of the spirit of India on the British mind. Their story of India is an honest attempt to show her as a country worth visiting, as much for her human appeal as for her natural wealth. They therefore show India not as a sort of earthly paradise but merely as an eastern country. They show the Indians not as unfallen angels of an imaginary earthly paradise, but as matter-of-fact members of the human race whose only differences are due to their strange religious pursuits and all that they entail. They unknowingly show India's resemblances to the rest of the world rather than her differences from it, and in so doing they dispel the false idea of an incomprehensible,

1. The Golden Threshold (London, 1905), p.29.

mystic people.

They had their limitations as well. Sometimes they brought back misinformation as well as fact, beginning with the picturesque contributions of Sir John Mandeville. The Indian unicorn appeared upon the scene at the same time as the Indian widow grovelling in misery and self-imposed austerities. No reader of the accounts that began to be published in considerable numbers after the eighties of the sixteenth century could have been free from the preconceptions and misconceptions about India and her people, which had been familiar for generations. What some of these preconceptions were can be suggested by going back to the Greek writers, to Sir John Mandeville and Marco Polo, and picking up a few of the typical and recurrent notions, down through the decades and the centuries. Moreover, our travellers' knowledge of the country and its people was to a considerable extent superficial, and the value of their accounts necessarily depended upon the sources of their information. They did not have enough time at their disposal and they were not always in a position to verify or test the accuracy of what they were told. Their veracity is not to be questioned but we need not accept anything on trust. No authority can be more reliable than his sources, and in assessing the historical merit of the Englishmen's travels we should always bear this salutary principle in mind. Their learning, their integrity, their sincerity are not in question. Yet we may not be able to accept all their statements as completely authentic without a searching enquiry into their sources, which may not always be equally irreproachable. This is,

however, not to minimize the value of these travellers' accounts of India. As a contemporary source of Indian history they will always remain indispensable, but what cannot be dispensed with is not necessarily infallible.

Though for reasons stated in our Introduction our survey has not been exhaustive, it has been quite representative. Some of the accounts left out of this investigation are those by John Jourdain, Thomas Best, Nicholas Downton, Robert Coverte, Peter Floris, William Methold, etc. The various journals written by the ships' masters like Nathaniel Salmon, Robert Bonner and Martin Pring have also been left out. Most of these narratives have now been reproduced at full length for the Hakluyt Society with learned treatises from the India Office Marine Records and from other printed or manuscript sources. In point of style and method the narratives considered in this study may be regarded as good typical specimens. Having studied the narratives of Hawkins, Roe, Finch and Withington, the reader will find most of the accounts omitted of little original merit, although here and there they furnish fresh details, such as the proceedings of William Hawkins at Agra and of Sir Henry Middleton at Surat. Their importance lies in their recording certain details that are important to the student of history who wishes to gather material regarding hitherto unnoticed visits, pioneer journeys, and first trading voyages of the English nation. But on Indian affairs they do not furnish much that is indispensable.

Introducing Methold's Relation of Golconda to the early seventeenth-century readers, Samuel Purchas, the celebrated

compiler of travel books, had observed that it is "correspondent to the Subject, it entreates of a Mine of Diamants and is a Mine of Diamants itselfe."¹ No better tribute has ever been paid to any traveller's tale of adventure. Methold, of course, merits this eulogy, for he chooses to describe a region regarding which we have on the whole singularly little evidence from European writers. He knew that he was writing for the press,² and his style is a little formal and pompous; but he was a shrewd and experienced observer, with a good deal of humanity and some humour which he allows to peep out here and there. He writes very vividly of the heat which could slay Englishmen, Dutchmen, and even natives as they walked along the road, which seemed to set the houses on fire, and made it unwise to attempt to sit down on stools and chairs unless they had been first cooled with water. What prompted us, however, to leave out the narratives of Best and Downton has also induced us to leave out William Methold's.³ W. H. Moreland's modern reprint gives us some interesting facts

-
1. Purchas his Pilgrimage (London, 1616), p.972.
 2. Methold wrote his Relation of Golconda after he returned to England in August, 1623, at the request of Samuel Purchas. Although it reached Purchas too late to be included in his Pilgrimes, he recognized its value and printed it in a supplementary volume, where it remained until W. H. Moreland edited it for the Hakluyt Society in 1931. (Not forming part of the Pilgrimes, it was not reprinted in the fine Glasgow reissue of 1905-1907).
 3. In an article in Modern Language Notes (XXII.137) in May 1907, Joseph Quincy Adams of Cornell University sought to identify the author of The Lanchinge of the Mary (British Museum, Egerton MS. 1994) with William Methold. Later researches have, however, shown that Walter Mountfort, and not William Methold, is its real author. One of Mountfort's letters, a rhetorical appeal to the Company, has been examined and its handwriting has been found to bear a close resemblance to that of the MS. of the play. See T.L.S., December 13 and 20, 1917.

concerning Methold, which are taken from the India Office records and from family documents. His Introduction to the book, his useful and interesting notes, and the two Dutch reports in English included in it, together with A. R. Ingram's invaluable study The Gateway of India, should be enough to satisfy any student who wishes to obtain detailed information about Methold.

It is these travellers, sailors and sea-captains who ask us Indians not to be led too far astray by complacent dreams of the days of glory that are no more, but to see and realize our most degrading varieties of superstition, our most grotesque forms of idolatry. They had no desire to hide things. They spoke more plainly than we do, and far more strongly, and they believed, as we do, that what we think of ourselves is not necessarily what the world thinks of us.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

The Letter of Prester John to the Emperor Frederic.

Royal MS 17 D XX (appended to the text of Wyntoun's Chronicle & a prose chronicle translated from Latin). In a hand of the early 16th c.

fol.310

John callit Prest King amang all þe kyngis of þe erde Tyll ane nobyll man Frederik Empriour of Rovme salutem gretyng.

Sen it is schewyne tyll ws one zour name that ze dysyre gretlie to wyt and knaw wæ ande our regionis our landis ande quhat gode we wyrscip, ze sall vnderstand be þe tenour of þir presenttis for werite That we knaw iij werray gode fadir sone and haly gaist thrinfalde iij personis and divinity substance and essence almychty and quhylk maide all thing The sone of þe fadyr gottyne befoir all, be þe quhilk all thyngis ar maid and hes tane fleche & manly natour of his modyr beand & remanyng ane wirgene, foir ws, and was consaut of þe haly spreit and þe haly spreit procedyng of þe fadir & sone. Ve trow and confessis ane fatht and babtyme ane kyrk, catholyk off all cristyne men & wemen quhylk we dysyre and wyll haistaly exalt als far as we may And tyll distroye be batell þe innymeis of þis faitht, Ve propone tyll wesye þe graif our lorde Jesu Christ, quhylk for our redempcione hes tholit passioun and was erdyt, with strang powar till expung his inimeis at our powar.

Alsua we will ze wyt of our powar þat we haf vnder ws & our powar lxij kyngis cristinit, and vpareis quhylkys ar/-

ar nocht zit cristinit bot subdewit till ws And gyf it plasit zow till cum till ws walde with gude wyll mak zow our senescall & our stewart and kyng and gidar our landis wndir ws.

Ande lychtly nocht þat we call our self ane preist, for þair is nocht sa gret honour in all þe warld as till be callit ane preist. Preistis ar þe vicaris of god and hewyne, and kyngis may nocht withoutyne preistis. With preistis we ar babtisyt vntyte and howsellit, & confessis heirfoir þe name of ane preist is mair and wordiar þane þe name of ane kyng. Wit ze our crowne quhilk we weir, maire for þe name of ane prest þane for þe name of ane kyng. We trow it is maire preciovs þane ony vthir in all þe warld and rycht riche with gold, siluer and precious stanis. In þe Ald Testyment þe fyrst prest wes callit Aarone. It is rede þat he hes ane crowne of þe precepte of god adornit with golde and precious stanis.

We wyll þat ze wyt of our palece þat we trow it is abovne all palecis in þis erde in quantite & strentht. My fadir of gude remembrance maist nobile schewe till ws one ane necht quhen he wes at his rest in his bed þat come till hym ane voce of godis, as we trow, or we var borne, & had commandit hym to byg ane palece to þe wark of þe sone quhilk suld proced of hys seide quhilk suld be ane nobile &/-

& maist hie kyng amang all þe kyngis in þe erd, & þat palece salbe of sa gret virtew be god, þat quha euer enteris in it he how hungry þat euer he be he salbe fulfillit and saciat als weyll as he hed bene at ane bankat & hed eittyne of all dilicate metis and drinkis in þe world. And þis beand harde, my fadyr he walkynnyt and wes stupifact and abasit, & rais and commandit till he gete þe best werkmen & craftismen þat was till be gottyne and bring to hym till byg þis palece. It is maid owtwartly of christall stanis four quarnalit ande inwartly it is maid of diuers precious stanis put in gold. It is aboune with saphire lyk till þe fyrmament and with tapatione lik to þe sternes and þe pavement is of christall and in þe four anguillis þair is four pyllaris off maist pure gold haldand vp all þe hovs of fyfty cubyt of hicht. In þe myddis of it þar is ane gret gros carbunkill quhilk schynys sua þat albeit þair na lychtis þat þai may se als weill in it as one þe feildis.

In þis palece we hald oure solennat feistis þat is to say in þe natiuite of our lord, in þe solemnite of pace, in þe ascensoun, in þe penthe coste þat is wysterday, is þe annunciacione assumpcion and natiuite of our lady. And we ber our crowne and we mak all day ane/-

311. ane sermond tyll þe pepill and we furtht schaw þe word of god to þe pepill and quhen þe nycht cumis, we pas hame als fow & saciat as we hed bene al day at þe bankat of all þe metis on þe warld. Vthir daxis þis palece we enter nocht bot in quiete. And wit ze þis palece is weill kepit baith nycht & day with armit men.

Alsua we will ze wit of þe plentwisnes of our erd þat þare is sic habundance of all gudis þat nane or rycht few þar mysterfull. And gyf þar be ony we sustene þam of our geris (sic).

We will ze wit of our maneris of our pepill.

312. Thaire is betuix twa hillis callit Goth and Magoth pepill quhilk gret alexander inclusit quhilk eitis menis fleche, ane ilkane eitis vber and sparis nothir till þar frendis na till vberis and þai ar werray crewall, & þai ar neir the partis of aquile, quhar we hawe xlii castallis in quhilkys ar gret garnesing; and ane kyng rycht stark and potent remanis þair quhilk is ay aganis þe crewall pepill in our name and for ws. This pepill come of þe generacioun of þe bredir Goth & Magoth quhilk come of þe generacioun of Ismael. Alsua quhen þair cumis ony othire pepill in oure land foir weir we gyf licence to þir pepill till cum furtht & fecht aganis þame. And þai suelly & eitis þame sovne and quhen/-

quhen þai haf done we include þam incontenent in þai hillis,
for & we left þame furtht quhar euer þai mycht get ony men or
beistis þai wald suelli þam. And þis mast ewill & crewall
pepill & generacioun sall nocht pas one to þe tym of þe ante-
christ neire þe end of þe world & þan þai sall be extendit
our all þe world for þai ar sa mony þai may nocht be numerit
nor tald for multitud, nor þar na pepill may resist to þam:
bot þar sall cum ane fyr fra þehewyne sall suelli þaim be
him quhilk is till iuge bath queik & deid.

311b.

Alsua þar is ane part of ane desert quhar þe Sandy
see is ane pepill quhilk has round feit as þe clwis of ane
hors and þa men na wawpynis, bot þai teyll þe erd and þai
ar grud teillmen; bot þai ar werry crewall; and þar
habitacioune is rycht stark; and þai ar subdeit till ws
And one þe tothir part of þe desert þar is ane land callit
þe vemen land quhar þair is na man nor na man dar byd oure
ane zeire, and þis land lestis xl dayis jurnay one baitht
þe sidis. In þe quhilk land þar is thre quenys with owt
vthir greit lades þat haldis grett citeis & tovnys strenthes
and castellis and quhen þai pleis till rid one þair inimeis
þai ar ane hundretht thousand ridand ladeis, without þame
þat passis on fut with earragis & metis. And þai ar werray
stark and cruel.

Ze/-

Ze sall vnderstand thair is ane flud callit gizione þat circlis all our land about quhilk cumis fra paradice of plesoure fra þe quhilk þe fyrst man was cassing be syne. And attoure þat flud þar is ane land callit Epidonia in þe quhilk¹ are pidonis þat is litill men or memmerkynis, lik barnes of fywe or sax zeir ald & þai rid one litill hors as one rammis & þai ar cristinit and þar is na pepill þat nois to þame bot þar cumis fovllis to þam anes in þe zeir quhen þai suld wyne þar corne and þane þair king and all his powar passis to fect wyth þame and þai fecht þair quhill gret slauchter be & þis þai thoill for þar demeritis.

Alsua nocht far fra þat land þar is ane desert in þe quhilk þair is monstouris quhilkis fra þair myddill vpwart men berand bowys and arowis & fra þar myddill downward ar lyk hors with hors feit.

And þar neyr hand þar is ane vthir desert in þe quhilk ar wod men, þe quhilk ar callit sagittaris quhilk schottis & slais oper monstouris; and sum tym þai ar slane with þai monstouris. And þai eit raw fleche, & þa lye in þe nycht one treis for serpentis and scorpionis, quhilk ar þar habundant. Alsua in ane vthir desert þar is beistis callit vnicornis, quhilk hes bot ane horne in þar foir hed, werray stark and cruell, quhilkis may be tane be na way bot be þe odour (sic) of ane virgene. And ane virgene cum to þe desert & set

¹

MS adds: in þe quhilk

APPENDIX II

The metrical arrangement used by Thomas Stephens is illustrated by the following lines:

Since truths of faith to men conveyed
Must bear good fruit, I have essayed
To sing them with the fashioned aid
Of the Marathy speech.

As Jasmine rarest is 'mong flowers,
As musk o'er scents in fragrance towers,
E'en so, ornate Marathi's powers
Beyond all tongues can reach.

My soul, by Jesu's grace caressed,
To trace the sacred scripts was prest
Of Saints and Prophets and the blest
Evangelists' quartet.

With choicest blossoms culled therein,
Has this my chaplet woven been;
While in the string that runs between,
Marathy threads are met.

D. Ferroli, The Jesuits in Malabar, I, p.454.

The dialogue of Mary Magdalene with the 'gardener' illustrates Stephens's endeavours to give the feelings and thoughts of the main actors in the story:

While stood she weeping, instantly
She turned about, and there did see
Before her Jesus' self; but she
Did not Him recognise.

"Why weepest thou?" of her He sought;
She looked; but doubt within her wrought,
Till straight the gardener Him she thought,
And answered in this wise:

"How shouldst thou seek O gardener kind,
Of my lament the cause to find,
When Him, my Lord, the Jews consigned
Without a cause to death?"

"Was not His flesh with scourges torn?
 And was His head not crowned with thorn?
 To ask, then, whence grief is born,
 Were needless waste of breath.

"Did they not fix His hands and feet
 Unto the Cross? His thirst not meet
 With gall and vinegar? Did not fleet
 The fell lance through his side?

"Ah! torments such as these He bare,
 Who, without fault, was made to share
 A death most cruel! How dost thou dare
 My welling grief to chide?

"Those sacred feet-- and death was there--
 I washed with tears and wiped with hair,
 With sharpest nails sore pierced were:
 How should I then not weep?

"The very sun and moon did mark
 His death with mourning deep and dark:
 What, then, shall bind a grief more stark,
 A hush awhile to keep? ...

"One stinging sorrow erst was mine;
 But now a second makes me pine:
 Of Him interred is here no sign,
 And I with all must part.

"I know not who hath borne away
 My buried Lord; but now I pray
 That if thou hast Him, thou wilt say,
 Kind gardener, where He lies. ...

"What greater mishap could there be,
 Than my Lord Jesus' loss to me?
 What reck I of what misery
 I may on earth surmise?"

Thus she. But lo, distinct and sweet,
 The old voice of Jesus doth repeat
 "Mary, Mary"! - Assured complete,
 "Master!" to Him she cries;

With scanning glance His garments eyes;
 "I've found my Lord, indeed," she cries;
 Then straight unto His feet she flies
 In adoration meek.

As weeps an infant daughter, sore,
 Her mother's going, nor knows no more,
 But smiles and laughs when she comes o'er
 Tho' tears stream down her cheek;

So Magdalene appeared to be,
 When, knowing by His voice, 'twas He,
 She ran to worship lovingly
 His feet while tears did fall.

But thus the Lord unto her spake:
 "Now speed thee, Mary, for my sake,
 And to mine own a message take,
 To tell my brethren all,

"That I will unto Him ascend
 In Whom all fatherhood doth blend
 With common Godhood without end -
 Our Father and our God."

And Magdalene, with peaceful mind,
 Blest Jesus, to His Will resigned;
 Then hied to others of her kind,
 And spread the news abroad.

The Examiner, 7th April 1956.

APPENDIX III.

The following material is an extract from Raymond Schwab's La Renaissance Orientale. The passages quoted by Schwab are obviously from Briot's French version of the Display of two Forraigne Sects in the East Indies.

The page numbers given in the margin refer to page numbers in La Renaissance Orientale.

p.147

Le livre d'Henri Lord, Display of two forraigne Sects in the East Indies, traduit en français par Briot, parait à Paris en 1667 sous deux titres différents, l'un annonçant l'histoire de la religion «des anciens Persans», l'autre celle «des Banians»; le premier précise qu'il s'agit des Persans «qui sont à présent dans les Indes orientales», c'est-à-dire: les Parsis; ausi donne-t-il le premier fragment du Zend-Avesta connu en Europe; mais plus de la moitié de l'ouvrage est réservé aux croyances de l'Inde ell-même, appelées «la religion des Banians» (le peuple entier étant identifié avec ses marchands, lesquels logeaient leurs éventaires à l'ombre de l'arbre banyan); quinze chapitres, contre huit pour les Parsis, et le titre de relais porte «Histoire de la religion des Banians».

L'esquisse des doctrines retient de la documentation locale une sorte de Décalogue qui, sur une montagne au travers d'une nuée, aurait été remis à «Bremaw», dieu du second âge du monde; Lord appelle ce code «le SHASTER», comme s'il eût été unique et le pendant, pour l'Inde, de l'Avesta iranien: on sait que shâstra dont c'est ici la première graphie en Europe, est un nom générique désignant quantité de traités didactiques. Ce que l'esprit et la langue des traducteurs ont saisi forme un fabuleux roman biblique: Dieu crée le monde en soufflant d'une grande sarbacane sur les eaux, et sépare les éléments; le premier homme et la première femme, Pourous et Parcoutée (Purusha et Prakriti) «se nourrissent des fruits de la terre sans toucher à aucune créature vivante». Telle page où Moïse parait en filigrane fait savourer ce que peut donner la collaboration d'un compatriote de Charles Perrault avec un chapelain britannique revenu de Surate; il s'agit des quatre

dieux frères entre qui est partagé le monde primitif:

«Et parce que Brammon était d'une constitution mélancolique et d'un esprit spéculatif, Dieu le remplit de beaucoup de sagesse, et s'en servit pour faire connaître aux hommes ses lois et ses commandements, son port grave et sa mine sérieuse lui semblant fort convenables à cet emploi; il lui donna donc pour cet effet le livre dans lequel était enseigné comment il voulait être servi, et les autres choses qui regardent la religion». Le mythe hindou est accommodé sur un ton de bonne compagnie, comme le mythe grec dans la Psyché de La Fontaine. L'intervention d'une figure donnée pour un Dieu à «mine sérieuse» et qui veut «être servi» (comme celui d'Athalie), c'est tout un théâtre. La mesure du langage entraîne le rétrécissement du paysage mental. La cosmogonie se réduit à une sorte d'Amadis arabe; marchands et diamants, montagnes, châteaux, talismans, — on est promené par des chemins qui mènent surtout aux Mille et Une Nuits. L'histoire des âges du monde et créations successives laisse passer bien des vues sur la répartition des attributs divins; mais les confusions de vocabulaire s'interposent à chaque pas: le «sein du Tout-Puissant» ou «le grand jour du Jugement» propagent de douteuses équivalences.

Dans ces simplifications, le point saillant est aussitôt l'article des réincarnations; il touche au vif l'intérêt majeur des hommes et délimite crûment deux climats; il a toujours été le meilleur recruteur de l'Inde en Europe: il avait frappé les Grecs, il fascinera Voltaire et ses successeurs.

Notre auteur l'aborde, ainsi qu'on fera souvent, par une de ses conséquences voyantes: l'interdiction de manger de la viande, où se marque la prétention que les bêtes aient «une âme pareille à celle de l'homme, et d'une même nature». Comment, se demande-t-il, l'Inde peut-elle encore ignorer que, d'après «les philosophes», les plantes ont une âme végétative, les bêtes une âme sensitive, et l'homme seul une âme raisonnable, seule immortelle? on reconnaît la classification du Timée qui, endossée par l'enseignement officiel du Moyen Age, devait jusqu'en Descartes avoir la vie dure. D'ailleurs, poursuit Lord, la Genèse est formelle: Dieu permet à Noé manger de la viande. Probablement les pauvres Banyans auront pris leurs bizarres idées à Pythagore, vénéré «parmi ces gens-là». L'abstinence du vin ne se défend pas mieux: Dieu ne l'a-t-il pas fait pour réjouir l'homme dans

sa faiblesse, quitte à maintenir une raisonnable décence? Galien l'appelait «le lait des vieillards», et Platon lui-même, qui n'est pas non plus sans liaisons avec «ces gens-là», le considère comme une «excellente médecine que Dieu a faite contra la vieillesse».

Pythagore ni Platon, à vrai dire, n'ont inventé la métempsycose; c'est bien eux, cela va de soi, qui l'ont enseignée à l'Inde; mais eux-mêmes l'avaient apprise de l'Egypte: qui douterait de ce circuit? il a pour lui la seule garantie connue, la même que pour l'âme sensitive et pour le vin, l'autorité des écrivains grecs et latins. Les renaissances sont ainsi une monstruosité bien classée. Derrière le samsàra, le karma fait sa première apparition à l'horizon de la curiosité européenne: l'utilité des réincarnations, c'est d'épurer progressivement l'âme, celle-ci, en «passant et repassant souvent dans l'alambic», se rapproche de l'Être. Le thème des rétributions amène des images de paradis chrétien. La «prétendue transmigration» n'a pas besoin d'être réfutée, pour ce simple motif que «c'est une pure chimère». Loin de s'épurer en traversant des corps successifs, l'âme ne peut que davantage s'y corrompre, «comme ferait de l'eau qu'on laisserait longtemps dans un lieu bourbeux et plein d'ordure»: c'est dire qu'on ignore le rôle des œuvres et celui de la contemplation.

A tant d'idolâtries le chapelain n'oppose pas seulement l'arbitrage de la Bible, mais le bon sens d'un «temps éclairé». On croirait déjà être à celui de Voltaire. Toujours, en Occident, moins le fanatisme d'église que de collège; l'Europe a l'air d'éprouver de soudains haut-le-corps devant certaines pratiques de l'Inde: en fait, elle retrouve des souvenirs scolaires. Lord en est un bon exemple: le bûcher des Sutis lui est expliqué par des citations de Strabon et Properce. Il peut bien admettre, contre la supposition de Guillaume Postel, que Brahma ne descend pas d'Abraham: l'éducation classique n'y contredisait pas. Entre les deux hémisphères, le grand obstacle, ce ne sera pas la foi romaine, c'est la littérature romaine.

APPENDIX IV.

Some important names in the early travellers' accounts rendered into their modern equivalents:

Amrut	Amrit.
Baids, Vaids	Vedas.
Banaris	Benares, also Banaras.
Bhyse, Wyse	Vaisya.
Biss Eishwer	Visheshvar.
Bramin, Brammon	Brahman.
Bremaw, Brimha	Brahma.
Chittery, Cuttery	Kshatriya.
Chuckerey	Chakra.
Delee	Delhi.
Eishwer	Ishvar.
Firmaund	Firman, also farman (i.e. charter).
Gunnez	Ganesh.
Houda, Ouda	Howdah.
Indostan	Hindustan.
Jogue	Yuga.
Kachemire	Kashmir.
Kaum	Kám (Kamdeva).
Letchimun	Lakshman.
Meropurbatee	Meru Parvat.
Mhah Letchimy	Maha Lakshmi.
Mhah Deve	Mahadeva.
Mhahrattah	Marathá.
Mudden	Madan.
Narraune	Narayan.
Parcoutee	Prakriti.
Patenaw	Patna.
Pourous	Purush.
Ruddery	Rudra.
Savatree	Savitri.
Seetah	Sitá.
Shevah	Shiva.
Sree Mun Narrain	Shriman Narayan.
Suddery, Sooder	Sudra.
Taddy	Tari (toddy).
Viskermah	Vishvakarmá.
Vystney, Vystnou	Vishnu.
Ceteroupa	Satarupá
Khullee	Káli.
Menow	Manu.
Sumscriit	Sanskrit.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sources

A. Travel-books and Collections of Voyages.

- Aa, P. Van Der Naaukeurige Versameling der ... Zee-en Land-Reysen etc. Leyden, 1707. Vol.104.
- Aanmerkenswaardigste Zee'en Landreizen der Portugeezen, etc. Leyden, 1727. Deel 6.
- A Brief Discoverye of Some Things best worth Noteinge in the Travells of Nicholas Withington a factor in the East-Indiase. London, 1734.
- A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar. Hakluyt Society, 1866.
- A True Relation without all Exception, of strange and admirable Accidents ... London, 1744. Harleian Miscellany, Vol.I.
- Beazley, C. R. Voyages and Travels. Westminster, 1903. Vol.I.
- Bernier, F. Travels in the Mogul Empire. London, 1914.
- Briot Histoire de la Religion Des Banians. Paris, 1667.
- Cartwright, John The Preachers Travels. London, 1611.
- Churchill, Awunsham and John Collection of Voyages and Travels. London, 1744. Vol.I.
- Collection of Pamphlets (1646-7). British Museum Cat. No. 694.e.6(1).
- Coryat, Thomas Coryats Crudities. London, 1611.
- Thomas Coriate Traveller for the English Wits: Greeting. London, 1616.
- Mr. Thomas Coriat to his friends in England sendeth greeting. London, 1618.
- Coverté, Robert A True and Almost Incredible Report. London, 1612.

- Danvers, F. C. (ed.) Letters received by the East India Company. London, 1896. Vol.I.
- Early Travels in India. Edited by W. Foster. London, 1921.
- Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant. Hakluyt Society, 1893.
- Foster, William (ed.) Letters received by the East India Company. London, 1897. Vols.II & III.
- Fryer, J. A New Account of East India and Persia. Hakluyt Society, 1909.
- Hakluyt, Richard Principal Navigations. London, 1599. Vol.II.
- Harris, John Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca. London, 1705, 1764.
- India in the Fifteenth Century. Hakluyt Society, 1857.
- Irvine, Margaret L. A Pepys of Mogul India. London, 1913.
- Kanga, K. F. Extracts from the Narrative of Mons. Anquetil du Perron's Travels in India. Bombay, 1876.
- Laet, de The Empire of the Great Mogol. Edited by J. S. Hoyland and S. N. Banerjee. Bombay, 1928.
- Lord, Henry A Display of two forraigne Sects in the East Indies. London, 1630.
- Moore, J. H. A New and Complete Collection of Voyages. London, N.D. Vol.I.
- Narratives of Voyages towards the North-West. Hakluyt Society, 1849.
- Pelsaert, Francisco The Remonstrantie. Edited by W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl. Cambridge, 1925.
- Pinkerton, John A General Collection of Voyages and Travels. London, 1811. Vol.VIII.
- Pollard, A. W. Sir John Mandeville. London, 1900.
- Purchas, S. Purchas his Pilgrimes. London, 1625. Vols.I & II.

- Purchas, S. Purchas his Pilgrimage. London, 1616
(4th edition).
- Relations de divers Voyages Curieux.
Paris, 1663.
- Sermons, 1633-1758. British Museum
Cat. No. E.356.(11).
- Tavernier,
Jean-Baptiste Travels in India. Oxford and London, 1925
- Terry, Edward A Voyage to East-India. London, 1655.
- The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe.
Hakluyt Society, 1899. 2 Vols.
- The First Letter Book of the East India
Company. Edited by George Birdwood and
William Foster. London, 1893.
- The Hawkins' Voyages. Hakluyt Society, 1878.
- The Journal of John Jourdain. Hakluyt
Society, 1905.
- "The Relations of Father Fernao Guerreiro"
in Jahangir and the Jesuits. Edited by
C. H. Payne. London, 1930.
- The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires. Hakluyt
Society, 1944.
- The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher.
Hakluyt Society, 1867.
- The Travels of Captain Robert Coverte.
Edited by Boies Penrose. Philadelphia,
1931.
- The Travels of John Albert de Mandelslo
into the Indies. London, 1669.
- The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant.
Hakluyt Society, 1931.
- The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema.
Hakluyt Society, 1863.
- The Travels of Peter Mundy. Hakluyt
Society, 1914. Vol.II.

The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India.
Hakluyt Society, 1892. Vols. I & II.

The Travels of Sig. Pietro della Valle,
a Noble Roman, into East-India and Arabia
Deserta. London, 1665.

The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval.
Hakluyt Society, 1888.

The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten.
Hakluyt Society, 1885. 2 Vols.

Yule, Col. Henry

Cathay and the Way Thither. Hakluyt
Society, 1866. Vol. I.

Sloane 3299.

3. Literary Works and Scriptures.

Anand, Ksh. Raj Private Life of an Indian Prince. London,
1891.

Arber, Edward An Inquiry into the Origin and Progress of the

Handku, Shantarama (ed.)

Beauchamp, F. M. Yorke

Blair, James The History of the

Boydell, John The History of the

Boydell, John History of the

Boydell, John The History of the

Boydell, John Yorke

Boydell, John Tom Jones

Boydell, John History of the

B. Other Sources.1. Manuscripts.

(In the India Office Library)

Court Book, Dec. 1613 to Nov. 10, 1615.Court Book VI, July 1623 to June 30, 1624.

(In the British Museum)

Egerton 1994.Harl. 2286.Sloane 3290.2. Literary Works and Scriptures.

- Anand, Mulk Raj Private Life of an Indian Prince. London, 1953.
- Arber, Edward An English Garner. London, 1877. Vol.I.
- Bandelu,
Shantarama (ed.) Krishta Puran. Poona, 1956.
- Beaumont, F. and
Fletcher, J. Works. Cambridge, 1908. Vol.VI.
- Butler, Charles The Feminine Monarchie. London, 1609.
- Camoens, Luis de The Lusiad. Tr. William Julius Mickle. London, 1877.
- Carlyle, Thomas Historical Sketches. London, 1898.
- Darmesteter, James The Zend-Avesta. Oxford, 1880. Part I.
- Drayton, Michael Works. London, 1748. The 19th Song.
- Fielding, Tom Jones. London, N.D. (Everyman's Library, Vol.I., Bk.III., Chap.II).
- Greville, Fulke Poems and Dramas. Ed. G. Bullough. Edinburgh and London, 1938. Vol.II.
- Griffith, T. H. The Rig-Veda. Banaras, 1892.
- Jones, Sir William Works. London, 1807.

- Jonson, Ben The Alchemist. Edinburgh, 1774.
- Locke, J. The Works of John Locke. London, 1823.
Vol.I.
- Massinger, Philip The Maid of Honour. London, 1632.
- Masters, J. The Deceivers. London, 1957.
- Mills, L. H. The Zend-Avesta. Oxford, 1887. Part III.
- Milton, J. Paradise Lost. London, 1894. 2 Vols.
- Moore, Thomas Lalla Rookh, an Oriental Romance.
London, 1817.
- Muir, J. Original Sanskrit Texts. London, 1890.
- Neale, Thomas The Warde, a tragicomedy. Philadelphia,
1937.
- Scott, Sir Walter The Chronicles of the Canongate. Edinburgh,
1827. Vol.II.
- Shakespeare, W. Works. London, 1791. 8 Vols.
- Southey, Robert The Curse of Kehama. London, 1810.
- Stephens,
Father Thomas The Christian Puranna. Ed. J. L. Saldanha.
Mangalore, 1907.
- Christian Doctrine in the Konkani Language.
Ed. Mariano Saldanha. Lisbon, 1945.
- The Bhagavadgita. Oxford, 1882.
- The Holy Bible. London, 1845.
- The Satapatha-Brahmana. Oxford, 1882.
- Warner, William Albions England. London, 1597.
- West, E. W. Pahlavi Texts. Oxford, 1880.

3. Historical Writings.

- Blochmann, H. The Ain-i-Akbari. Calcutta, 1873.
- Elliot, H. M. and
Dowson, J. The History of India as told by its own
Historians. London, 1875. Vols. IV., V.,
& VI.

- Freeman, E. A. Old English History. London, 1869
- McCrindle, J. W. Ancient India as described by Ktesias the Knidian. Calcutta, 1882.
- Ancient India. Westminster, 1901.
- Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian. Calcutta, 1877.
- Robson, E. I. Arrian. London, 1929. Vol.I.
- Rogers, A. and Beveridge, H. The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri. London, 1909.
- Thorpe, B. (ed.) The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. London, 1861. Vol.II.

4. Books of Reference.

- A Classical Dictionary of India. Madras, 1871.
- Alumni Oxonienses.
- A New English Dictionary. Ed. J.A.H. Murray.
- A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary.
- Athenae Oxonienses.
- Calendar of State Papers. Colonial Series.
- Catalogue of European MSS. in India Office Library. Vol.II, Part II.
- The Catholic Encyclopaedia.
- Cox, Edward Godfrey A Reference Guide to the Literature of of Travel. Seattle, 1935. Vol.I.
- Encyclopaedia Britannica.
- Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
- Hindu Classical Dictionary, London, 1914.
- Hobson-Jobson.
- Linguistic Survey of India.
- The Sacred Books of the East.

II. Modern Studies

- Anderson, Philip The English in Western India. London, 1856.
- Basham, A.L. The Wonder that was India. London, 1954.
- Bates, E.S. Touring in 1600. London, 1911.
- Beazley, C.R. Prince Henry the Navigator. New York and London, 1895.
- Bissell, B. The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century. New Haven, 1925.
- Bourne, H.R. Fox The Life of John Locke. London, 1876. Vol.I.
- The Romance of Trade. London, N.D.
- English Merchants : Memoirs in Illustration of the Progress of British Commerce. London, 1866. 2 Vols.
- Famous London Merchants. London, 1869.
- English Seamen under the Tudors. London, 1868. 2 Vols.
- Bruce, John Annals of the Honourable East-India Company. London, 1810. Vol.I.
- Burnell, A.C. Specimens of S. Indian Dialects. Mangalore, 1872.
- Bush, Douglas English Literature in the earlier Seventeenth Century. Oxford, 1946.
- Caroe, Sir Olaf The Pathans. London, 1958.
- Carrington, Dorothy The Traveller's Eye. London, 1947.
- Cowley, R.R. The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama. Boston and London, 1938.
- Unpathed Waters. Princeton, 1940.
- Milton and the Literature of Travel. Princeton, 1951.

- Charlesworth, M.P. Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire. Cambridge, 1924.
- Commissariat, M.S. A History of Gujarat. Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, 1938. Vol.I.
- Cox, G.W. The Mythology of the Aryan Nations. London, 1870.
- Coyajee, J.C. The Future of Zoroastrianism. Bombay, N.D.
- Cronin, V. A Pearl to India. London, 1959.
- Cunha, J.
Gerson da The Konkani Language and Literature. Bombay, 1881.
- Danvers, F.C. The Portuguese in India. London, 1894.
- Darnesteter, J. Parsi-ism : Its Place in History. Bombay, 1887.
- Datta, K.K. The Advanced History of India. London, 1950.
- Davies, Godfrey The Early Stuarts. Oxford, 1937.
- Dodd, Charles The Church History of England. Brussels, 1739.
- Dulles, F.R. Eastward Ho! London, 1931.
- Eliot, Sir Charles Hinduism and Buddhism. London, 1921.
- Elphinstone,
Mountstuart. History of India. London, 1857.
- Elton, G.R. England under the Tudors. London, 1955.
- Fanthome, Frederic The Reminiscences of Agra. Calcutta, 1894.
- Farquhar, J.N. The Apostle Thomas in North India. Manchester, 1926.
- Fergusson, James Tree and Serpent Worship. London, 1873.
- Ferroli, D. The Jesuits in Malabar. Bangalore, 1939. Vol.I.
- Foley, H. Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus. London, 1875. Vols. II & III.
- Fonseca, J.
Nicolau da An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa. Bombay, 1878.

- Foster, Sir William England's Quest of Eastern Trade. London 1933.
- Framjee, Dosabhoy The Parsees. London, 1858.
- Frantz, R.W. "The English Traveller and the Movement of Ideas." The University Studies of the University of Nebraska, XXXII-XXXIII. Lincoln, 1934.
- Frazer, J. G. The Golden Bough. London, 1936. Part IV, Vol.I.
- Fuller, Thomas The History of the Worthies of England. London, 1840. Vol.III.
- Gillespie, J.E. "The Influence of Oversea Expansion on England to 1700." Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law. New York, 1920. Vol.XCI, No.1.
- Gladwin, F. The History of Jahangir. Ed. K.V.R. Aiyangar. Madras, 1930.
- Grant, Robert A Sketch of the History of the East-India Company. London, 1813.
- Grousset, Rene The Civilizations of the East. London 1932. Vol.II.
- Hannay, David Ships and Men. Edinburgh and London, 1910.
- Haug, Martin Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis. London, 1878.
- Henning, W. B. Zoroaster: Politician or Witch-doctor? Oxford, 1949.
- Holden, E.S. The Mogul Emperors of Hindustan. Westminster, 1895.
- Hudson, G.F. Europe and China. London, 1931.
- Hunter, W.W. The Imperial Gazetteer of India. London, 1885. Vols. I & V.
- The India of the Queen. London, 1903.
- Irvine, William Later Mughals. Calcutta and London, N.D. Vol.I.
- Jones, Sir William Dissertations and Miscellaneous

- Pieces. Dublin, 1793.
- Karaka, D.F. The History of the Parsees. London, 1884.
- Keith, A.B. The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads. Cambridge, Mass., 1925.
- Khan, Shafaat Ahmad The East India Trade. Oxford, 1923.
- Kirby, T.F. Winchester Scholars. London, 1888.
- Knight, A.E. India from the Aryan Invasion to the Great Sepoy Mutiny. London, 1897.
- Krishna, Bal Commercial Relations between India and England. London, 1924.
- Lane-Poole, Stanley Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule. London, 1903.
- The History of the Moghul Emperors of Hindustan illustrated by their Coins. Westminster, 1892.
- Latourette, K.S. A History of the Expansion of Christianity. London, N.D. Vol.III.
- Locke, J.C. The First Englishmen in India. London, 1930.
- Lowes, J.L. The Road to Xanadu. London, 1927.
- Macpherson, D. The History of the European Commerce with India. London, 1812.
- Majumdar, R.C. The Vedic Age. London, 1951.
(ed.)
- Malabari, B.M. The Hindu Child-Widow. Bombay, 1887.
- Masani, M. Our India. London, 1940.
- Medlycott, A.E. India and Apostle Thomas. London, 1905.
- Meester, Marie E. de Oriental Influences in the English Literature of the Nineteenth Century. Heidelberg, 1915.
- Meyer, J.J. Sexual Life in Ancient India. London, 1930.
2 Vols.
- Michael, M.A. Traveller's Quest. London, 1950.

- Milburn, William Oriental Commerce. London, 1813.
- Mill, James The History of British India. London, 1840. Vol.I.
- Money, F.R. Charles Butler, Vicar of Wootton. Basingstoke, 1952.
- Moreland, W.H. and A Short History of India. London, 1953.
Chatterjee, A.C.
- Moreland, W.H. From Akbar to Aurangzeb. London, 1923.
- India at the Death of Akbar. London, 1920.
- Muller, Max Chips from a German Workshop. London, 1875. Vol.IV.
- Murray, H. Discoveries and Travels in Asia. Edinburgh, 1820.
- Nichols, John The Progress, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First. London, 1828. Vol.II.
- Notestein, Wallace The English People on the Eve of Colonization. London, 1954.
- Oaten, E.F. European Travellers in India. London, 1902.
- Orme, Robert Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire. London, 1805.
- Panikkar, K.M. Asia and Western Dominance. London, 1953.
- India and the Indian Ocean. London, 1945.
- Parks, G.B. Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages. New York, 1928.
- The English Traveler to Italy. Roma, 1954.
- Pennant, Thomas The View of Hindoostan. London, 1798.
- Penrose, Boies The Sherleian Odyssey. Taunton, 1938.
- Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance. Cambridge, Mass., 1952.
- Urbane Travellers. Philadelphia, 1942.
- Sea Fights in the East Indies. Cambridge, Mass., 1931.

- The Cambridge History of English Literature.
Cambridge, 1909. Vol.IV.
- The Cambridge History of India. Cambridge,
1922. Vol.IV.
- Thomas, P. Christians and Christianity in India and
Pakistan. London, 1954.
- Thomas, P.J. Mercantilism and the East India Trade.
London, 1926.
- Thompson, E.J. and
Garratt, G.T. Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in
India. London, 1934.
- Tod, James Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan.
London, 1914. Vol.I.
- Tooley, R.V. Maps and Map-makers. London, 1949.
- Toy, Sidney The Strongholds of India. London, 1957.
- Tragen, Cecil Elizabethan Venture. London, 1953.
- Trevelyan, G.M. History of England. London, 1952.
- Wadia, A.R. Zoroaster. Madras, 1938.
- Wilkins, W.J. A Handbook of Hindu Mythology. Calcutta,
1882.
- Williams, Monier Hinduism. London, 1877.
- Modern India and the Indians. London,
1878.
- Williamson, James A. A Short History of British Expansion.
London, 1945.
- Wilson, John The Parsi Religion. Bombay, 1843.
- Woodruff, Philip Men who ruled India : The Founders.
London, 1953.
- Wright, Arnold Early English Adventurers in the East.
London, 1917.
- Wright, Louis B. Religion and Empire. Chapel Hill, 1943.
- Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England.
Chapel Hill, 1935.

111. Journals

Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale Degli Orientalisti.

J.A.S.B.

J.R.A.S.

Modern Language Notes.

Modern Philology.

The Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.

The Calcutta Review.

The Contemporary Review.

The Examiner.

The Indian Antiquary.

The Library.

The Mangalore Magazine.

The Mariner's Mirror.

The Month.

The Parsi.

Times Literary Supplement.

Explanation of Abbreviations used.

<u>C.E.</u>	The Catholic Encyclopaedia.
<u>C.H.I.</u>	The Cambridge History of India.
<u>D.N.B.</u>	Dictionary of National Biography.
<u>E.B.</u>	Encyclopaedia Britannica.
<u>E.R.E.</u>	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
<u>Ind. Ant.</u>	The Indian Antiquary.
<u>J.A.S.B.</u>	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
<u>J.R.A.S.</u>	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
<u>L.S.I.</u>	Linguistic Survey of India.
<u>T.L.S.</u>	Times Literary Supplement.